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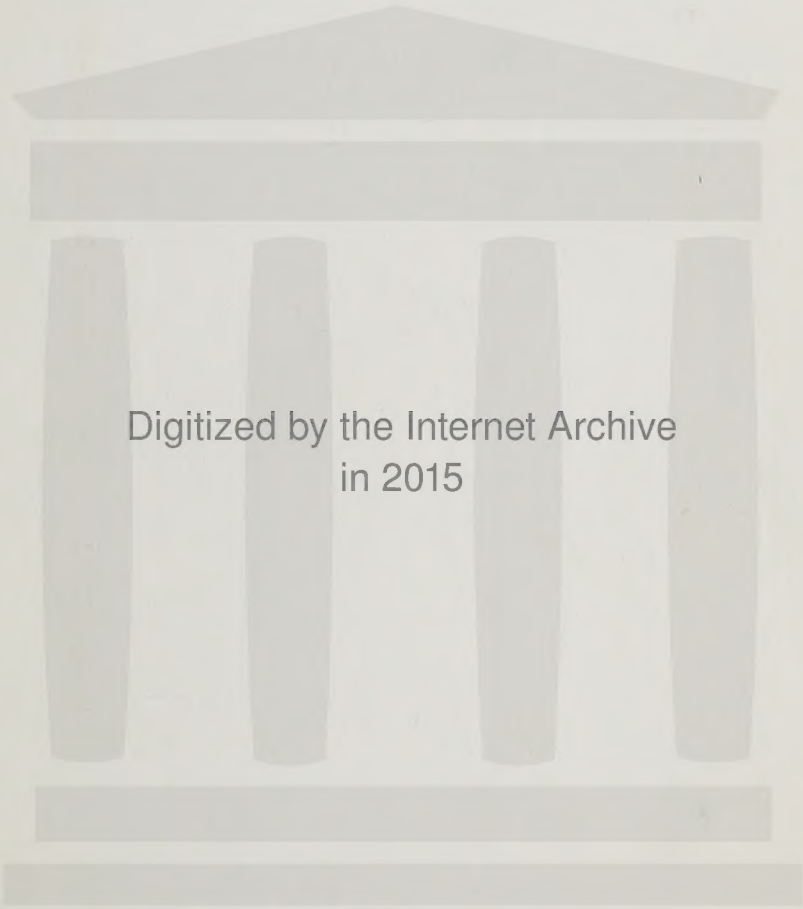

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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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THE GREAT SEAL OF THE MUSCOGEE NATION

The official seal of the Creek Nation appearing in colors on the front cover of this issue of *The Chronicles* is a replica of an original painting in the Museum of the Historical Society, the painting being a reproduction of the actual impress of the old Creek seal preserved in the Agency of the Five Civilized Tribes at Muskogee. This seal shows a sheaf of wheat and a plow in the center of device surrounded by the words "Great Seal of the Muscogee Nation, I. T." The initials here are for "Indian Territory," and the name "Muscogee" is that applied to the nation of the Indian people commonly known as Creeks.

This official seal of the Muscogee or Creek Nation was adopted by the National Council some time after the War between the States, its symbolism indicating the industry of the Creeks as agriculturists, for which they were well known in Indian history. After coming west from the Alabama-Georgia border to the Indian Territory (1828-1836), the successful growing of small grain, wheat, oats and rice, besides the production of large crops of corn in the rich lands bordering the Canadian and Arkansas rivers and their tributaries, brought prosperity to many of the Creek people. They continued to observe their ancient tribal customs in the "Green Corn Dance" celebrated in summer as a thanksgiving and a rejoicing in the new crops that began the new year in the Nation.

The sheaf of wheat and the plow in the center of this Great Seal had a broader significance of Christian influence among the Creek chiefs and leaders after the War. From the adoption of the written constitution of the Muscogee Nation in 1867, the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist churches counted some of the outstanding leaders of the Nation as members in one or another of these three organizations. Among them were such prominent chiefs as Samuel Checote, Joseph M. Perryman, Legus C. Perryman and Pleasant Porter.

A Biblical interpretation of the sheaf of wheat in this Great Seal may be found in Joseph's dream (Genesis 37:7): "For, behold, we were binding sheaves in the field, and, lo, my sheaf arose, and also stood upright . . . . ."

An interpretation of the plow may be found in the prophecy (Amos 9:13): "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that the plowman shall overtake the reaper . . . . ."

Apparently the first document of the Muscogee Nation among some of the original papers preserved in the Oklahoma Historical

Creek Council House, Capitol of the Creek Nation, erected at Okmulgee, 1878.

Society's collections, bearing the imprint of the Great Seal, is a permit of election issued to Arkansas Town, dated August 18, 1885, and signed by Principal Chief Joseph M. Perryman. In the October session of the National Council in this same year, Chief Perryman approved an act providing for the issuance of certificates of citizenship in the Muscogee Nation," under seal of his office," and the preservation in his office of a list of the names of such persons. The spelling of the name "Muscogee" or "Muskogee" is the English form but it is rendered in the native language as *Muskoke* or *Maskoge*.

The name *Muskoke* or *Maskoke* was accepted by the Creek people sometime after 1700 though neither the origin nor an explanation of this name has yet been found in the Creek language. The name "Creek" itself is from "Ochese Creek Indians," the title given the first group of the tribe about 1720, by the British agents for the Indian tribes in the Carolina region. "Ochese Creek" was an old name for the Ocmulgee River, Georgia, near the sources of which the eastern portion of the tribe lived when English trade began here. As time passed, the name was shortened to "Creek Indians" or "Creeks," and finally "Creek" became the popular designation for the whole tribe or "Creek Nation."

About 1700, many tribes in what is now Southeastern United States who spoke a related language were living as a Creek confederacy, in which the Maskoke-speaking people were the dominant group, the tribes having leagued together for mutual protection against the Spaniards in Florida. Agents in the colonial government service referred to the Creek tribe, whose country included nearly all of what is now Alabama and Georgia, in two divisions according to their geographical locations: the Upper Creek living up on the Coosa and Tallapoosa, and the main branches of the Alabama River; and the Lower Creek, down on the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers near the present Alabama-Georgia border. When the Creek people moved west to the Indian Territory, the geographical locations of these two divisions were reversed: the Lower Creeks lived up on the Arkansas River, west from Fort Gibson; the Upper Creeks lived down on the Canadian River, from the mouth of the North Fork west.

A treaty signed in February, 1825, at Indian Springs, Georgia, the home of the Upper Creek chief, William McIntosh, provided the cession of Creek lands in Georgia to the United States, in exchange for land, acre for acre on the Arkansas River, "commencing at the mouth of the Canadian Fork thereof, and running westward between said rivers Arkansas and Canadian Fork for quantity." The treaty further provided the payment by the Government of $400,000 for the expenses of the removal of the Creek tribe to this new country in what is now Oklahoma. Within a year, Chief McIntosh met death at the hands of a party of Creek light-horsemen led by Menawa, a chief of the Upper Creeks, for having signed away the tribal domain.

The Treaty of Indian Springs was declared null and void and most of the Georgia lands were ceded to the United States in January, 1826, as provided in a treaty signed at Washington by the Upper Creek leaders including Menawa and Opothleyahola who was later noted in the history of the Indian Territory. The followers of Chief William McIntosh, led by his son, Chilly McIntosh arrived by steamboat at Fort Gibson in 1828, and built their homes along the Arkansas west of the Verdigris. Other groups of the Lower Creeks also came west, and there were soon many settlements of the "Western Creeks" as they were called in this region, with Roley McIntosh as the leading chief, half brother of the late William McIntosh. Several of these families were wealthy, including some of the McIntoshes besides Benjamin Perryman, living in well furnished, comfortable homes on their fine farms operated by their Negro slaves.

Two other early treaties were important in Creek history: The Treaty of 1832 signed by the Upper Creek leaders ceded all the tribal lands east of the Mississippi and provided for the removal of all the tribe from Alabama. Another treaty was necessary, signed by the Western Creek chiefs at Fort Gibson in 1833, defining the boundaries of the Creek Nation West, all the country lying between the Canadian River on the south and the Cherokee Outlet on the north, and extending west from the Arkansas River and the Cherokee Nation to the 100th Meridian. Further provision for the settlement of all the Creeks and the Seminoles in this area.

The whole tribe was united in the west in 1839, following the removal of those who had remained in the Alabama-Georgia boundary line region. Yet there was a cleavage between the Upper Creeks and the Lower Creeks that had grown out of the killing of William McIntosh and the sale of the tribal lands in the east. This continued for many years, even affecting the alignment of the people during the War between the States, in which most of the Upper Creeks under the leadership of Opothleyahola sided with the Union, and the Lower Creeks under the leadership of the McIntoshes, with the Confederacy. Before the War, the National Council composed of the chiefs and leaders of many "towns" (or *talwa,* in native language) over the nation met at stated times at "High Spring" near Council Hill in present Okmulgee County. After the War, Okmulgee was designated the capital when the people adopted the first written constitution and code of laws of the "Muskogee Nation," in 1907, which remained in force until the close of the Creek government at the time of statehood for Oklahoma.[1] There were three departments under this Creek constitution: the executive, one principal chief for the Nation, elected every four years; the legislative or National Council,

[1] *Constitution and Laws of the Muskogee Nation,* L. C. Perryman, compiler (Muskogee, 1890). This code of the Creek laws employs the English form of the name, *Muskogee.*

composed of the House of Kings (Senate) and the House of Warriors (House of Representatives), that met annually at Okmulgee where a commodious two-story, log council house was erected; and the judicial, consisting of a supreme court and district courts.

At the time that Okmulgee was named the capital, the western boundary of the Creek Nation approximated what is now the west line of Seminole County, the Creek lands west of this line having been ceded to the United States in 1866 as a result of the recent war. This diminished area was divided by law into six judicial districts, each having a judge, a prosecuting attorney and company of light-horsemen chosen to serve for designated terms in office. These six districts as finally named were Coweta, Muskogee, Eufaula, Wewoka, Deep Fork and Okmulgee. There were forty-four tribal "towns" (or *talwa*), besides three towns for Negro citizens in the Nation, all of which were represented in the National Council according to their population. One of the old tribal towns, "Tulsey Town," in Coweta District north of the Arkansas River, has grown into the City of Tulsa, Oklahoma. The old Creek Agency was south of the Arkansas in Muskogee District, near which the Union Agency for the Five Civilized Tribes was established after the building of the M. K. & T. Railway in 1872. This Agency and the station on the railroad were the beginnings of the City of Muskogee which was sometimes referred to as the "Capital of the Indian Territory," so important was the place in the development of the country. Okmulgee was not only the capital of the Creek Nation but was well known as the meeting place of delegates from many Indian nations and tribes who were members of the General Council of the Indian Territory, 1870-1872.

During the period that the Dawes Commission was at work closing out the tribal government, as well as that of each of the other Five Civilized Tribes (1894-1907), many Creek leaders were prominent and active in affairs that brought statehood for Oklahoma.[2] The device of the "Great Seal of the Muscogee Nation, I. T."

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[2] Among the many publications on the history of the Creek people are: Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941); Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932), and *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934); Edwin C. McReynolds, *A History of the Sooner State* (Norman, 1954); John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors* (Bur. Amer. Ethnol., *Bulletin* 73, Washington, 1922); Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951).

Many articles relating to Creek Indian history have been published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, among which are:

Roland Hinds, "Early Creek Missions" (Vol. XVII, No. 1, March, 1939; John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Pleasant Porter," (Vol. IX, No. 3, September, 1931), "The MacIntoshes," (Vol. X, No. 3, September, 1932), "The Perrymans," (Vol. XV, No. 2, June, 1937); Ohland Morton, "Government of the Creek Indians," (Vol. VIII, No. 1, March, 1930, and No. 2, June, 1930); Virginia E. Lauderdale, "Tallahassee Mission," (Vol. XXIV, No. 3. Autumn, 1948); Muriel H. Wright, "Official Seals of the Five Civilized Tribes," (Vol. XVIII, No. 4, December, 1940).

—the sheaf of wheat and the plow,—is in the lower right hand ray of the five-pointed star that forms the central design of the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma.

—*The Editor*

A REPORT TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY MEETING AT OKMULGEE IN 1873

By Muriel H. Wright

The Fourth Annual Session of the General Council of the Indian Territory[1] meeting at Okmulgee from May 5 to 15, 1873, considered and approved an interesting report of the Committee on Agriculture, reviewing conditions among the Indian nations and tribes living in the Territory at this time. Members of the Committee were Joshua Ross (Cherokee), Chairman; John R. Moore (Creek), William Fry (Choctaw), John W. Early (Ottawa), William Mackey (Cherokee), Alex R. Durant (Choctaw), William Walker (Wyandot).

Chairman Ross submitted the Committee's report, which on motion of D. H. Ross was adopted by the Council, under suspension of the rules. This report and a letter on Indian improvements read before members of the Council, from Reverend John Harreld who had served forty years as a Methodist minister among the Indians, besides the Committee's "Resolution" are found published under "Appendix C" in the *Journal* of the General Council for 1873, as follows:[2]

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[1] The several treaties of 1866 signed by United States commissioners and delegations from the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek (or Muskokee) and Seminole nations, provided for the organization and maintenance by Congress of an inter-tribal territorial government for the Indian Territory, with a legislative council and a judicial system. The Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty set forth the detailed plans for this proposed government, and provided that the President of the United States should appoint the chief executive of the Territory to be titled "the governor of the Territory of Oklahoma." Bills for the organization of this territory were introduced in Congress before 1870 but no final action was taken, and the territory was never organized under the treaty provisions. However, there was need for the leaders of the Indian nations and tribes to meet and confer on matters of common interest. A meeting was called by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Enoch Hoag, and delegates from some twelve tribes gathered at Okmulgee, the capital of the Creek Nation, on September 27, 1870, to hold the first session of the "General Council of the Indian Territory." A committee of Indian leaders framed a constitution for the new territory, which was discussed as the "Okmulgee Constitution" for several years but was never ratified by all the tribes nor considered by Congress. The General Council continued its annual sessions at Okmulgee, under appropriations made by Congress until 1878, but it never had the power of a law-making assembly. Yet the meeting of the delegates from the different tribes of the Indian Territory each year in the General Council where matters of common interest and individual tribal problems were discussed had an important part in the history of this country. The annual journals of the General Council are rare publications found in the files of the Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

[2] Transcript copied by Mrs. Rella Looney from the *Journal* of the Fourth Annual Session of the General Council of the Indian Territory held at Okmulgee, I. T. from the 5th to the 15th of May, 1873, in International Council file, in Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.

The *Journal* of the General Council of the Indian Territory for September, 1870, and the *Journal* of the Adjourned Session, December, 1870, together with the text

Okmulgee, Creek Nation,
May 15, 1873.

To the General Council of the Indian Territory:

Your Committee on Agriculture respectfully submit their report.

Eastern Shawnees cultivate three hundred and forty acres of land. They plant garden seed, corn, oats, potatoes and wheat. They have one apple and two peach orchards. They own fifty-eight horses, two mules, sixty-eight cows and oxen, with four hundred hogs. They drive fifteen wagons and thirty-five plows. Work is done by their own hands.

Ottawas till the soil of four hundred and sixty acres. They mow grass, reap fields of oats and wheat; pull corn and beans; dig potatoes and tend the garden. Their fruits are apples, cherries, gooseberries and peaches. They use plows, reapers and cultivators. They have ducks, chickens, geese and turkeys. They have sixty-five mules, horses and ponies, one hundred and sixty cows and oxen, and three hundred hogs.

Senecas plow four hundred and sixty acres, gather corn and potatoes, harvest oats and wheat. They have five hundred fruit trees, two hundred and forty-five oxen, bulls and cows, one hundred and ten horses, three hundred and fifty hogs, forty diamond plows, thirty wagons, thirty-five shovel plows, three prairie plows, twenty-five bull tongues, three mowing machines, and one reaper.

Quapaws raise corn on five hundred acres. Their possession is three hundred and fifty ponies and horses, two hundred and twenty cows, bulls and oxen, ten mules, six hundred and fifty hogs, sixty wagons, two mowing machines, and apple and peach orchards.

Peorias have improved fifteen hundred acres of land. They raise corn, wheat, oats, potatoes, onions, turnips, Hungarian, Timothy grass, apples, peaches, pears and cherries. They have the horse, mule, cow, hog, plow, cultivator, mowing machine, corn planter and harrow.

Miamis are moving from Kansas. They cultivate two thousand nine hundred acres, and raise corn, wheat, oats, grasses, vegetables and fruits. They own fowls, hogs, cattle, horses, and all kinds of farming implements.

Sacs and Foxes have four hundred and seventy acres cultivated, not including the mission farm of fifty acres. They raise corn, beans and pumpkins. They use the plow, hoe, and grubbing hoe; they have mowing machines, a sorghum mill, horses, cattle and hogs.

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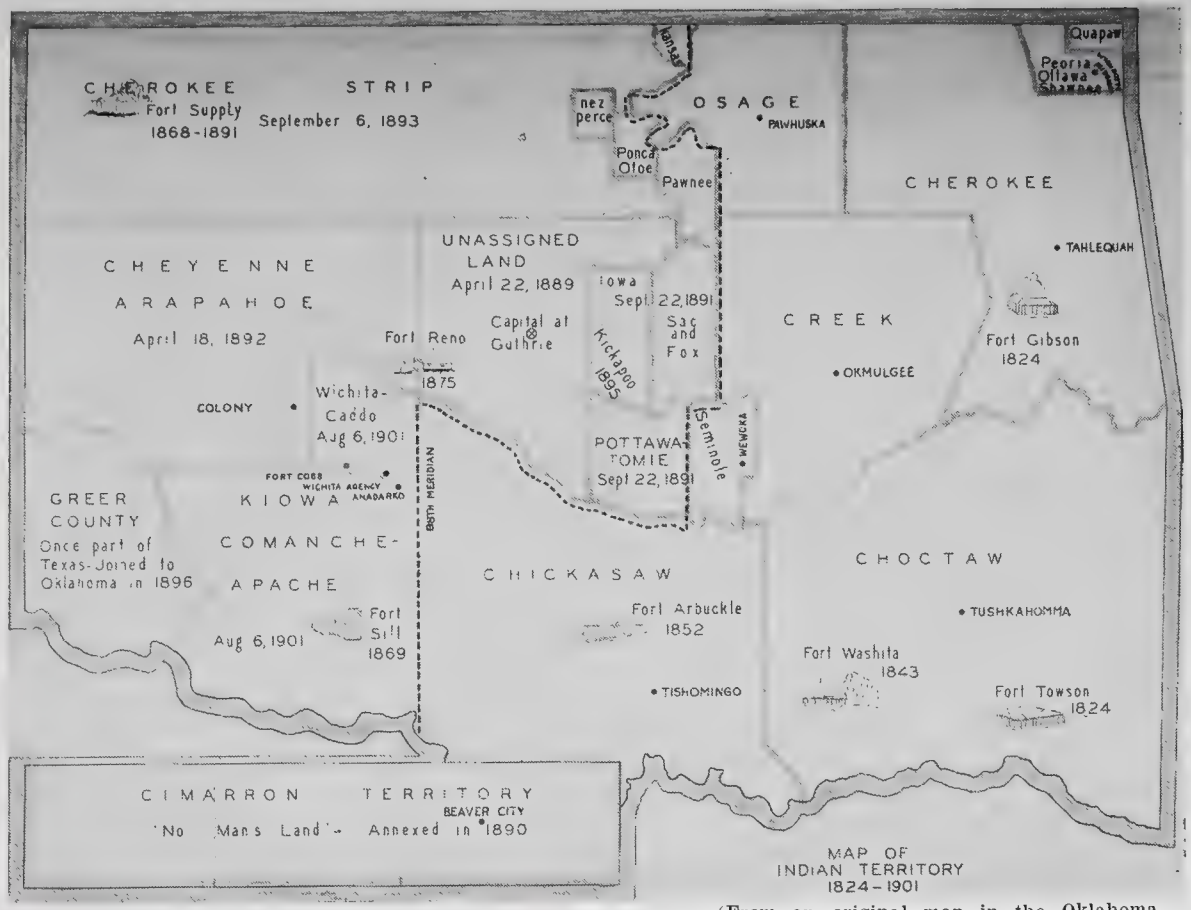
of the "Okmulgee Constitution" were published with introductions by Joseph B. Thoburn, in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, Numbers 1, 2, 3 in 1924.



(From an original map in the Oklahoma Historical Society)

Map showing the location and opening dates of the Unassigned Lands, or "Oklahoma Country," and Indian reservations in *Oklahoma Territory*—west of dotted line; location of lands of the Five Civilized Tribes and the Quapaw Agency tribes (northeastern corner) in *Indian Territory*— east of the dotted line, 1889-1907. The caption dates, "1824-1901," needs the foregoing correction.

Absentee Shawnees plant corn, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, ground peas, beans, peas, and garden seeds. They work in eight hundred acres of fields. They use the plow and grubbing-hoe. They raise hogs, cattle and horses.

Cheyennes and Arapahoes are taking up the arts of peace. They are not in Council.

Affiliated Bands of Indians are Absentee Shawnee, Caddo, Delaware, Wichita, Kechi, To-wac-co-nie, Ionie, Waco and Pen-e-teth-ka. They live on the extreme borders; number fifteen hundred, and cultivate one thousand acres. They have plows and hoes, and own ponies, mules and cattle.

Chickasaws are farmers; intelligent, and rich in cattle and horses. Their delegates have not come to Council.

Seminoles are farming on the Wewoka. They are improving, and are building a good foundation of wealth and prosperity. They have not come to Council.

Wyandottes [Wyandot] cultivate three hundred and forty acres. They raise corn, oats, wheat, beans, peas, potatoes, turnips, pumpkins, squashes and melons, with tobacco; and have set out orchards of young fruit trees. Their stock consists of five hundred and fifty horses, twelve mules, six hundred cattle, one thousand hogs. Attention is paid to the improvement of domestic animals by the introduction of pure breeds. They have three mowing machines, three patent hayrakes and plows. Farm prospects are hopeful.

Choctaws are one of the Five Nations of the Indian Territory. They are civil, friendly, intelligent, industrious and wealthy. They cultivate sixty-five thousand acres of land. They raise the cereals; plant gardens and set out fruit trees which bear the apple, peach, pear and cherry. Tobacco is cultivated for home consumption. Bales of cotton are shipped by railroad and by steamboat for St. Louis and New Orleans. Choctaw farmers use the ax, plow, hoe, harrows, scrapers, shovels, spades, threshers, mowers, and reapers. They possess herds of goats, sheep, hogs, mules, horses, ponies and cattle. They are enlarging farms and building new fences. Cotton and cattle bring them cash. They are improving native stock by mixing pure breeds imported from the States.

Muskokees [Creeks] stand with Cherokees and Choctaws, Seminoles and Chickasaws in point of civilization. They lost millions of dollars in the war, during which, large herds of cattle were driven away. They forget the past, and are improving farms. Their cultivated land contains sixty thousand acres. The productions are corn, wheat, oats, rice, sweet potatoes, and Irish potatoes. Some of the farmers of the North Fork and Arkansas are experimenting on the growth of cotton—tobacco could be raised. Beans, peas, turnips, mustard and

lettuce grow in the gardens. About the farm houses of the Muskokee Nation are growing orchards of apples, peaches, plums and grapes. Farmers are enlarging farms, improving houses, and are using improved implements. Horses, cattle, mules, sheep, goats and hogs are increasing the wealth of the nation. The introduction of fine stock will improve native stock. Intelligent young men of the Muskokee Nation are not neglecting their duty in the department of Agriculture.

Cherokees have about seventy-five thousand acres of land in successful cultivation. They raise corn, oats, wheat, cotton and tobacco for home consumption, with potatoes, beets, cabbage, mustard, lettuce, onions, peas, beans, pumpkins and melons. Corn never fails to make them bread. Cotton and tobacco are raised for home use. The women of the Cherokee Nation spin, dye beautiful colors, and weave homespun of cotton and wool; wheel and loom are home-made. Gardens are well cultivated, and flower and garden seed are in demand, such as would suit soil and climate. Nurseries in the States and the Cherokee nursery at Tahlequah, are selling hundreds and thousands of fruit trees to citizens of the nation. One farmer has an orchard of two thousand trees, consisting of apples, peaches, pears, cherries and plums, also grapes. The yard of many a Cherokee farm house has the shade of the oak, locust, maple, cedar and walnut. There, on a hidden branch of the tree, the mocking bird warbles his matchless songs. The pink and rose, in bud and bloom, adorn the walk from gate to door; honeysuckle, in beauty and fragrance, clings to the windows of home. They read the *Advocate* in English and Cherokee, which is published at Tahlequah, and journals of agriculture from the States. Ten mills grind and bolt flour and meal, and saw lumber of the walnut, oak and pine.

War, and the war speculators consumed and drove off herds from the Cherokee Nation—peace and time are increasing the number of cattle, ponies, horses, and sheep. The farm yard is alive with turkeys, chickens, ducks and geese. Morgan and Argyle, Devon and Durham, Berkshire, Chester White and Poland China, mixing with native stock, are improving the Cherokee breeds of the horse, cow and pig.

The Indians of the Cherokee Nation do their own work, hire or invite neighbors to town to work. The man who invites to work, leads his neighbors to timber to split rails, or to the field to fence and plow. They plow many acres and split hundreds of rails. The women finish the quilt, and the men and women sit down to a good dinner. They go home happy. They use the ax, plows, double-shovels, harrows, cultivators and mowing machines; and this year they are cultivating more land than they did the last season.

In the Indian Territory we estimate from reports made by delegates from nations and tribes represented in the Council, two hundred and forty thousand acres of cultivated land. In all the land

Meeting of the General Council of the Indian Territory at Creek Capitol, Okmulgee, 1878.

there is a will to cherish our simple inheritance—to labor to improve farm and home. Farming is the occupation of the Indian nations and tribes. Production of the soil are grains, grasses, potatoes, cotton and tobacco. Domestic animals graze on the prairie, through the woods and along the streams. Wool and beef cattle are sold and shipped to St. Louis. The raising of corn, wheat, fruit and stock, is a success. Indian civilization is a success. They are improving in all respects—they are successful farmers.

* * * * *

LETTER OF THE REVEREND JOHN HARRELD

Okmulgee, Creek Nation,
May 12, 1873.

Mr. Joshua Ross—Dear Sir: In compliance with your request, in reference to the improvement of the Indian nations and tribes, I can only say, that during the forty years that I have known them, they have made great improvement in many respects, especially in agricultural pursuits. My acquaintance, however, is mainly confined to the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws and Chickasaws. It is true that their advancement has not been so great and sudden as some desired, nevertheless, it has been sure and constant, except during the late war. Just as soon, however, as peace was restored, they nearly all returned to their homes. As soon as practicable their houses and fences were repaired. In many instances their farms were enlarged and new houses built, and their families made comfortable. In a large variety of cases they raise an abundance of corn for home consumption, and some of them raise wheat, oats and cotton. During the present season, I have traveled extensively throughout Indian Territory, and feel confident that there is a larger amount of land in cultivation in some localities than at any former year. The spring, however, has been quite cold and backward; nevertheless, we trust by the blessing of God, that our Indian friends will be able to realize a good crop during the present year, and give them encouragement for further progress in domestic pursuits.

As ever, your sincere friend,

JNO. HARRELD.

(RESOLUTION)

To awaken the love of agriculture, we have the honor to name labor on the farm, raising fine stock, reading and writing for agricultural papers and journals, international fairs, institutions of agriculture for the education of boys and young men of the Indian nations and tribes, in the rudiments and knowledge of husbandry.

We recommend the adoption of the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas Our home and heritage now and forever, is a land of fertile soil and mild climate, fit for grazing and agriculture—which has worked out and must continue to work out the prosperity and happiness of our people—it being the foundation of all substantial wealth; and as a people we are interested in the productive development of our soil, and should, therefore, use every appliance looking to that end.

Resolved, therefore, That this Council recognize these facts, and that the *Illustrated Journal of Agriculture*, published in the city of St. Louis, already having a large circulation among our people, and being preeminently suited to our wants and necesssities through its able writings and useful and beautiful illustrations, is hereby recommended, with the *American Agriculturist, Colman's Rural World, Western Rural, Prairie Farmer and Country Gentleman*, to our people and nations, as publications calculated to promote their interests, and should be read by as many of the people as are able to procure them.

JOSHUA ROSS,[3]

Chairman of Committee on Agriculture

WM. T. MACKEY,

Secretary.

INDIAN DELEGATES PRESENT

Twenty-four Indian nations and tribes of the Indian Territory were represented at the Fourth Annual Session of the General Council meeting in Okmulgee in May, 1873. The Indian delegates present were:

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[3] Joshua Ross was born in May, 1833, in Wills Valley, Cherokee Nation, East, in what is now Northeastern Alabama. He was the son of Andrew Ross (the youngest brother of Chief John Ross) and Susan (Lowrey or Lowry) Ross, a daughter of the noted Assistant Chief George Lowry, of the Cherokee Nation. He attended school at Fairfield and Park Hill missions and Riley's Chapel in the Cherokee Nation, and Ozark Institute, Arkansas, graduating from the Cherokee Male Seminary in 1854, and from Emory and Henry College, Virginia, in 1860. He was a teacher in the Cherokee Female Seminary at Park Hill, and clerked in the Sutler's store at Fort Gibson during the War between the States. He married the talented Muskogee Yargee, a descendant of the famous Creek warrior, Hillis Hadjo ("Francis the Prophet"), and built a comfortable home on the present site of Muskogee in 1871, where he opened the first general store. He served as a member of the Cherokee National Council, and was Cherokee delegate to the General Council of the Indian Territory meeting at Okmulgee for five years. He was one of the principal organizers of the Indian International Fair at Muskogee, serving as secretary in 1874, and later as president. He was well read in law, and was recognized as a leading writer in the Indian Territory and Oklahoma, on historical subjects. He died at the age of eighty-five years, at his home in Muskogee, February 12, 1924.

Choctaw.[4] Alex R. Durant, Coleman Cole, Wilson N. Jones, Nelson McCoy, Alfred Shoney, Mish-a-ma-tubbee, John Garvin, David Roebuck, Jonas White, Harris Carnes, William Fry, Joseph P. Folsom, John McKinney, Campbell LeFlore, McKee King.

Muskokee (or Creek).[5] Joseph W. Perryman, Samuel Grayson, N. B. More, Daniel N. McIntosh, Chilley McIntosh, James Larney, James M. C. Smith, Coweta Micco, Ward Coachman, Pleasant Porter, Sandford Perryman, George W. Grayson, Legus Perryman.

Cherokee. Joseph Vann, J. A. Scales, James Shelton, R. E. Blackstone, Eli Smith, D. H. Ross, Lewis Ross, Joshua Ross, Amer-su-yer, Ambrose Downing, William T. Mackey.

Wyandot. William Walker.

Ottawa. J. W. Early.

Seneca. Joseph White Crow.

Eastern Shawnee. Lazarus Flint.

Absentee Shawnee. Joseph Ellis, Sam Charley.

Quapaw. Lewis Quapaw.

Sac and Fox. Wa-ca-mo, Pem-e-see.

Confederated Peoria. Edward Black

Miami. J. N. Roudeboux.

Brief biographical sketches of the Creek delegates to the General Council,[6] written by a newspaper reporter present in Okmulgee, were published under the heading "The Indian Nation," in the *St. Louis Globe* for May 20, 1873:

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[4] Of the Choctaw delegation, two members later served as Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation: Coleman Cole, 1874-78; Wilson N. Jones, 1890-94. Joseph P. Folsom, a graduate of Dartmouth College, is known in history as the compiler of the *Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation,* 1869 (referred to in Choctaw history as the "J. P. Code."). Alex R. Durant compiled the Choctaw laws under the same title in 1894 ("Durant Code"). William Fry was a member of the Choctaw Senate about 1859; he was a son of William Fry who signed the Choctaw Treaty of Doaks Stand in 1820, and was a cousin of Rev. Allen Wright. Campbell Le Flore was secretary of the Choctaw delegation in making the Treaty of 1866. McKee King served as a Choctaw delegate to Washington a number of times.

[5] Of the Creek delegation, five members subsequently served as Principal chief of the Creek Nation: Ward Coachman, 1876-79; Joseph W. Perryman, 1884-87; Legus Perryman, 1887-95; Pleasant Porter, last elected chief—1899-1907; George W. Grayson, appointed chief after statehood.

[6] The meetings of the General Council of the Indian Territory were held in the Creek Council House at Okmulgee, erected in late 1860's. This log building was replaced by the Creek Council House of stone, which now houses the "Indian Museum" at Okmulgee.

THE INDIAN NATION

Further from the Great Council,

Personal Sketches of the Members

The Creek Delegates:

(From the *St. Louis Globe,* May 20)

Okmulgee, May 9, 1873

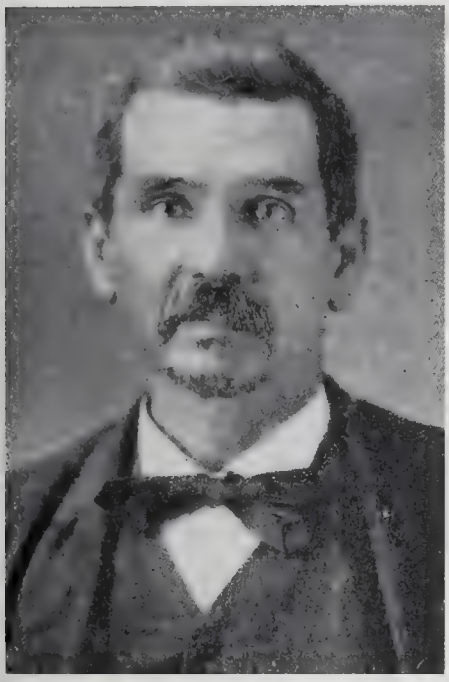
In my letter of the 7th, I mention Cherokees, Choctaws, and the Confederate bands. Since then the Sauks and Foxes delegation have arrived. I have not yet learned their names, nor in fact anything in regard to them more than that they are chiefs of their respective tribes or bands. They report the Cheyennes and other tribes as being on the way to attend council here. The supposition now is that there will be quite a delegation of wild Indians in attendance. Well, the more the merrier. The merchants and hotel-keepers are satisfied for any amount of delegates to come.

Of the Creek Delegates

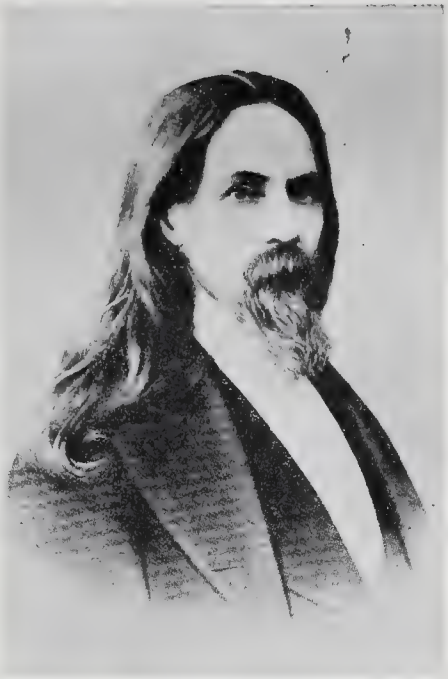
here in attendance, it is only necessary to say that, without an exception, they are able men—among the best talent the Creek Nation possesses. The Creeks are in some respects, perhaps, behind the Cherokees in general advancement, but there are a great many Creek Indians who are far ahead of the generality of other Indians; and equal in point of general ability to the most able of any tribe. I speak most advisedly in regard to this people, for I am personally acquainted with nearly all the prominent men in the Nation. I understand their manner of government, their system of schools and their general way of doing business; and I do know Creek Indians who are as accomplished and well educated as white men can be. They may not possess those fine polishing points, or the general acceptability; but the sound common sense, the sterling qualities of manhood, they do possess. But to the delegation: The Creek Nation is represented in this grand council by Hon. J. R. Moore, who has been for four years President of the House of Kings. Mr. Moore is one of those deep solid men, who possess moral courage in an eminent degree; is a sound business man, and has the welfare of his people at heart. He was one of the delegates that accompanied the Chief to the city of Washington last year; is modest, but earnest and energetic, and his official and private life is without stain. The next on the list is

Rev. Joseph W. Perryman

the present President of the House of Kings—for years Superintendent of Public Instruction, missionary in charge of a female boarding-school.—He is competent, earnest, and a zealous worker in the vineyard of his Master, and one of those whole-souled, genial gentlemen, whom a person invariably likes.

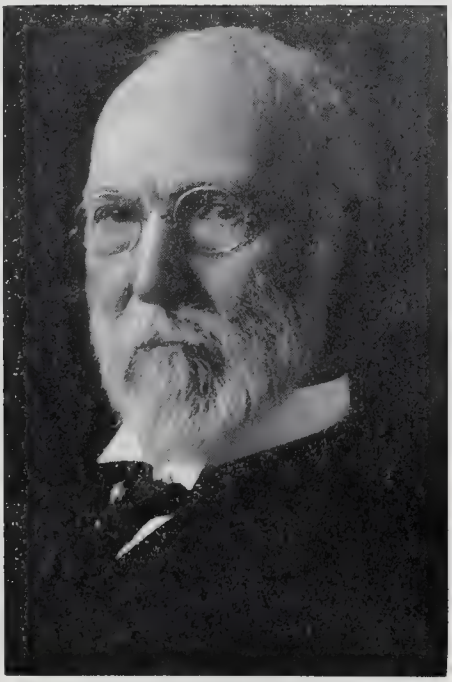


JOSHUA ROSS,
Cherokee Nation, photo about 1892.



DANIEL N. McINTOSH,
Creek Nation, photo about 1866.

PLEASANT PORTER,
Creek Nation, photo about 1898.



GEORGE W. GRAYSON,
Creek Nation, photo about 1917.

Samuel Grayson

is a young man, but far from being an incompetent one. When but a boy he carried away from his white associates at Cane Hill College, the premium as the Latin scholar par excellence of the entire class. Samuel is the Clerk of the House of Kings, a good scholar and an accomplished gentleman.

N. B. Moore

is a brother of John R. Moore, a quiet, good worker, and one of the most efficient members of the House of warriors. He is also collector of tax on railroad ties; stone, timber and coal. If a great moral or political question is before his people, he will always be found on the right side. Of

D. N. M'Intosh

it is perhaps unnecessary to speak.—An educated gentleman, a colonel in the army [Confederate], a member of the McIntosh family, a minister of the Gospel, he is the man of ability in the Creek Nation. Col. McIntosh has for years represented his people in Washington, and for sound hard sense and good ability he is the peer of any Indian or white man.

Chilley M'Intosh

in another delegate—and old veteran in the service of his people—honest, true and pure.

James Larney

is Judge of the District Court—a man of sound, discriminating judgment, and very popular with his people.

James M. C. Smith

stands six feet four and a half inches in his stockings, and is every inch a man; has been delegate to Washington; and is now practicing law, and is also a very efficient and popular Superintendent of Common Schools. Mr. Smith was a captain in the army, and is a man of decided ability. There are very few better men than J. M. C. Smith.

Coweta Wicco [Micco]

is a full blood, a minister of M. E. Church, south, was one of the delegates to Washington last year, and obtained a great deal of celebrity during the war by going north into the Federal Army, with the great O-path-ah-lo-ho-la [Opothleyahola].

Ward Coachman

another delegate, is at present a leading member of the House of Warriors, where he exerts his influence for the advancement of education by the establishment of schools and missions all over the Na-

tion. Mr. Coachman is also tax-collector for cattle; a good business man and a firm friend. Of

General Porter

I have written heretofore. It was he who commanded the Constitutional party in the recent Creek trouble. He is at present farming, paying attention to his cattle and growing daily in popularity with his people. He is a man whom to know is not only to like, but to admire; the many qualities of greatness he possesses mark him as the coming man. As an educator he has few equals. As an accomplished gentleman he has no superiors. Another delegate

Sandford Perryman

the present Superintendent of the Tallahassa Mission, and Speaker of the House of Warriors, is said to be one of the best Creek talkers in the Nation, a splendid English scholar. As a presiding officer he has that cool, calm courage, which not only commands but enforces respect. He is accomplished in every respect, and has the confidence of the people. An earnest devoted Christian, an impartial teacher, a firm friend, he has the love of his students, the respect and admiration of the people. This fills the list of Creek delegates so far present—however,

The Secretary of the Council

is our national treasurer—Capt. G. W. Grayson, emphatically the financial man of the Creek Nation—perfectly honest, competent to discharge any duty, he stands very high in the estimation of the people. Capt. Grayson possesses that peculiar [text torn] of ability, which, knowing the right, dares defend it; perfectly regardless of fear, he works for the interest of his pople untiringly, but not unrewarded. No man is more popular in the Nation.

Judge Legus Perryman,

the interpreter of the Council for the Creeks, is District Judge of Coweta District, and is one of the best educated men in the nation; he is National Translator, and the faithful rendition of the translation of the laws from English into Creek attests his ability. He is another of your whole-souled, genial, good fellows.

The wild tribes are not yet here; when they come, I will write again. The business of the council is in the hands of the various committees, and when reported I will give you a synopsis of the whole thing. Until then, I am, &c.,

MUSKOKEE

From *The Vindicator,* New Boggy, Choctaw Nation, May 31, 1873, Page 1, Cols. 1, 2 and 3.

THE LIGHT-HORSE IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

The term "light-horse" is a familiar one in connection with "Light-Horse Harry," a nickname conferred upon General Henry Lee, because of the great rapidity of his cavalry movements during the Revolutionary War* This expression was a common one in the Indian Territory where the Five Civilized Tribes were equipped with a body of men known as the "light-horse," who served as a mounted police force. The name appears frequently in the law books of the different nations as acts were passed directing the organization of such bodies of men to carry out the laws, the length of terms they were to serve, the funds appropriated to pay for their services, the number of men in each body and the captains who commanded them. The light-horsemen were given considerable latitude in enforcing the judgments of the court as much reliance was placed upon their discretion.

On February 23, 1839, Hon. A. H. Sevier of Arkansas delivered a speech in the United States Senate in which he quoted the Reverend Isaac McCoy who in writing of the Choctaws had asserted that two judges belong to each of the four districts in their nation west in the Indian Territory, and that "Two officers, denominated light-horsemen, in each district, perform the duties of sheriffs. A company of six or seven, denominated light-horsemen, the leader of whom is styled Captain, constitute a national corps of regulators, to prevent infractions of the law, and to bring to justice offenders."[1]

Cherokee Light-Horse

"In 1808 the chiefs and warriors of the Cherokees passed an act appointing 'regulators,' 'who were authorized to suppress horse-stealing and robbery,' to 'protect the widows and orphans,' and kill any accused person resisting their authority.'"[2] These regulators were evidently the forerunners of the light-horsemen.

Major George Lowrey who was born at Tohskeege in the old Cherokee Nation about 1770, was a captain of one of the first companies of light-horse appointed to enforce the laws in 1808 and 1810. He was one of the most useful and distinguished members of

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* According to Webster's Dictionary, a light-horseman is a soldier of the light cavalry which was lightly armed, equipped, or horsed, and so was especially mobile.

[1] Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (Washington, 1840), p. 606.

[2] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1887, p. 100. The above quotation is from the report of Robert L. Owen, Union Agency, Muscogee, Indian Territory, September 1, 1887.

the "Old Settler" faction; he held several tribal offices and served as assistant principal chief for many years. He died October 20, 1852 and was buried in the Tahlequah cemetery.[3]

During the enforced migration of the Cherokees in 1839 the people inhabiting the states through which the Indians passed over charged for all commodities sold to the red men. They had heard that the Indians had profited largely from the sale of their lands to the government and they found that by selling them whisky they were able to get possession of the greater part of their money. The light-horse proved their worth during the removal to the Indian Territory by helping to prevent the sale of liquor and resulting fights.

In the years 1839-40, Mr. John Alexander of Philadelphia, a merchant and officer in the Foreign Missionary Society left Philadelphia to visit the Cherokee Nation in the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi. He kept a journal and the following note concerning a killing was inserted in the back of the diary. "A scholar of Dick Johnsons school Dave Miller[4] killed John Philips who was executed by cutting his throat with a bowie knife. Miller was convicted and chose to be stabbed to death. The officer called the 'light-horse' executed him accordingly. The light-horse acts in such cases as our sheriff consists of an executioner and 8 or 10 men."[5]

The *Cherokee Advocate,* the Indian newspaper published at Tahlequah, reported November 13, 1845, that the National Council had passed a bill organizing a light-horse company which was to be composed of a captain, lieutenant, and twenty-four horsemen. Their duty was to pursue, and arrest, all fugitives from justice. "In the present condition of affairs, such a company is absolutely demanded . . . . . The Assistant Principal Chief George Lowrey approved the

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[3] Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), p. 303, n. 10; T. L. Ballenger, *Around Tahlequah Council Fires* (Muskogee, 1935), p. 97; *Indian Advocate,* January, 1853, p. 3, col. 1.

[4] Commissioner of Indian Affairs Elbert Herring directed Montfort Stokes, sub-agent of the Cherokees at Fort Gibson, to send David Miller and two other Cherokee lads to the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. In reply Stokes wrote on June 30, 1836:

"The three boys needed clothing suitable for the journey and I have expended thirty dollars for each of them, for that purpose." Two days later Stokes wrote that he had been busily employed in fitting out the boys and that "The mother of the boy David Miller has married a second time, and the boy has been somewhat neglected, and straggling about, in bad company, so that I had some difficulty in getting him. I think it is a fortunate circumstance that he has gone to a respectable school."—Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* "The Choctaw Academy," Vol. X, No. 1 (March, 1932), pp. 97, 86.

In the superintendent's report from the Choctaw Academy for 1838, David Miller's age was given as sixteen.

[5] Typescript in Grant Foreman Collection.

bill, and appointed Robert Brown, first, and John W. Brown, second in command, both men of nerve and energy."[6]

The Old Testament law of an eye for an eye was the aboriginal Cherokee moral code. As they progressed and came in contact with the white man they renounced that law and in 1810 set up a police force known as the "Light-horse Guard" with a system of courts to administer justice.[7]

The Reverend Daniel S. Butrick had many interesting experiences among the Cherokees, and he kept a meticulous account of his sojourn in the nation. On one occasion he met up with the Light-horse Guard as they were tying a convicted felon to a tree to flog him for stealing. The missionary observed how orderly the affair was, how well clothed and intelligent the guard seemed to be; but a few hours later his opinion was changed when the same guard, then beastly drunk, burst into the home where Butrick was staying and horsewhipped his unoffending host.[8]

Among the Cherokees whipping was the punishment for all inferior crimes in the early days and the executioners were the "Lighthorse," which was a kind of police guard. In later years their place was supplied by a "High Sheriff" and *posse*.[9]

In November, 1845 the *Cherokee Advocate* was aroused over articles appearing in western Arkansas newspapers regarding the killing of James Starr and Suel Rider. One whole page in the edition of November 27 was devoted to the subject. In a long letter signed "Citizen" the case was set forth in the following words:

> . . . . If the killing of Starr and Rider is a party affair, and we see how anxious their friends wish it to be so understood, they certainly will admit that all the murders and outrages committed by the Starrs and their connexion was also a party affair. It is a bad rule that does not work both ways.
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> Now are those who have fled across the line or any of them prepared to say that the murder of Charles Thornton was a *party move?* was the recent and inhuman butchery of Crawford and A-to-la-hee, and the attempt on Mr. Meigs' life and the burning of his residence a *party affair?* It is well known that the perpetrators of these and numerous other crimes belong to the "Treaty party," but the authorities of the Nation and the people have never held the party responsible, nor do they now. It is a miserable expedient of reckless men to subserve sinister purposes at the expense of the peace and character of their own race . . . . When did the Treaty party or those who now claim so much for them of right, purity, and protection. ever attempt to aid in the arrest of the notorious banditti who have long escaped punishment? . . . . .

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[6] Robert Brown was sheriff of Illinois District in 1849 and John W. Brown filled that office in 1855.

[7] Marion L. Starkey, *The Cherokee Nation* (New York, 1946), p. 7.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 58.

[9] Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (Philadelphia, 1855), pp. 265, 266.

General Matthew Arbuckle from his Headquarters, 2d Military Department at Fort Smith wrote to Acting Chief George Lowrey on November 15, 1845 that he had "received intelligence of the recent commotion in the Flint District of your nation." He had sent Major B. L. E. Bonneville, "an officer of rank and experience," to the scene of the disturbance and he learned from his report

. . . . that the murder of Starr and Rider, and the wounding of two of Starr's sons, and the consequence of disturbance in the Cherokee nation, have resulted, directly or indirectly, from Resolutions of the National Council, or orders issued in pursuance thereof.

It appears from the evidence in my possession (acknowledged to be correct by the Captain and Lieutenant of the Light Horse Company which committed the murders,) that no resistance was made on the part of any of the victims; in fact, nothing was done in the remotest degree to justify these outrageous proceedings. That a lad of 12 or 13 years of age, was pursued and dangerously, if not mortally wounded, proves that the Police must have had some other object in view besides the vindication of the laws.—Agreeably to the law, Resisting or aiding, or abetting &c., only authorized the Light Horse to take violent measures. No resistance was offered, yet the Light Horse went to the extreme of committing murder, in violation of the very law of the nation, under which they claimed to be acting . . . . .

The result of these proceedings has been to drive from their homes, more than 100 men. From the reckless proceedings of the Light Horse, or Police, they fear, I think very justly, to return, having no guarantee, however innocent they may be, that they may not fall victims, like their friends, to the illegal and savage acts of an armed and irresponsible body . . . . .

After a scathing diatribe against the affairs in the nation, Arbuckle continued:

The Light Horse must be disbanded at once, and the persons concerned in the murder of James Starr and Rider, arrested. Nothing short of this would be becoming a country of law; the guilty individuals must be tried for murder; otherwise the Cherokees must cease to think they lived under a government of law.

The peace of the Cherokee nation must be secured; . . . . I have already sent a company of Dragoons to the disturbed District, for the purpose of preserving order . . . . .

I desire you will submit this communication to the National Council, and inform me, as soon as may be, of the measures taken to secure peace to the nation.

Acting Chief Lowrey, on November 26, 1845 addressed a letter to Colonel James McKissick, Cherokee Agent, in which he wrote:

. . . . The information communicated to Gen. Arbuckle, must have been entirely exparte and incorrect, to have authorized the harsh terms in which his letter abounds. There is no wish on our part to enter into a correspondence or controversy with the Gen. on the subject, and we are content to pursue the hitherto usual and long established medium of communication through the U. S. Agent.

The object, therefore, of this, is to furnish you with sound information as may be deemed necessary in vindication of the authorities of the nation, from the unmerited aspersions of Gen. Arbuckle.

The assertion of the killing of Starr and Rider, and wounding of others, resulted from Resolutions of the National Council, or orders issued in pursuance thereof, is entirely groundless. No 'Resolution' or 'orders' have emanated from any such source for that purpose, or which have even led indirectly to the act.

The charge against the Light Horse is equally unfounded. There is but one such company in the nation, and the act for their organization was passed on Saturday the 8th of November, 1845. On Sunday morning the 9th, Starr and Rider were killed, and others wounded. On Tuesday the 11th, the Captain and Lieutenant of the Light Horse Company were appointed, and commissioned, and learning the excited state of feeling in Flint, they repaired thither with some ten or twelve men, hastily collected, and where they arrived on Wednesday the 12th, three days after Starr and Rider's death.

The law organizing Police companies, expired by limitation, on the 18th day of last October, since which time there has been no such authority in the country. The Light Horse have committed no murder.—The 'Police' have committed none, and the homily read to us by Gen. A., on that hypothesis, and "their reckless goings" might well have been reserved for a more fitting occasion . . . . .

There is sufficient moral virtue among the Cherokees to recover from these disturbances, if left to the free exercise of their rightful prerogatives.

In reference to the refugees who have fled into the State, it may be proper to say, they left on their own accord, and can return of their own accord. There is no evidence that the danger from which they fled is more than imaginary.

The committee of investigation appointed by Chief Lowrey was composed of George Hicks, Stephen Foreman, John Thorn, and William Shorey Coodey. From years of research it appears to the writer that no men of higher standing in the nation could have been selected to carry out the unpleasant task. The committee's report was dated Tahlequah, November 25, 1845 and states that committee members proceeded to Flint District on November 18,

. . . . to use our best exertions to allay the excitement produced in that section, by the late outrages, at and near Mr. Meig's and the consequent death of Starr & Rider.

In order to make our statement plain, it will be proper to premise, that on Saturday night the 2d Inst. a number of men, among whom, were Thomas Starr, Ellis Starr, Washington Starr, Suel or Ellis Rider and Ellis West, came to the house of Mr. R. J. Meigs, presented a number of guns through a window, and demanded admittance. Mr. Meigs escaped through a back door, but was shot at, by one of the party, as he passed. They then fired the house; and everything, but the brick walls, was reduced to ashes . . . . .

This produced great excitement and alarm among the citizens. On the Tuesday evening following, the bodies of two Cherokees were found, about a mile from Mr. Meig's house, murdered and mangled, by the same miscreants, in a manner too horrible to be described. These things, in addition to, at least, sixteen other murders, committed by these persons, . . . roused the feelings of our citizens to an extreme pitch of exasperation; and a number of persons formed themselves into a company to pursue the murderers. They went in search of them to their usual places of resort; the residence

of the Starrs, and Riders. The result was the death of James Starr and Suel or Ellis Rider, and the wounding of Washington and Buck or William Starr, sons of James Starr.

The company, not finding, all the individuals, known to have been concerned in the perpetration of these atrocities, assembled at Samuel Downing's to defend themselves, in case of an attack from them or their accomplices . . . . .

On our arrival at the Downing's, near Evansville [Arkansas], we learned that the number of persons in arms, had been greatly exaggerrated. Instead of two or three hundred, we found but about fifty, and that the number has at no time exceeded sixty.

. . . . Soon after we reached Downing's, the U. States Agent came . . . . . [He] appeared anxious that those who had fled across the line should return and said he would see as many of them as he could and meet us again at 10 o'clock the following day, at W. S. Adair's, for further conference. He also informed us that the U. States Troops had not been ordered out, by any complaints or requests of his, but at the instance of some individuals at Evansville and vicinity, whose names he did not mention.

After a friendly address to the people, interpreted by Judge Foreman, he departed, apparently much pleased with the events of the day . . . . .

On the following day, we met the Agent, as agreed upon, a number of Cherokees being in attendance. He said that he had seen many of those who had fled across the line, and that they appeared hard to convince. We told him that we had done all we could, and would now return to Tahlequah. [The people] "were striving to make this a party affair for effect - - that they were invoking the sympathy and aid of the Whites, by false statements, and endeavoring to seduce, by false reports, as many as possible of our people, to leave their homes and join them, merely for the purpose of giving some character or plausibility to their denunciations of the Cherokee Authorities and that we had no power to lay the National Authorities at their feet."

The *Cherokee Advocate*, January 8, 1846, contains an account of a killing by some members of the light-horse:

In their opinion, in the discharge of their official duties, to shoot down, on the evening of (December 28, 1845), Charles Smith, a native of the country.

A number of Cherokees had met at the home of Joseph Bowlin, on Caney Creek, Tahlequah District, for the purpose of having a dance. Among others present were John M. Brown, a young grandson of Major Lowrey, and Charles Smith, son of Archilla Smith[10] who was executed years ago for murder.

During the night [Charles] Smith made an assault on Brown, with the declared intention of killing him, and stabbed him with a bowie knife three or four times, severely and mortally it was supposed at the time, because Brown formed one of the party a year ago, that pursued, and captured his friend Bean Starr, a brother of the outlaw Tom Starr, and one of the persons implicated in the Vore Tragedy.

As soon as this affair became known to Capt. John W. Brown, of one of the Light Horse companies, he took with him several men, and went in pursuit of Smith, for the purpose of arresting him, being under the im-

[10] Grant Foreman, *Indian Justice* (Oklahoma City, 1934).

pression that young Brown would probably die of the wounds he had received. He found Smith at the house of his mother, who was absent, in bed, and requested him to go with him as an officer of the Law, but as he hesitated some time, the Captain took him by the hand and raised him off of the bed. He then jerked loose from him, and was taken by the arms by a couple of the men and conducted out of the house towards their horses; but they had proceeded only a few paces when he tore himself loose and seezing (*sic*) hold of the Captain's gun, attempted to wrest it from his hands and offered resistance. While thus engaged he was shot four times and killed dead. The Capt. of the Company expresses an entire willingness that the whole affair should be investigated, feeling confident that his conduct was justifiable under the circumstances of the case.[11]

Ecooe and Barrow were arrested a few days ago by the Light Horse, and are now under guard at this place Tahlequah awating a trial upon charges growing out of disclosures, which implicate them in a conspiracy with the "outlaws" and others to murder several men in the nation, and to which the late Ta-ka-to-ka[12] fell a victim.[13]

The *Cherokee Advocate* on April 2, 1846 printed an account of the arrest in Flint District by the Light-Horse of "a Cherokee named White-Killer, who had in his possession a stolen horse with which he was making his way for the State. They started with him to deliver him to the sheriff, but while on the way he jumped from behind the man he was riding with, and attempted to make his escape on foot, being at the time near a dense thicket, when he was shot."

The paper expressed the hope that the light-horse would be careful in disposing of human life, "and never, except under the most extreme necessity, however exciting the times may be, be guilty of depriving any man of it . . . . We make these remarks without having any reference to the case in hand, because the recent outrages have created much feeling and the times therefore, demand the utmost prudence from the citizens and particularly from the officers."

Conditions became so bad along the Arkansas border where the bandits had taken refuge that the Dragoons were sent from Fort Gibson to handle the situation and the Light-Horse were no longer mentioned in the *Cherokee Advocate* during 1846.

In his report to A. B. Greenwood, Commissioner of Indian affairs, in 1859, Elias Rector wrote:[14]

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[11] *Cherokee Advocate*, January 8, 1846, p. 3, col. 3.

[12] Wheeler Faught was hung in Going Snake District on March 30, 1846 for the murder with others of Ta-ka-to-ka. Before his execution he confessed his guilt and named the men who murdered Ta-ka-to-ka. Sheriff Benjamin Vann conducted the execution. Faught stated that those concerned with the murder were Tom, Ellis, Jim, Sam, William and Washington Starr, John Rider, James Taylor, and a white man named Madison Gerring (*Cherokee Advocate*, April 2, 1846, p. 3, cols. 3, 4).

[13] *Ibid.*, March 19, 1846, p. 3, col. 1.

[14] *Report* 1859, Commissioner Indian Affairs, p. 536.

It is singular that the idea has never suggested itself to the War Department to raise a force of young men from the Cherokees, Creeks, Shawnees, Kickapoos, Delawares and others in the southwestern frontier, to be officered by the United States, and to serve as light troops on the frontier.

I imagine that no Zouaves are a more efficient force than these could be made; they would be cheaper than the others, and perfectly protect the frontier, and be entirely obedient to discipline; and the plan would give employment to a class of persons, who, having little to occupy them, are always in danger of falling into vicious habits; and who, in serving the United States, would soon come to look upon themselves as identified with us. For the particular service required, no thousand men in any army would do as much service as five hnudred of these.

Joseph Seabolt, councilor for the Sequoyah District, presented an account to the nation for services of the Light-horse Company during 1861-1862; he certified that the bill had not been rendered because of the Civil War:

To

George Proctor, for services as	Captain	for	one	year	$ 60.00
Joseph Seabolt	" Lieutenant	"	"	.....	55.00
Richard Seabolt	" Private	"	"	.....	40.00
Scatter	" Private	"	"	.....	40.00
Geo. Tee-hee[15]	" Private	"	"	.....	40.00
					$235.00

The National Council appropriated the above amount out of a sum set apart, under the twenty-third article of the Treaty of July 19, 1866, to "pay the outstanding debt of the Nation caused by the suspension of the Cherokee annuities during the war," and the chief was authorized to draw warrants in their favor. Principal Chief Lewis Downing approved the Act December 12, 1867.

At the same time Stephen Tee-hee certified to $235.00 in pay owing to the Flint District Light-horse Company which was made up of Alexander Beanstick for services as Captain; Wat Augurhole, Lieutenant; Swimmer, Spirit Cochran and Cooley privates. The bill was approved on the same date as that of the Sequoyah Disrtict company.[16]

Choctaw Light-Horse

The United States concluded a "treaty of friendship, limits, and accommodations" with the Choctaw Indians at the treaty ground near Doak's Stand, on the Natchez Road in Mississippi on October 18, 1820. Andrew Jackson and Thomas Hinds were the commissioners

[15] George Teehee served under Captain Benjamin Wisner Carter during the Civil War; in 1877 he was one of the three councilors from Canadian District, and in 1889 he served as executive councilor.—Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921), pp. 149, 280, 295.

[16] *Laws of the Cherokee Nation,* Passed During the Years 1839-1867 (St. Louis, 1868), pp. 184, 185.

who signed the treaty for the United States; the mingoes (chiefs), headmen and warriors acted for the Choctaw Nation. Article 13 of this document provided:[17]

> To enable the Mingoes, Chiefs, and Head Men, of the Choctaw nation, to raise and organize a corps of Light-Horse, consisting of ten in each District, so that good order may be maintained, and that all men, both white and red, may be compelled to pay their just debts, it is stipulated and agreed, that the sum of two hundred dollars shall be appropriated by the United States, for each district, annually, and placed in the hands of the agent, to pay the expenses incurred in raising and establishing said corps; which is to act as executive officers, in maintaining good order, and compelling bad men to remove from the nation, who are not authorized to live in it by a regular permit from the agent.

Light-horsemen were organized in each district of the Choctaw Nation soon after the missionaries went to Mississippi, and established Mission Schools, in 1818. It was their duty to ride over the country to settle all difficulties that arose among parties or individuals and to arrest all violators of the law. The old tribal custom of allowing a murderer to be disposed of by relatives of the dead man was set aside and "the right of trial by the light-horse who acted in a three fold capacity—sheriff, judge and jury, was awarded to all offenders." The Light-horse were brave and vigilant men and "nothing escaped their eagle eyes; and they soon became a terror to white whisky peddlers who invaded the Choctaw territories at that time." When apprehended the peddlers were informed that their room was preferable to their company and the liquor was poured upon the ground.[18]

It is a proud boast of the Choctaws that a prisoner never tried to evade punishment. On the day appointed he would appear for a whipping administered by the Light-horse. Cushman related that he witnessed several such affairs at the mission of Hebron. People of the neighborhood would assemble around the church where they engaged in smoking and visiting while the culprit chatted and smoked with the various groups. As soon as the Light-horse appeared the crowd adjourned to the church and spent the time singing hymns until the whipping or shooting was over. The prisoner was reinstated to his previous position in the tribe and the matter was closed and never mentioned again.

Peter Pitchlynn was made head of the Light-horse in 1824. Well educated at the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky and at Nashville University, he was well qualified for such a position, and " . . . . in one year, from the time he undertook to erase the foul blotch (traffic in whiskey) from the face of his country, he had successfully accomplished it."[19]

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[17] *American State Papers*, "Indian Affairs", Vol. 2, p. 225: Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1903), Vol. 2, pp. 135-36.

[18] H. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians* (Greenville, Texas, 1899), pp. 135, 217-19.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 393.

When a murder was committed the light-horse took the affair into consideration and after listening to all of the testimony pronounced the verdict. When the accused person was declared guilty, without delay, the time and place of his execution was designated.[20] "The Choctaws, as well as the Creeks, punish the crime of murder with death by shooting, which is generally executed immediately after trial, by the 'Light-Horse.' "[21]

William Armstrong reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1838 that the Choctaws had "passed some wholesome laws against the introduction of spiritous liquors into their country. The light-horse, which is paid for under treaty stipulations, are directed to seize the spirit and destroy it, and a fine imposed upon the person introducing the whiskey. Facilities are so great for obtaining spirits, that it is difficult to prevent their introduction."[22]

Anson Jones, minister plenipotentiary of Texas, protested to the Secretary of State of the United States against allowing Indians from this country, aroused by Mexicans, to go into Texas to commit hostilities on citizens of the republic. He stated that there were collected on the Trinity River a large number of Caddoes, Kickapoos, Choctaws, Coshattees, Cherokees, and Tawakonies, and a few from smaller tribes, who planned to attack and plunder the white settlements.[23]

When Superintendent William Armstrong learned of affairs on the Red River he hurried to the home of the venerable ex-chief Nitakechi who informed him that a Choctaw brought to his house two Mexican emissaries who attempted to induce him and his warriors to join the Mexicans against the Texans. They offered him money, goods and lands, but he refused until he could consult with Armstrong to learn if it would be wrong to join the Mexicans.

The day before the arrival of Armstrong, Chief Pierre Juzan sent the light-horse men of the nation to arrest the Choctaw who conducted the men to Nitakechi's home; he refused to surrender or go with the light-horsemen, who instantly shot him down. The killing appeared to be justified Armstrong reported, and it did not cause much excitement.[24]

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[20] John R. Swanton, *Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of Choctaw Indians* (Washington, 1931), p. 107. Governor William C. C. Claiborne was authority for the statement that Greenwood LeFlore and David Folsom organized the Light Horse.

[21] Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (Philadelphia, 1855), pp. 265-67. Isaac McCoy, *Annual Register of Indian Affairs Within the Ind. or Western Territory*, Shawnee Baptist Mission, Indian Territory, 1837, p. 9.

[22] *Report* 1832, Commissioner Indian Affairs, p. 481.

[23] Texas State Library, *Republic of Texas*, Indian Affairs.

[24] Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), p. 157.

An act of the Choctaw National Council was approved October 7, 1840, to the effect that when disputes arose between citizens of the Choctaw Nation, respecting the rights of property, and when complaint was made to the judges of the district in which such differences occurred, "it shall be their duty to order the light-horsemen to seize and hold in custody such property until the court can be held and the rights of property be tried":[25]

Provided, however, when the defendant can give good security in the presence of one or more light-horse men for the forth-coming of such property in dispute at the ensuing court, he or she may be permitted to hold the same until the court shall decide; and in all cases where property is held in custody for trial, the party losing the suit shall pay the light-horse men for their services as may be determined by the court.

In his report to Commissioner of Indian Affairs T. Hartley Crawford in 1843, Acting Superintendent of Western Territory William Armstrong wrote that the Choctaws had passed some laws against the introduction of whiskey into their country:

I have found great good resulting from the energy of a body of light-horse organized by the nation . . . . . They are not only ready to execute orders for the apprehension of persons improperly in the nation, but they seize and destroy whiskey whenever found, in execution of their own laws. This, decidedly is the preferable mode to prevent the introducton of spiritous liquor into the nation, as little good can be done unless the authorities of the nation act in concert with the agents or troops of the United States.[26]

In October, 1848 the National Council authorized the light-horse to call upon any citizen to aid him in taking a criminal charged with high crime against the nation, or destroying any whiskey, and such person who refused to aid, unless for some lawful excuse, was subject to a fine not exceeding five dollars, half of which was to be equally divided between the district attorney and the light-horsemen.

The *Indian Advocate* reproduced an article from the *Choctaw Telegraph* in 1849 saying:

The indomitable perseverance of the Light-horse, the last few days, in destroying whiskey, deserves the respect of all good citizens. There must have been two or three barrels split, from the many exultations given at the breaking of jugs and bottles in different places; one haul of 13 jugs with a few bottles, looked pretty much like carrying the 'war into Africa,' with the greatest enemy of our people.

After Spencer Academy was opened on February 1, 1844, with the Reverend Edmund McKinney as superintendent, "The half-breed boys from the wealthy families proved insubordinate commenced running away, and the 'light-horse' of the Nation was put in requisition to bring them back to their places. Matters at length arrived at such a pass that an attempt was made to set fire to the buildings of the

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[25] *Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation,* compiled by Joseph P. Folsom, (Chata Tamaha, 1869), pp. 75, 76.

[26] Page 417.

institution. All this occurred within a little over a year from the time of opening.''[27]

The Choctaw National Council passed an act, which was approved on October 10, 1849, making citizens who interfered with the light-horse[28] while the

> . . . . men are engaged in the act of destroying spiritous liquors he or they be prevented by any person or persons in any way whatever from execution of his duty, such person or persons, so offending, shall be liable to an action in court and be made to pay a fine not less than five dollars nor exceeding ten dollars, and one-half of such fine, so imposed, shall go to the district in which such fine may be imposed, and the other half shall go to the light-horse men who were prevented from doing their duty.

An act was approved on October 9, 1849 requiring witnesses to be kept apart by the light-horse until their testimony was taken, when two or more were to appear as witnesses before any court of justice in any case pending. Any person or persons who assisted the light-horse in destroying liquors or who went to the call for assistance of any light-horsemen, were entitled to receive one dollar for every service rendered by him, out of any fund belonging to the district in which the service had been performed.

The *Choctaw Telegraph* (Doaksville), reported that ''One cause of violent death . . . . was liquor. Evidently some light horsemen, law enforcement officers for the Choctaw Nation, had killed some whisky runners who resisted arrest'' in July, 1849:

> Editor [Daniel] Folsom, in answering the question as to whether ''Light horsemen are justifiable in taking the life of a person, who having whisky . . . . and resisting the efforts of the officer, from taking and destroying it,'' 'quoted in full a Choctaw law of 1834 on the subject. The law stated that if any person refused to allow his ''ardent spirits'' to be destroyed by the Light Horsemen, he did so at his own risk; if such person were killed, the Light Horsemen were protected by the laws of the Nation.

Editor Folsom wrote that ''no less than three persons have lost their lives in the past three or four weeks'' because of ''whiskey encounters.'' Several of these deaths were the result of drunken fights and not by the efforts of the light-horsemen to enforce the laws.[29]

Agent Douglas H. Cooper reported in September, 1853: ''The people evince great interest in the courts, and their judgments are promptly carried into effect by the 'light-horse' or sheriffs of the district.''[30]

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[27] William H. Goode, *Outposts of Zion* (Cincinnati, 1863), p. 184.

[28] *Senate Report* 1278, Part 2. Forty-ninth Congress, 1st session. Report of the Committee on Indian Affairs United States Senate (Washington, 1886), p. 498.

[29] James D. Morrison, "News for the Choctaws," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Summer, 1949), p. 213.

[30] *Report* 1853, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, p. 408. Peter Intolubbe, born in 1852, was the son of a man of the same name who was a captain of the Choctaw Light-horse; he was a full blood Indian, his wife half white. He was considered wealthy (H. F. O'Beirne, *Leaders and Leading Men of the Indian Territory* [Chicago, 1891], p. 34).

In the treaty with the Choctaws and Chickasaws concluded in Washington in 1855, and ratified on February 21, 1856, it was stipulated in Article 13 that the sum of six hundred dollars per annum was to be paid for the support of light-horsemen under the treaty of 1820.[31]

Another act approved by the Choctaw Council on June 19, 1858, was to the effect that citizens could petition the governor for the appointment of a person or persons to serve as light-horsemen in any particular place under the captain of the regular corps. Such men were to be furnished with arms and paid for their services by the person who had petitioned for their appointment. Ishkitini Humma served as light-horseman from April 5 to June 7, 1858, for which he was paid seventeen dollars from the National Treasury.[32]

At the regular session in October, 1858, it was enacted that the governor should appoint an additional light-horseman for each county composing the Districts of Apukshunubbee, Pushmataha, and Mosholatubbee; these men were under the control of the governor, and the captain of the regular corps. They were to serve until August 16, 1859, and no longer. The salary of the captains was increased by $150.00 a year.

The Acts and Resolutions of the General Council of the Choctaw Nation, issued at Fort Smith in 1859, contains an act increasing the pay for light-horsemen by the sum of fifty dollars each per annum in addition to the salary they had previously received.

The Reverend O. P. Stark, missionary to the Choctaws, advised Agent Cooper from Goodland on August 6, 1860:[33]

> There has been for some time past a growing disregard of the law and order which at times manifested itself in open resistance to the constituted authorities. Within eighteen months, three light-horse men and as many private citzens have come to violent deaths from this cause. The effect of these things upon the minds of some of our people had been bad. They despair of seeing the laws faithfully executed, and those whose duty it is to execute them, sustained; and hence a manifest lack of interest in efforts for the public good.

Mr. Stark called attention to the location of the Choctaw country on Red River, "where every enticement to drunkeness is held out to them. This will always be, as it has always been, a great obstacle to effort on their own part, or the part of others, for their improvement."[34]

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[31] Kappler, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 534.

[32] *Acts and Resolutions of the General Council of the Choctaw Nation,* called and regular sessions, 1858 (Fort Smith, 1859), pp. 34, 35.

[33] *Report* 1860, Commissioner Indian Affairs, p. 354.

[34] Oliver P. Stark was a native of New York. He was thirty-eight years old while his wife, Mrs. H. P. Stark of Vermont, was twenty-nine.

The General Council of the Choctaw Nation revised their constitution and created a new body of six "light-horsemen" in October, 1860. This mounted police received appointment by commission from the Principal Chief and each took an oath prescribed in the Constitution (and Act approved October 29, 1860) before the chief or any judge in the nation. The appointment was for two years, unless sooner removed by the chief. One of the light-horsemen was commissioned captain and his duty was to preserve order and discipline among the others; to see that each man was properly armed, equipped and mounted for immediate service; to report to the Principal Chief all improper conduct or failure to discharge the duties required of them.

An important duty required of the light-horse was to serve as messengers of the chief upon all matters of national concern; they were supposed to keep the peace; aid in the execution of the criminal laws; they were to suppress, if necessary, with the help of "county light-horsemen, and of other citizens, whom they are hereby empowered especially to summon for the purpose, all riots, routs and unlawful assemblies, and report the same, with all other violations of the penal laws, to some judge or other proper officer."

The district light-horsemen, appointed in each county, were directed to search for, seize and spill all vinous, spiritous, or intoxicating liquors, found anywhere and in the possession of any person in the nation. All bottles, jugs, or other vessels containing liquor were to be destroyed and all persons who owned liquors were to be reported.

Section 5 of the Act directed that the Principal Chief should keep such numbers of the light-horse as he deemed necessary at the place of holding the General Council to keep order and quiet; to see that no intoxicating liquor was brought within two miles in any direction. Any one of the light-horse was permitted to summon any number of citizens, between the ages of sixteen and sixty to aid in keeping order. All persons arrested must be taken before a county judge who was empowered to bind such offenders over to the next circuit court in a bond not exceeding two thousand dollars, to appear and answer such charges as were preferred against him or them.

Another duty of the Choctaw light-horse was to attend the United States Agent whenever he called for them; they were directed to obey all orders the agent gave them in the execution of the laws of the United States.

In case of resistance with deadly weapons to the captain or his officers, "it shall be the duty of the captain, or any of the light-horse men . . . . to shoot down any and all persons so threatening or assisting with deadly weapons." The captain was paid two hundred dollars a year and the light-horsemen one hundred and fifty dollars each,

The General Council of the Choctaw Nation on October 18, 1867 passed an act to pay to light-horsemen who preserved order during to be paid quarterly on the order of the Principal Chief to the National Auditor, who issued warrants on the National Treasury.[35] cents per day: "Ilikanchitubi, Pesahinlubi, Big John, Wallace Mcthe session. The following members received one dollar and fifty Clure, Mac Durant, William Johnson and Hotimayabi."

The *Dallas Herald,* March 1, 1873, copied an article from the Fort Smith *Independent* of February 6, which related that:

> Dr. Fannin of Skullyville tells us that two companies of Choctaws, one from Sugar Loaf county and one from Skullyville headed by light horse captured 16 horse thieves; after a council they took six of the gang and shot them. They made a confession implicating others and the company is in pursuit of them. The thieves were Choctaws, part full blood and part half bloods.

In 1877, at the age of sixteen Samuel Robert Wilson moved from Arkansas to Sugar Loaf County, Choctaw Nation where he learned to speak the Choctaw language so fluently that he served as interpreter many years. When twenty-two years of age Wilson married Julia Hickman of the nation and as an intermarried citizen he was called upon to join the National Light-horsemen under the leadership of Peter Conser. Later he held special commissions as deputy sheriff under every sheriff in Le Flore County until his age prevented active service.[36]

In a feature story which appeared in the Texarkana *Gazette,* Texas, August 28, 1949, Mrs. James H. Crook of McCurtain County related some of her pioneer experiences. She and her husband moved to the Choctaw Nation in 1898, and they lived near a spring of white sulphur water which the Indians called Alikchi Oka (meaning literally "Doctor Water"):

> Alikchi was a Choctaw court ground and sessions were held there twice a year. The tribal court and whipping ground were adjacent to the store kept by Crook. When a murderer was convicted and condemned to be shot "he was placed on the edge of his coffin in a sitting position with a small piece of paper pinned over his heart, and the "sheriff" or "light horseman" as he was more commonly called, shot the convicted man . . . . .
>
> John Tonihka, about 82, a full blooded Choctaw Indian, recalls that the last execution at Alikchi occurred the year after the Crooks moved there.
>
> William Goings, a youthful Indian who had been convicted of murder, had run away after his conviction . . . . During this time the jurisdicton of the Indian courts in murder cases had been taken away and placed with the federal courts which had been established in the territory.

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[35] *Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation* (Chata Tamaha, 1869), pp. 311-13. *Ibid.,* compiled by A. R. Durant, 1894, pp. 113-15.

[36] Robert L. Williams, "Samuel Robert Wilson, 1861-1947," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. 26, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 254 and note 5.

When Goings was recaptured, the federal court decided he should be executed by the Indian authorities because he had been legally convicted while their courts were still in authority. He was re-sentenced to be shot on July 13, 1899 . . . .

When the time for the execution came, Sheriff Thomas Watson, a tall rangy Choctaw, formed his 'light horse' as guards and possemen were called, into two lines with each man armed. The sheriff kneeled at a small bench, and fired one bullet through the body of Goings . . . . .

During the controversy over the election for chief between Thomas W. Hunter and Green McCurtain in 1902 an act was passed increasing the number of light-horsemen under control of the Chief from nine to thirty, but it was vetoed by President Theodore Roosevelt[37] on January 8, 1903.

The *Tulsa World,* July 17, 1950, contained a story of the "Last Choctaw Execution" under the Choctaw laws:

The condemned man was Silan Lewis and he was sentenced to death for the murder of Joe Haklotubbee; the scene of the execution was in the yard of an Indian courthouse on the western edge of Brown's Prairie, about fourteen miles southeast of the present Red Oak; the date was November 4, 1894 and an immense crowd of Choctaws and white men had gathered to watch the execution.

The trial of Lewis had been held in December, 1892, before Judge H. J. Holson, circuit judge of the Choctaw Nation. It appears that it was because of political differences between the Progressive party to which Haklotubbee belonged, and the Nationalists of which Lewis was a member, that the murder was committed by a party of men who charged down on the Indian's cabin, south of Hartshorne. Lewis was charged with the crime and he appeared to receive his punishment as was the universal custom among the full blood Indians.

In the assembled crowd of Indians many carried Winchesters and officers of the Light Horse were present to keep order. Two of them carried out a coffin from the brush near the courthouse and presently two other policemen brought Lewis from near the creek where he and his family were camped.

Lewis was seated upon a blanket on the ground, his chest was bared and an officer made a spot on it with a white powder. Two Indians held his hands when a deputy sheriff stepped about twenty feet from the condemned man, took aim and fired; Lewis fell back and the mournful wailing of a woman arose from the creek bank.

Creek Light-Horse

The laws of the Upper and Lower Creeks were collected into a uniform code for the nation and adopted by the General Council in 1840. The simple laws were enforced by a body of men known as light-horsemen. Most of the civil cases, particularly probate matters, were decided by town councils and the execution of their judgments was entrusted to the Light-Horse.[38]

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[37] Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, 1934), p. 266.

[38] Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941), pp. 127-28.

The Reverend R. M. Loughridge wrote to Colonel William Garrett, Creek agent, from Tallahassee Mission, August 27, 1855, that he was happy to report that "intemperance among the people has greatly diminished. The low state of the river, preventing navigation altogether, has doubtless had something to do in effecting this happy change, but evidently most of the credit is due to the very efficient manner in which the present company of 'light-horse' have executed the excellent anti-liquor laws of the nation."[39]

Agent Garrett advised Elias Rector at Fort Smith in 1860 that some important changes had been made in the Creek government, one of which was that more ample authority had been conferred upon the police, termed "light-horse," whose duty it was to destroy all spiritous liquors brought into the nation, and levy a fine or inflict a penalty upon all persons found guilty of introducing it, or of the commission of other offenses.[40]

Motey Canard, Principal Chief, in compliance with the 8th Resolution of the Creek General Council in 1860 appointed four captains for light-horsemen viz: Cusetah Micco, Looney Bruner, Joseph Pigeon, Americus Low.

Article IV of the *Constitution and Civil and Criminal Code of the Muskogee Nation*, approved at the Council Ground Muskogee Nation, October 12, 1867, contains the provision that "the Muskokee Nation shall be divided into six districts, and each district shall be furnished with one company of light-horsemen, whose compensation shall be provided by law."

Each company consisted of one officer and four privates who were elected for two years, by the vote of their respective districts. One jduge was selected by the National Council for two years in each district and the light-horsemen were subservient to his orders.

Under the Civil Code of Laws it was enacted that it was the duty of the Light-Horse Company to prevent the introduction and vending of ardent spirits. When found by the officers the liquor was to be spilled and a fine was to be collected from the vender at the rate of four dollars per gallon.

Persons taking up estray horses were supposed to report the same to the captain of the Light-Horse Company and it was the duty of that officer to appoint suitable persons to take charge of the animals; the captain was to publish the description of the animals throughout the nation.

Each light-horse captain received an annual salary of $200 while the privates were paid one hundred dollars per year. The officers who approved these laws were Samuel Checote, Oktars-sars-

[39] *Report* 1855, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, p. 147.
[40] *Ibid.*, 1860, p. 348.

har-jo, Micco Hutkey and Pink Hawkins. G. W. Grayson was the Secretary.

Among the acts of the Creek Council approved October 12, 1867, was that if any person refused to pay his or her just debts, it was the duty of the Light-Horse Company to proceed and collect the debt out of any effects found in his or her possession.[41]

In 1869 Charles Johnson was captain of the Arkansas District Light Horsemen. The next year Wallace McNack obtained the position and the other captains were: Daniel Childres, Frank Hedchay, Charles Fixico, Catcher Yoholar.

In 1872 Billochee became the captain and Judge Legus C. Perryman gave out a list of assistant light-horsemen for Coweta District. On October 17 a warrant was issued to G. W. Stidham for $878.00 for services as assistant light-horseman in the North Fork District. Butler became a captain that year and Billy Nero was paid $28.80 for beef he had furnished assistant light-horsemen.

Motey Tiger was captain of the Deep Fork District in 1872. Warrants were also issued for assistants who served under Sands in 1874.[42]

In order to put a stop to horse stealing Chief Checote during the latter part of August and first of September, 1871, called out about nine hundred assistant light-horsemen. Part of them were retained in their home districts as home guards, but a large body was assembled at Okmulgee. Lochar Harjo had collected a large number of his followers in the neighborhood of the agency and a battle seemed imminent when the constitutional party advanced to meet them, but Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson called the leaders of both parties to Fort Gibson where a truce was arranged. Creek Agent Franklin S. Lyon estimated that this armed demonstration cost the nation thirty thousand dollars.[43]

Trouble resulted between Oktars-sars-har-jo (or Sands) and Samuel Checote over disbursement of money from the U. S. government to the Creeks. Oktars-sars-har-jo insisted that the funds be equally divided between the Upper and Lower Creeks.

Checote, choosing to ignore the Civil War split in the tribe, made the distribution on the per capita basis among members of the whole tribe. Angered at his defeat as Checote's opponent in the election of 1871, Sands led a band of 300 men into Okmulgee and ousted the council, then in session. General Pleasant Porter, captain of the light-horse, with the aid of his men and the Federal agents, quickly put an end to the disturbance.[44]

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[41] *Constitution and Laws of the Muskogee Nation*, compiled by L. C. Perryman (Muskogee, 1890), p. 32.

[42] Oklahoma Historical Society, Creek Files.

[43] Debo, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

[44] *Oklahoma City Times*, September 13, 1949, p. 4, col. 1.

Timothy Barnett, court clerk of Wewoka District, lived with one wife while maintaining a second in the Greenleaf settlements. Learning that another Indian was paying her attention he killed him. Judge Nocus Yahola summoned twenty-one special light-horsemen to arrest Barnett; after a fight with his retainers they arrested him and promised a fair trial, but a short time later they riddled his body with bullets. No investigation was ever made by the authorities, and the light-horse received their regular pay.[45]

On October 19, 1872 an act was approved that all public officers such as captains of light-horse companies, "who handle public funds, shall be required to execute a bond for the penal sum of one thousand dollars each, with good security, to the Creek Nation, for the faithful transaction of all financial business assigned to them in law."

An important measure enacted and approved in August, 1872 was that no citizen of the nation should be allowed "to carry, knowingly, any message or dispatch to forward or promote any move tending to prevent the free operations of the laws and Constitution of this Nation."

Persons found guilty of violating the law were to be fined $50.00, which was to be collected by the light-horsemen and paid into the National Treasury;" but if unable to pay, he or she shall receive twenty-five lashes."

Any citizen found guilty of threatening, or attempting to take the life of an officer of the nation, in consequence of the discharge of his public duties should be fined $100.00 or receive one hundred lashes. The fines to be collected by the ubiquitous light-horsemen and paid to the National Treasurer.[46]

Dissension sometimes arose between the chief and district judges. When Chief Lochar Harjo removed a light-horseman for drunkenness and failing to spill liquor, Judge Samuel W. Brown of Muskogee District and Sunthlarpe, a prominent Euchee and captain of the light-horse, protested, but the chief suspended all of the district officers.[47]

When the Creek Council convened in October, 1875, it demanded the removal of the newspaper called *The Indian Progress* from Muskogee. That weekly had been established in August by Elias C. Boudinot and E. Poe Harris, one a Cherokee mixed-blood and the other a white man who had failed in having himself recognized as an intermarried citizen. When the first edition appeared on October 22, the light-horse appeared and the owners removed their press to Vinita

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[45] Debo, *op. cit.*, pp. 202, 203.
[46] *Laws of Muskogee Nation*, 1890, pp. 34, 35, 36.
[47] Oklahoma Historical Society, *Indian Archives, Creek Tribal Records*, 31561.

and resumed publication.[48] In 1875 the light-horse captains were: Joseph Bosen, Arkansas (or Eufaula), District; Motey Tiger, Deep Fork District; Billochee, North Fork District; Daniel Miller, Coweta District; Frank Gooden, Muskogee District; George Chupco, Wewoka District.

Lambert Scott succeeded Motey Tiger in Deep Fork District and a commission as captain was signed by Lochar Harjo for Tidarkee in 1875. The following men served as captains at that time: Smith Tarpe, Muskogee District; Thomas Tiger, Coweta District; Hotulkee, Wewoka District; Sage Barnwell, Arkansas District.

Fus Yaholar was captain of Muskogee District in 1876. William Durant was elected captain at Creek Church. On April 4, 1877, Thomas Sherly was elected captain and his commission was signed by Shawnee Collins, Judge of North Fork District. William Durant tendered his resignation as captain of Arkansas District in a letter to Chief Ward Coachman on May 9, 1877, and he was succeeded by Charley Johnson. Wallace McNac and E. H. Lerblanc were his sureties in the sum of $1000.00. From Deep Fork on June 23, 1877, a letter was sent to Chief Coachman charging that the light-horsemen were allowing prisoners to escape. The charge was signed by a long list of men.

Jacob Barnett received 101 votes for Captain of Muskogee District on September 10, 1877; his commission was signed by James McHenry, president of the House of Kings. On the same day Tarsfechee received 133 votes in Coweta District. An election held in Tuckabatche Town that month resulted in the election of Captain Oche Haco who received 134 votes.

Votes cast were 214 in favor of Thomas Brown for captain of the light-horse in North Fork District in September, 1877, but R. Berryhill[49] received 250 votes and the appointment. At Springfield, Deep Fork District, Captain Lambert Scott was elected by a majority of 141 votes in September, 1877. Simpson Reed and George Sullivan became his sureties in the sum of $1,000. Coweta Micco was acting judge of Coweta District at the election held on November 30, 1877 when Daniel Childers was chosen as captain. Jacob Barnett refused to act as captain of Snake Creek District in a letter he sent to Chief Coachman on November 24, 1877.[50]

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[48] Debo, *op. cit.*, pp. 210, 211; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints* (Norman, 1936), pp. 195-98.

[49] Richard Young Audd in an interview related: "Dick Berryhill was another notable character, a fullblood Creek. He was captain of the Lighthorse in Tuskegee District under Judge Chowie Colbert. He was a man of wonderful character. . . . . I first became acquainted with Mr. Berryhill when he lived at old Fishertown about three miles from my place at Bonds Switch" (Oklahoma Historical Society, *Indian Pioneer History*, Vol. 12, pp. 514-520.

[50] The above facts concerning the Light-horsemen were secured from the Oklahoma Historical Society, Creek Files, Nos. 31511-31613.

In Muskogee on Christmas, 1878, serious trouble broke out when the Negro light-horsemen disarmed John and Dick Vann, two young Cherokees belonging to a prominent family. A lawless Texan, passing through the town, attempted to put the Negro officers in their place. He headed the Cherokees in the fight that ensued where one of the light-horsemen was killed and three others were wounded. In August, another fight took place in Muskogee when John Vann was killed and the light-horse captain was wounded.

Chief Coachman, upon the advice of leading Creeks, decided to place a light-horseman on guard in Muskogee, and it is reported that

> . . . . he ordered Richard Berryhill, the reliable and efficient captain of Eufaula District, to undertake the work. But Berryhill protested that the assignment "Seems to me to be a savere one. If the Town of Muscogee was really an Indian town I would not weight a moment, but as it is there are but few Indians There. I am more than willing to serve my Peopple but the way things are I dont see how I am to Risk my life for non zitizens."[51]

In 1880, the light-horsemen were assigned a new duty in guarding the border when importation and driving cattle from Texas and southern Arkansas were forbidden from April 15 to October 31. This measure was to prevent the cattle belonging to the Indian from becoming infected with the Texas or Spanish fever from which many of their animals had died.

During the so-called Green Peach War, Chief Checote authorized each district judge in the nation to call out fifty assistant light-horsemen to disarm the fighters, and restore order in his district. By August the insurrection was crushed but the light-horsemen remained under arms for thirty to sixty days. On October 19, 1882, the council appropriated $19,700 to pay 1150 assistant light-horsemen called out to enforce the laws for eight days during the Green Peach war.

Daniel ("Goob") Childers, an ardent mixed-blood supporter of Isparhecher, was captain of the light-horse in the area around Wealaka. He operated a pole ferry on the Arkansas River near Wealaka Mission. His name appears frequently in the annals of the Creek Nation where he lived a violent life and came to a violent death.[52]

Under the Revised Statutes (Section 2137) of the United States: "Every person other than an Indian, within the limits of any tribes with whom the United States has existing treaties, who hunts or traps or takes or destroyes any peltries or game, except for subsistance, in the Indian country, shall forfeit all the traps, guns and ammunition in his possession . . . . and all peltries so taken, and shall

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[51] Debo, *op. cit.*, pp. 253, 254.

[52] Angie Debo, *Tulsa: from Creek Town to Oil Capital* (Norman, 1943), pp. 46, 57, 73; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941), pp. 272, 277, 280.

be liable, in addition, to a penalty of five hundred dollars'' and as that law was violated with impunity within the Creek Nation and as game and furbearing animals were rapidly being destroyed by non-citizens it was enacted by the National Council that it was the duty of the prosecuting attorney and the light-horse captains to report all violations to the United States Indian Agent.[53]

On October 24, 1881, an act was approved by the Creek Council that no dancing be permitted within the walls of the National Capitol, and any person found guilty was to be fined one hundred dollars; the sum to be collected by the light-horsemen of the Okmulgee District and transmitted to the National Treasurer for the general fund. It was made the duty of the light-horse of Okmulgee District to collect a fine of $1,000 from any person who enclosed land for pasture or fields within one half mile of the National Capitol.

Another act was approved November 2, 1881 which prohibited any person, except officers, from carrying fire arms within one-half mile of any town, political, religious, or other gathering. Any person guilty of breaking this law was fined ten dollars and the light-horseman who captured the fire-arms was allowed to keep or dispose of them for his own profit. Any light-horseman who failed in executing the duties for which he had been appointed was fined $25.00 and expelled from office. In 1882, an act provided that any light-horseman who was found keeping liquor, or offering it to others, or found under the influence of any intoxication drinks was to be fined $50.00 and dismissed from office.

The National Council approved an act on October 18, 1882, ''That whenever a light-horseman arrests a person, it shall be his duty to chain and keep under close confinement such person, and the Judges are authorized to purchase such chains, locks, shackles, etc., as are actually necessary for the above purpose . . . . . ''

Another duty of the Creek light-horsemen was to remove fences built across any road which obstructed the public highway. These men were also to collect fines from any person ''who shall wilfully, and without provocation, kill the dog of another.'' Such person was to be fined not less than five or more than one hundred dollars, at the discretion of the district judge. The officer who made the collection retained twenty per centum and paid the remainder to the owner of the dog. This act was approved October 12, 1883.

Any person who executed a bond and who failed to appear at the court at the proper time, and if his bondsmen failed to produce the person to the court within twenty days, the bond was forfeited, and the amount was to be collected by the light-horse who received twenty-five per centum for his fee. This act was approved October 24, 1884.

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[53] *Acts of* 1881, pp. 7, 8.

The Creek Council provided that no district judge had the right to employ or use any assistant light-horsemen; if any judge violated the law he was to be suspended from office by the Principal Chief. This law was approved November 6, 1893.

If any person bought at a public sale live stock and the owner from whom the stock may have strayed made proof of his ownership of the property and it was returned to him, the person surrendering such stock was, upon an order from the Captain of the Light-Horse Company on the National Treasurer, entitled to receive the amount of money or script actually paid by him when purchasing the property.[54]

On July 27, 1882, Creek Agent John Q. Tufts wrote to Samuel Checote:[55]

> Have your letter of July 26, 1882 saying party of 30 Creeks attacked the Creek Light Horse killed the captain and one private and rescued a prisoner.
>
> You ask for Indian policy. This so-called Loyal party have been to me and made complaints and I told them they were wrong and must submit to the laws of the Creek Nation and any attempt to set up a separate government would not be tolerated.

No citizen of the United States living in the Muskogee Nation under a marriage permit, was entitled to make or own more than one place or improvement at the same time. If this law was broken when judgement had been rendered and execution ordered by the District Judge the light-horse Captain sold the property at public sale and turned the proceeds into the Treasury of the Nation.

After December 1, 1881, if a light-horseman was unable to keep the peace by being overpowered by armed men, he was authorized to call on other citizens of the nation to aid him in carrying the law into effect; citizens who refused the summons of the light-horsemen, without good reason, were subject to a fine of five dollars.

On October 23, 1885, an act was approved by which all officers acting under appointment of the Principal Chief were required to make annual reports to the National Council of all national funds coming into their hands. Should any officer be guilty of violation of the act it was the duty of the Principal Chief to instruct the judge of any adjoining district to send his light-horse company against the offenders and to sell at public auction any property belonging to the officer until a sufficient amount was realized to satisfy the claim of the nation.

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[54] *Acts and Resolutions of the Creek National Council . . .* Compiled and Translated by D. C. Watson. Muskogee, Ind. Ter., 1894, p. 16.

[55] Oklahoma Historical Society, Creek Box 2.

The "third Tuesday of September every two years" was fixed for the election of the light-horsemen of the several districts, as fixed by Section 6, of the English edition of the Muskogee laws.

In 1887, George Hicks was captain of the light-horse company of Eufaula. Nocus Fixeco (*sic*) was the captain of the North Fork District and his address was Okmulgee. Jimpsey Cherrokee (*sic*) of Wealaka was captain of Coweta District. Sampson Brown of Cane Creek was the captain of the Light Horse in Muskogee District. David Frank of Wetumpka was the light-horse captain in Wewoka District. Pleasant Berryhill was captain of the light-horse in Okmulgee District.[56]

Under the "Pasture Law" of the Muskogee Nation any citizen, engaged in keeping or grazing live stock was entitled to enclose for his exclusive use, free of any tax, one mile square of the lands of the public domain. All persons who had pastures greater in extent before the passage of the above act were given until May, 1890 to raze the fences. In case the owner or owners, of pastures subject to removal, failed to remove, or make due and diligent efforts to effect such removal within ten days after the first of May, the Judge of the District wherein the pasture was located, was to order his light-horse company to take down the fences. If resistance was offered by the owners it was the duty of the Chief to call into service a sufficient number of citizens who were to take down the fences under the direction of the light-horse captain.

After the fifth day of December, 1889, the annual salary of the light-horse captains was $300; of the "Private Light Horse" $275.00.

Another duty of the light-horse captains was to post and advertise estray property for six months; at the expiration of the time he had to offer the same at a public sale, and sell to the highest bidder.

If any person occupied a ferryboat landing without consent of the rightful owner it was the duty of the light-horse captain of the district, to dispossess the illegal occupants and turn the property over to the rightful owner.

Wilfully injuring or defacing the capitol building of the Creek Nation or unlawfully trespassing upon the premises was punishable by fine, and in case of failure to pay the fine, by whipping. If fines were not paid within six hours, the light-horse of the district was ordered by the court to levy upon sufficient property of the convicted person, sell the same and pay the amount of the judgment into the National Treasury.

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[56] *Report* 1887, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, p. 99.

Serious trouble arose in the summer of 1887 when a white man offered to buy all of the stolen horses that the Negroes could deliver at Red Fork. Chief J. M. Perryman authorized each district judge to commission five assistant light-horsemen to arrest the thieves.

A number of young Creeks, under Wesley Barnett, banded together in 1888 to carry on a campaign of robbery, murder and liquor selling. It required the services of U. S. marshals, Indian police, and the light-horse before the gang was broken up and its members killed or sent to the Federal penitentiary.

The Creek light-horsemen, assisted by United States marshals, were successful in capturing the Buck gang which flourished only a few weeks in the northwestern part of the Creek Nation. The five men were taken to Fort Smith where they were hanged.

The services of the Creek light-horsemen were employed in 1892, in holding great numbers of cattle introduced into the nation without the payment of taxes, until the owners furnished bonds covering the amounts due.[57]

No citizen of the Muskogee Nation, by blood, adoption, or intermarriage, had the right to introduce cattle from the Cherokee or Choctaw nations or any of the states or territories for the purpose of keeping them in one mile square pastures. Any person violating the act was subject to penalties imposed by the provisions of the quarentine law, and the district judge directed the light-horsemen to remove the fence surrounding the stock.

The Principal Chief was directed to have the judges of each district order the light-horse companies to assist the officers of the United States "in capturing or exterminating the bands of outlaws" which might be found in the nation. The captains were authorized to deputize as many citizens as were necessary to carry out the purpose of the act.

Under "Crimes and Misdemeanors" of the Laws of the Muskogee Nation, 1890 (Article XI) provided that no person,

> . . . . except District Solicitors, light horsemen and officers of the United States engaged in duty requiring them to carry weapons, shall be permitted to carry any deadly weapon of any kind, such as pistols, revolvers, bowie knives, dirks, or any other weapon, except a pocket knife, at any public gathering of citzens of this Nation, such as church meetings, or where persons are gathered for purpose of worship or the transaction of business, elections, towns, dancing or ball grounds, trials, courts, councils, or any place where people are gathered for pleasure.

Persons found guilty of carrying a deadly weapon were to be dispossessed by the light-horseman who was to dispose of it for his own benefit.

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[57] Debo, *op. cit.*, pp. 328, 329, 341.

If any person cut down or destroyed a pecan tree for the purpose of obtaining the nuts the fine was twenty-five dollars for each tree and should the parties charged with the offense deny it the light-horse was obliged to carry him before the District Judge for trial.

No citizen of the Muskogee Nation was permitted to rent or lease any portion of his land to a citizen of the United States; nor employ as a farm laborer, herder of stock, or laborer of any kind a citizen of the United States. Any Creek violating that law, upon conviction, was fined not less than fifty dollars collected by the captain of the light-horse who retained one-fourth of the amount.

Drovers and movers were permitted to pass through the Muskogee Nation free of tax, provided not more than *twenty-five* days were consumed in making the journey. A tax of five cents per head was levied for stock kept in the nation over time and the captain of the light-horse collected and retained one-half for himself.

The judge of each district of the Muskogee Nation had the power to order his light-horsemen to any portion of his district, and when actually necessary to any portion of the Muskogee Nation. "In cases of actual need, he shall have the power of calling to his aid the police force of other districts."

In cases of unavoidable expenses incurred by reason of confinement of prisoners by light-horsemen, board included, the Judge issued court script, but in no case was more than one dollar a day paid for board of a single prisoner. It was also the duty of the Judge to swear in the members of his light-horsemen.[58]

The light-horsemen were to collect all fines from any person who failed to obey a summons issued by a proper authority; all fines collected were to be transmitted to the National Treasurer. Any light-horseman who was guilty of disobeying a legal order from the judge, either by neglect or wilfully, was removed from office.[59]

The light-horse held an election at Eufaula late in September, 1895, to select members of the organization for Eufaula District. Barney Greene was re-elected captain; Bob Roberts, Joe Smith, John Creek, and Lumsey Smith were the privates selected.

According to the time-honored method of the Creeks, the various candidates were put in nomination by their friends, after which they walked in opposite directions away from the crowd followed by their respective partisans. When well separated, each candidate stood in the center of his body of electors and the man who had the most votes was declared elected. In case of a tie the vote was taken over and the election was held with little expense to the nation. In choosing the

[58] *Constitution and Laws of the Muskogee Nation,* compiled and codified by A. P. McKellop (Muskogee, 1893), pp. 48, 49.

[59] *Ibid.,* p. 51.

chief and other national officers the white man's manner of electing was used.[60]

One of the most useful and worthy citizens of the Creek Nation the Reverend Samuel J. Haynes who died at his home at Newtown northwest of Okmulgee on April 4, 1948. He was born on January 8, 1857, at what was known as Longtown, about two miles southwest of the Creek capital. His parents were John and Lucy Thompson Haynes. Young Haynes was educated at Asbury Manual Labor School near Eufaula, and at Southwestern Baptist University, Jackson, Tennessee. His first work was in 1881 as clerk and interpreter in the store of Captain F. B. Severs in Okmulgee. A short time later "he became a special deputy in the Lighthorse Cavalry, and that Fall was elected to membership in the troop . . . . . Successively, Mr. Haynes served as Lighthorse private, as captain of the troop, as interpreter for the House of Warriors . . . as district judge; as member of the House of Kings; as U. S. deputy marshal; and as a delegate representing the Creek nation" in which capacity he made sixteen trips to Washington on missions for his people.

In 1935, Mr. Haynes participated in the capture of the Buck gang, "one of the cruelest and most ruthless bands of outlaws that ever preyed on the residents of the Creek nation." Mr. Haynes was a retired Indian mission minister, and he was one of only two remaining former members of the Creek light-horse at the time of his death. The other was Samuel Checote, a son of a former chief.[61]

An old biographical sketch gives the birth of Samuel Jonathan Haynes as 1861. He was elected an officer of Captain Freeman's Light-Horse in 1882, and served for two years. During that period "he took part in two skirmishes in the Esparhecher war, viz: at Pecan and Pole Cat creeks. During part of 1883 and 1884 he was captain of the Light Horse . . . . "[62]

The decisions made by the chiefs in council were carried into effect implicitly. In cases of capital punishment, the executioner was chosen from the light-horsemen. That officer used "neither tomahawk, club, nor arrow. The gun was generally selected as the instrument of execution." In case the victim had no choice of a place for his killing, the executioner could appoint a spot, which was usually one near the place for burial of the prisoner.[63]

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[60] *The Weekly Elevator* (Fort Smith), September 27, 1895.

[61] *The Tulsa Tribune*, April 10, 1948, copied from the *Okmulgee Times*.

[62] H. F. and E. S. O'Bierne, *The Indian Territory* (Saint Louis, 1892), pp. 165-6.

[63] Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1853), Part I, p. 276. The above account is from "Some Information Respecting the Creeks, or Muscogees."

WITH THOBURN AT HONEY CREEK

By Elmer L. Fraker

"Joseph B. Thoburn lies in an unmarked grave in an Oklahoma City cemetery." This was the startling statement that was made at a recent meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The mere mention of Thoburn's name sent my memory racing back over the years to the time when he led a group of five young University of Oklahoma students on an anthropological expedition to Honey Creek, in Delaware County.

It might be that a short-memoried public had forgotten this good man, who had worked so hard and sacrificed so much to the end that an accurate history of early Oklahoma might be written,—but never would the five who accompanied him to Honey Creek forget. And thereby comes this story.

As to how the expedition ever became possible has never been clearly ascertained. Some way or another, Thoburn discovered that the state Geological Survey was in possession of certain surplus funds. How he secured these extra dollars for the trip to Honey Creek remains a mystery. That he did that very thing proved his persuasive powers.

The five of us who made up his party were rather nondescript, insofar as qualifications in the field of anthropology were concerned. Joseph Mathews was a part-Osage who was later to distinguish himself as a student at Oxford and as the author of a number of books of high literary caliber. James Brill was to carve a niche for himself as an illustrator and writer with scientific publications. In Waurika, resides Andy Anderson who has become one of the leading attorneys of that section. Whatever became of Tate Tatum, no one seems to know.

Our point of departure was Oklahoma City, and the time of our leaving was in early June of 1916. The Professor, as we called Thoburn, preceded the rest of the party by three or four days. Our destination was the town of Grove, located only a few miles from Honey Creek. In following the trail of the Professor, the five of us went by train to Afton. At this place, we transferred our luggage to a wagon and were transported overland to Grove behind a span of bays.

Upon our arrival in Grove, we were met by the Professor, who was walking with a pronounced limp. When we queried him as to the cause of his halting walk, we were informed that while he was out making a survey of the best place for us to pitch our

camp, he had used a team and buggy. For some reason the team had run away and he had been unceremoniously tossed into the rocks and underbrush when the buggy overturned.

We were forced to remain in town for several days while awaiting the arrival of our heavy luggage, including picks, shovels, sieves, and tent. The reason for the delay in the arrival of our equipment came from the fact that the freight car carrying it had to be moved from Oklahoma City, up into Missouri, down into Arkansas, and back into Oklahoma at Grove.

At last our equipment arrived, and we made preparations to quit town and journey to Big Mouth Cavern on Honey Creek. To get to Big Mouth Cavern it was necessary to traverse about four miles of eastern Oklahoma hills. One of the local citizens, with a team and wagon, was hired to transport our baggage to the big cave.

It was a beautiful morning when we set out for Honey Creek, and our spirits were high. But these spirits were dampened ere we had traveled far. While struggling up the side of a hill, that would pass for a mountain in many regions, a deluge of rain swept down upon us. And there, in the midst of our discomfort, the lead mare, remembering that her beloved offspring had been left at home, became possessed with an overwhelming desire to be in the presence of her foal, and evidenced this desire by refusing to proceed further. In this situation we completely lost all respect for the maternal instinct, that is, in a horse. After all entreaties and persuasion had failed to budge the balky mare, we unhitched the team from the wagon and fled for shelter.

Strange to say, the nearest available shelter proved to be a small natural cave. No sooner had we gotten in out of the storm than Thoburn observed that there was no need of wasting time, merely because some difficulties had been encountered. He soon had us digging vigorously for evidences of the character of our shelter's first inhabitants. Within an hour we had unearthed several bits of pottery and a few arrow-heads.

The rain did not last long, and we again hitched the team to the wagon, endeavoring to entice the old nag to tighten her traces. Our persuasive efforts were in vain and it looked as though we would be indefinitely stranded on the side of a muddy hill. Our dilemma was short-lived, for a fellow traveler came along with a span of mules and kindly consented to pull our load to the top of the hill. From there the road was fairly good and at about two o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at Big Mouth Cavern.

We were a miserable lot, soaked to the skin by rain and worn to a frazzle from helping push the wagon along the muddy trail.

Within a short time, however, Jim and the Professor prepared a warm meal on a hastily improvised stove, made of two rocks that had been picked up nearby. Thus revived, we unloaded the wagon, pitched our tent, and began organizing our crew for the work that lay ahead.

Big Mouth Cavern was a natural cave opening out of the side of an almost perpendicular limestone cliff. Some seventy feet below the top of the cliff churned the clear water of Honey Creek. It is not strange that the primeval men of this region selected the big cave for a dwelling place. A few armed men could hold off a large army as long as their food supply held out. A siege would be necessary to accomplish its fall. A magnificent forest stretched from the foot of the cliff, across a wide valley, over rolling hills, and extended further on to the more easterly Ozarks.

Our tent had been pitched on what might be termed the roof of the cavern. The mouth of the cave opened near the top of the cliff and looked out towards the east. The opening of the cavern was more than twenty feet wide, but soon narrowed to a throat scarcely large enough for a man to crawl through. This narrow throat extended some fifteen or twenty feet, and then widened into a rather large chamber. In this remote chamber was to be found a type of clay which the early inhabitants used in making their best pipes and pottery.

Before we set to work, Thoburn explained to us that the earliest dwellers in Big Mouth Cavern had departed this life a few thousand years previously. He went into detail giving instructions as to how we were to identify objects of archaeological value when we found them. He pointed out that our first big job would be to remove many tons of rock that had fallen from the ceiling of the cavern which, along with a wet weather spring's addition of soil deposits, had completely covered the evidences of the life of the early cave men.

Within a short time we were busily engaged in the task that lay before us. Large sifters were set up into which we shoveled the loose dirt of the cavern floor. The dirt would go through the sifter, but anything of size was retained. For several days we were kept busy shoveling the soil into the sifters. The first foot of earth was rich in the yield of Indian relics, including stone hatchets and coarse pottery. The next eighteen inches of dirt held numerous articles of the mound-builders' day, such as grinders, arrows, and other stone implements. Below this came the interesting remains of the earth-house people's tenure, containing highly decorated pottery, beautiful arrow-heads, bone calendars, needles of bone, skin scrapers, stone awls, and peculiar

double grinders. Thoburn had already established himself as a recognized authority on the Earth-house People.

At the very bottom, in a thin strata of clay, lay the archaeological evidences of Oklahoma's earliest inhabitants. Delicately made pottery composed of clay and ground clam shell was to be seen everywhere. Small deposits of charcoal and beds of ashes were numerous, and in their midst clam shells were always found. The most interesting implements of all were the cave man's small arrow-heads, scarcely larger than a bean and perfectly made. The Professor explained that these arrows were used by poisoning the tips and shooting them from blow-pipes.

On an expedition such as this, some nonsense naturally creeps into the picture as a means of breaking the monotony of hard labor and serious study. Our expedition was no exception, and proof of this was the manner in which we double-crossed Jim, who represented one of the large daily papers in Oklahoma, and was continuously supplying that periodical with news of the progress of our undertaking.

While the rest of us were delving in the dirt and clay, and consequently into the early history of cavedom, Jim could be seen perched serenely on a nearby boulder, typewriter before him, jabbing away at the keys, writing of our discoveries. Jim's imagination occasionally got the better of him and led to newspaper accounts of our activities being considerably glamorized.

In one of Jim's descriptions, he pictured that we were living in great luxury. He did this by stating that Honey Creek was full of fish, which was true; that the forest was full of rabbit, squirrel, and quail, which was a fact; that our camp was surrounded by a thicket of blackberry bushes bending low with ripe fruit, a correct statement; that we had blackberries for dessert every day, an errorless observation; that the cream used over our berries was obtained from a goat we had rented from a farmer who lived up the creek,—a mere figment of Jim's imagination. After reading this utopian description of our living conditions, Thoburn winked slyly at the rest of us. This meant he had an idea of doing something that would bring joy to our hearts.

When Jim went to the spring to get a bucket of water, Thoburn wrapped up a can of our condensed milk and attached the following note: "This is Jim's goat." Then he addressed the package to the editor of the great daily and dropped it into the mail bag. It was reported that after receiving this bit of counter-evidence, the editor changed his mind as to the advisability of buying a dairy farm in the Honey Creek Valley.

While we worked and delved, our fame spread far and wide —as far as the Grand River on the west and the Arkansas line on the east. This fame, however, was not due to our reputation as anthropologists, but rather was based on the belief that we were gold diggers. An old Ozark legend had it that the Spanish buried gold in this locality during the exploration period. Is there any locality in Western America that doesn't have such a tradition? Most of the natives of the Honey Creek region believed we were faking about being interested in the early inhabitants of the cave. To them we were just another group hunting for buried treasure.

One day, while we were busily engaged in excavating the cavern floor, three men appeared at the cave's mouth. After watching us work for some time, one man shifted his rifle from the hollow of one arm to the hollow of the other and said, "Well, I don't know whether to let you fellers dig in there or not. You see, I've got this land leased and can keep you from digging if I want to."

"But we have permission to work here from the man who owns the land," protested the Professor.

"That don't make no difference. When a man leases land, he is the boss of it as long as the lease," replied the lanky native.

"I don't see what harm we are doing anyway," argued the Professor.

The farmer scratched his head, meditated a while, and then drawled, "Well, if you fellers'll give me half of the gold you dig up, I'll let you keep on."

At first the members of our crew were scared of the man with the gun, but when he agreed to let us continue digging if we would give him half of the gold we dug up, spasms of mirth seized us and we sought refuge behind large boulders in the cavern, so that our mirth could not be witnessed by the serious men standing on the parapet. It was a diplomatic victory for Thoburn, for the native, after shaking his head a few times and muttering to his companions, led his party of protest down the creek.

The tulip craze in Holland seemed to have been no more intense than the gold craze in Honey Creek. One Sunday, while all of our party except one, who had remained at camp as guard, were at church, twenty-three visitors found their way to our diggings. Instead of the visitors asking questions concerning the scientific side of our work, they wanted to see the Indian teeth we had dug up. The report had been circulated that we were uncovering many Indian skulls loaded down with gold-filled teeth. They

were informed that no such teeth existed, but it was plain to be seen they thought they were being deceived. To these people, we were gold hunters, and nothing could make them believe otherwise.

This skepticism concerning our work and the inquisitiveness of constant visitors to our camp began to get on our nerves. It was for this reason we invented the "Hecome-hicome" story. Andy, whose duty was to go to town after the mail each day, was the first to plant the seeds of our deception. He made it a point to tell those loitering near the post office and in the vicinity of the hotel that he was getting jumpy over things that were happening out at our camp. Those within hearing distance of him quite naturally pricked up their ears to learn what it was all about. In answer to their questions, Andy initiated our subtle "hands off" policy. He confided to his listeners that for some time past we had been unable to sleep, owing to the hair-raising, blood-curdling, ear-piercing screams and wails that had been issuing from the cave during what would otherwise be called the still of the night. According to Andy, this man, ghost, beast, devil, or whatever it might be, was growing more restless, and that even in the late afternoons its muffled screams could be heard far back in the cavern.

While Andy was elaborating on the hair-raising awfulness of existence in the vicinity of Big Mouth Cavern, Joe, who has wont to roam the hills and valleys of the Honey Creek region hunting and fishing while the rest of us delved, was telling the same story to the hunters and fishermen he chanced to meet. There was another group of men in the vicinity who worked as long hours and as hard as did our crew, and those were the men at the lime kiln about a mile up the creek from our camp. Jim made it a point to go over to the kiln for the purpose of getting the loan of a wheel-barrow. He took this opportunity of dropping our little yarn into the receptive ears of the kiln employees.

Results were not long delayed. The story spread from hill to hill and from valley to valley. By nightfall it was the topic of discussion at every Honey Creek valley farmer's supper table, at every hunter's campfire, and in the hotel lobby at Grove.

When Sunday afternoon arrived, there also arrived at our cavern home, just as we expected, a large group of town and country people. The human trait of curiosity had gotten the better of them and they were out to see if they could catch a glimpse, or hear a sound, of the Hecome-hicome.

Thoburn was exceedingly friendly to everyone and ere long had them gathered at the cavern mouth, some seated on boulders, others on the cave floor, while the more timid stood awkwardly forming an outer fringe. As was so characteristic of this kindly man, he endeavored to explain the objects that we had dug up,

but few paid attention to his remarks. Instead, they whispered among themselves, wondering when they might see or hear some evidence of the cavern terror.

Arising to the situation that had been so carefully planned, Thoburn switched his lecturing from archaeological objects to a recounting of our experiences with the cavern's mysterious inhabitant. In order to secure the right dramatic effect, he lowered his voice to almost a stage whisper while discussing this fearsome subject.

Just as Thoburn reached the most terrifying part of his narrative, one of the young conspirators leaned forward, motioned to the Professor, and gave a hissing "Sh!" It may sound trite to say that a pin could have been heard to drop, but it was nevertheless true.

Then from far back in the cavern came a barely audible sound, if sound it might be called. The far away sounds, groans, wails, and cries of all the lost souls in Purgatory could never have made a more fear-inspiring discord. With a wild yell, all of us conspirators dashed out of the cavern mouth, screaming at the top of our lungs. "It's the Hecome-hicome! He's coming out!"

Some of us had long considered ourselves sprinters and long-distance runners, but all such illusions were immediately removed, for as we dashed through the sapplings and around the boulders, we were passed by no less than twenty people. First came the young men, flitting by like flying Mercurys, followed in order by old men, girls, small children, and lastly, the older women, who were somewhat handicapped by long skirts. The deed was done. The objective was reached. We subsurface dwellers circled back to the cave and arrived in time to shake hands in congratulations to Joe as he came crawling out of the interior of the cave, covered with clay, but clasping his Osage flute—the great Hecome-hicome.

Our hoax, however, came near resulting in tragedy. A local farmer, who had been among our guests, did not run when the others stampeded, but grabbed one of our loaded rifles that had been carelessly left lying on top of one of the large boulders in the outer chamber of the cavern. Instead of running in panic, this man grabbed the rifle and started crawling back into the narrow passage towards the inner chambers. Fortunately, Jim observed the courageous farmer and hastened to join him in the dark passage. It was here that Jim grabbed the gun from the man's hands and explained to him the whole situation. The quick action of Jim probably saved the life of Joe, who in the darkness would doubtless have been mistaken for the wild beast we had so widely advertised.

Several weeks of unmolested work followed our bogus beast escapade. Only the most bold ever again visited us. These were weeks in which the Professor theorized; Tate, Andy, and I burrowed into the limestone; Jim pounded the typewriter: and Joe studied the habits of birds in the trees and fishes in the creek.

But elements that were to enter into our lives were soon to draw our expedition to a close. Trouble was brewing from a Mexican revolution, and American troups were being rushed to the border. Jim was receiving telegram after telegram from his newspaper, entreating him to accompany the Oklahoma National Guard to the Rio Grande. Besides being our official correspondent, Jim had also served as cook. We couldn't imagine carrying on our work without him handling the culinary detail. Tate was receiving messages from oil companies saying they could use his knowledge of geology, and were willing to pay for it. One morning, after receiving a letter, Tate came to us, extended his big right hand to each, and told us goodbye. He was headed for the land of anticlines and synclines.

With Tate gone it seemed as though our happy family circle had been broken. The event that destroyed our morale, however, forcing us to break camp and seek civilization, was the vandalizing of our kitchen by dogs, who, unlike their masters, held no fear of the Hecome-hicome.

Without food we were helpless. There was nothing to do but pack our archaeological discoveries for shipment, take a farewell plunge in the creek, carefully remove a month's beard from our faces, change clothes, load the wagon that came for our equipment, say a last goodbye to Big Mouth Cavern, and swing up the Honey Creek road towards Grove.

After a seven-mile cross-country wagon ride from Grove, we came to the little railroad station of Bernice. Here we clasped hands and said goodbye, for some were taking a train south, while others of us were heading west.

It was four years later when I sauntered into a barber shop located across the street from the campus of the University of Oklahoma, and leisurely climbed into a chair. In another chair sat Joe, getting his hair cut. No sooner had I seated myself in the chair than in walked Jim. As usual, we started a three-cornered reminiscence, based on our Honey Creek experiences. Before the barbers had finished with us we had formulated plans for a reunion of cave men.

The following afternoon the three of us met on the campus corner, clambered into Joe's car, and sped to Oklahoma City. About five o'clock we arrived at the State Capitol and proceeded to the Oklahoma Historical Society. There we found our old friend

and mentor, Joseph B. Thoburn. Tears of joy filled his eyes when he beheld us. The four of us took dinner together that evening. The conversation was just like old times, but the surroundings were greatly different. The World War had swept Jim, Joe, and me into its great vortex, but had not washed away our recollections of Honey Creek days.

While we talked, Jim drew sketches on the back of an envelope, Joe expressed clever ideas as of yore, and the Professor told stories of early Oklahoma with the same gripping interest as in the days when we gathered around the campfire at Big Mouth Cavern.

The only sadness of an otherwise perfect dinner was the absence of Tate and Andy. Tate was reported by the Professor to be in the interior of peaceful Mexico working as a geologist for a large oil company, while Andy was safely launched on a career of law practice in Waurika.

Yes, it was startling to learn that years ago Joseph B. Thoburn had been laid to rest without even a small marker having been placed at his grave. On the other hand, it is heart-warming to know that he was only forgotten for a while. Under the sponsorship of the Oklahoma Historical Society, sufficient money has been raised in 1956, by generous Oklahomans, to erect an appropriate monument to his memory.

A HISTORY OF FORT COBB

By Muriel H. Wright

Fort Cobb established in western Indian Territory in 1859 was the forerunner of the largest school of artillery fire in the world today—Fort Sill.[1] Both military posts were located in the vicinity of the Wichita Mountains, an old landmark on the southwestern prairies, from which the Comanches together with their allies the Kiowa beginning about 1790 often rode forth to harass the Spanish and the later Texas settlements beyond Red River. The Wichitas who were the friendly allies of the Comanches and the Kiowas until 1858 were the oldest residents of this mountain region that bears their name, and the exact site of an old Wichita village was that selected for Fort Sill in 1869. This is on Cache Creek and near the mouth of Medicine Bluff which takes its name from the high bluff on its south bank a few miles west. Fort Cobb was located about thirty miles north near the Washita River and north of the Wichita Mountains.

The Establishment of the Wichita Agency

While the Northern Comanches, as the warlike bands of the tribe on the Plains from Red River north were known, were the dreaded foes of the southwestern settlements, the Penateka Comanche band joined the Caddo, Anadarko, Tonkawa and other small tribes that made peace with the Texans, and were assigned two reservations on the Brazos River by the Texas Legislature in 1854. The Northern Comanches now looked upon these Reserve Indians as enemies because of this favor on the part of the Texans. Continued raids by the Northern Comanches south of Red River incurred the wrath of the Texans against all Indians including the peaceable tribes on the Brazos. They were threatened if they did not leave this country, and some of them were attacked and killed by scouting parties of Texans near the reservation. To avert possible war in the region, the United States Indian agents hurriedly moved their charges from the Brazos to the Washita River in the Indian Territory.

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[1] Some notes on the military post of Fort Cobb are in the manuscript by Vera Z. Holding, introductory to her fine contribution, "Fort Cobb . . . . Prairie Town," which appears elsewhere in this spring (1956) number of *The Chronicles*. General interest in the history of old Fort Cobb at this time and the needs of *The Chronicles*, in which the history of this early military post in the Indian Territory has not hitherto been published as a separate article, required a more extended treatment of the subject, giving data from sources in the Historical Society's collections not readily available elsewhere. A review of much of this data and the citation of sources and other notes have resulted in the compilation of "A History of Fort Cobb" by the Editor as it appears here.

The removal of the Indians from Texas began on August 1, 1859, under the direction of the agents and their employees with a United States military escort of one company of infantry and two companies of the Second Cavalry commanded by Major George H. Thomas, noted later in the War between the States as the "Rock of Chickamauga." The Indians did not have time to round up their cattle and gather their possessions to take with them when Texas State troops took a threatening stand near the borders of the reservations. In view of possible trouble, most of the more than 1,400 Indians, men, women and children, walked north empty handed and, after forced marches through the terrific heat of summer, reached the Washita the middle of August in a nearly starved condition.[2] By chance, some of the chiefs and leaders in looking over the country from the bluffs near the river, west of present Anadarko, saw a herd of buffaloes feeding in the bottom lands. Immediately the word spread, and there was great excitement among the Indians. Permission was given them by the agents, and they engaged in a big hunt, while the soldiers of the military escort looked on with keen interest from where they were seated around the rim of the valley. The Indian hunters soon brought in a plentiful supply of buffalo meat to the camps.[3]

Early in the summer of 1859 before the Indian removal from Texas, chiefs of nine different tribes including those of the Brazos as well as the Wichitas in the Indian Territory, met Army officers and government agents at Fort Arbuckle in a council, during which the Indians were promised protection of the United States if they settled in the vicinity of the old village sites near the Wichita Mountains.[4] There was plenty of spring water and good land in the region near the Medicine Bluff. This location had been recommended for a military post as early as 1855 and again in 1858 by Agent Douglas H. Cooper. Major William H. Emory, Commander at Fort Arbuckle, had also ridden over to the Wichita Mountains recently, and had recommended the site for a post. However, the final selection of a site for an Indian agency in this region was left to Elias Rector, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, whose office was at Fort Smith.[5] The site of the agency would determine the site of a military post.

Rector made an expedition west in company with some of the Indian agents and the Caddo and Wichita chiefs, provided with sup-

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[2] Muriel H. Wright, brief histories of the Anadarko, Caddo, Comanche, Hainai (Ionie), Kichai (Keechi), Tawkoni, Tonkawa, Waco and Wichita tribes in *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951).

[3] Captain W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance* (Norman, 1937), p. 35.

[4] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report for* 1859, pp. 303-04.

[5] William Brown Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1936), p. 109; Grant Foreman, Eidtor, "A Journal Kept by Douglas H. Cooper," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (December, 1927), p. 386; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report for* 1855, p. 153, and *Report for* 1859, p. 285.

plies and an escort of soldiers from Fort Arbuckle by order of Major Emory. They reached the Medicine Bluff on June 22, 1859. Rector voiced his disapproval of this location in no uncertain terms. He reported the situation presented "insuperable objections": Spring and summer rains overflowed the creeks, and after the waters receded shallow ponds remained, from which later hot winds carried "an abundant supply of miasma" and malaria that in times past had spread disease and "decimated the Wichitas." The expedition marched north to the Washita River where Rector decided that a location near Pond Creek (now Cobb Creek) was better for the agency than any site near the Medicine Bluff.[6]

Two months after Rector's expedition, the Indian agents who had arrived with the Texas tribes established the new agency (August 16, 1859) about four miles northeast of the present town of Fort Cobb, on the north side of the Washita near a small creek which was later called Leeper Creek. The new Indian office here near the Washita River was called the Wichita Agency, the tribes from the Texas Reserve being consolidated with the Wichita living in the region, under the direction of Agent Samuel A. Blaine. A year later after Blaine's death, Mathew Leeper, a southern man who had formerly served as agent for the Penateka Comanche in Texas, was appointed agent here.

Discussions and arguments over the procedures among the several agents who were present on the ground when establishing the agency finally developed into a feud among them. This even created contentions among the Indian tribal groups, making their peaceful settlement in their new location difficult. Under orders of Major General David Twiggs at Fort Belknap, Texas, Major George H. Thomas set out for Texas. This move left the Indians around the Wichita Agency without the promised protection of Government troops and open to attack by the enemy Kiowas and Northern Comanches.[7] War parties of these hostiles had waylaid the Texas Indians on the march north in several instances, during which some of the latter were wounded and their horses driven off or killed. The withdrawal of the troops from the Agency was followed by fights, in which several Indians were killed when their encampments were attacked by some of the Kiowas. The hostiles, particularly the Northern Comanches, hated the Tonkawas who had long served as scouts and had been friendly with the Texans on expeditions against the enemy tribes. On several of these occasions, the Comanches had lost many horses and therefore blamed it on the Tonkawas. The latter were among the most energetic of the Texas tribes in making their new settlement south of present Anadarko. They had long been formidable foes of the Apaches and Comanches in Texas, dur-

[6] *Ibid., Report for* 1859, pp. 305-08.

[7] Report of Robert S. Neighbors, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Texas, *ibid.*, pp. 328-30.

ing which they had won the reputation of being cannibals. Whether the report of cannibalism was true may be open to question but the Kiowas and Comanches really believed that if any of them were captured by the Tonkawas, the unfortunate victims would be cooked and eaten in a feast.[8] This background in the history of the founding of the Wichita Agency was important in the establishment and the fate of Fort Cobb.

The Establishment of Fort Cobb

When news of the fights with hostile Indians in the encampments near the new Agency reached Fort Arbuckle, Major Emory set out west for the Washita River, and, in line with Rector's idea, established a military post on October 1, 1859, with two companies of the First Cavalry (formerly the First Dragoons) and one company of the First Infantry.[9] He named the post Fort Cobb, undoubtedly in honor of his friend, the Secretary of the Treasury, Howell Cobb, a prominent Georgian who had been appointed to this cabinet position by President Buchanan in 1857.[10] The new fort was on the west side of Cobb Creek, about three miles west of the Wichita Agency, and farthest west of any post in the Indian Territory.

Fort Cobb was located on high ground about a mile east of the present town of Fort Cobb in Caddo County. Wooden pickets cut

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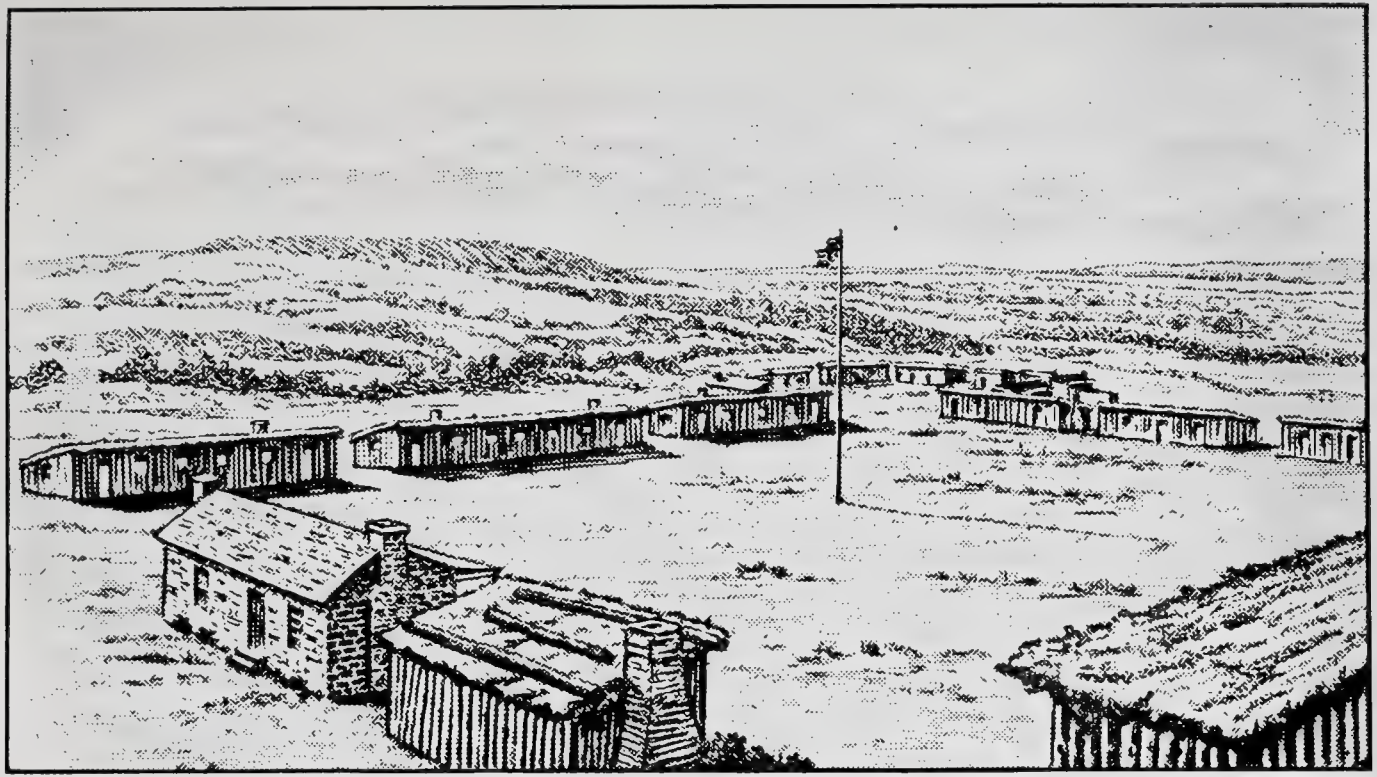
[8] Nye, *op. cit.*, pp. 36; Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

[9] Nye, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6; Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[10] Hon. Howell Cobb, born September 15, 1815, in Georgia, was the son of a wealthy planter, and related to leading southern families. He was admitted to the Bar in 1836. He served brilliantly in state offices and as a member of the U. S. Congress for several terms, to which he was first elected in 1842. He upheld the constitutionality of the annexation of Texas, and urged that the slavery question be settled by the extension of the Missouri Compromise. It was undoubtedly in this period that he became well known and made friendly contacts in the Southwest that led later to the naming of Fort Cobb in his honor. He defended President Polk's administration in the declaration of war with Mexico. He was opposed to a "States Rights" party, and made many public addresses in favor of the National Democrats, believing that such an alignment was a better guarantee for justice to the South than any sectional party could be. His stand for "Union and Compromise" won him many enemies yet as the candidate for the Union Party in 1851, he was elected Governor of Georgia by the largest majority that had ever been given a candidate for this office. In 1855, he returned to Congress, and in 1857 was appointed U. S. Secretary of War by President Buchanan. At the outbreak of the War between the States, he was one of the outstanding southern leaders, serving as chairman of the convention at Montgomery, Alabama, in organizing the Confederate States government in 1861. Without military training, he organized the 16th Georgia Regiment, C.S.A.; he was soon promoted to Brigadier General, and in 1863, to Major General in command of the District of Georgia, C.S.A. At the close of the War, he surrendered at Macon, Georgia, to Senator Wilson. He formed a law partnership, at which time he abandoned politics though he remained uncompromising in his opposition to Congressional reconstruction in the South. He died in 1868 while on a visit to New York City. (For a biography of Howell Cobb, see Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, editors, *Dictionary of American Bibliography* [New York, 1930], Vol. IV.)



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FORT COBB, 1859.

in the timber close by and adobe clay found in the vicinity were used in constructing a fort in the pattern of those found on the prairie frontier. The barracks and quarters were crude yet neatly built and comfortable, the walls formed by cottonwood poles placed upright in trenches and topped by rider poles, with cracks chinked with adobe clay and grass. The roofs were formed by poles laid close together covered with sod and weighted down by other poles laid on top. These shelters as well as some of adobe brick and one sandstone building used as a commissary were located near the mouth of Pond Creek on high ground that backed up against a low sandy hill covered with caprock.[11]

Major Emory reported to the War Department a few days after selecting the site that Fort Cobb was accessible to Fort Belknap and Camp Cooper, Texas, over a good road made by the Indians when they had come north from the Brazos in the summer. There was also a good dry-weather road from Fort Arbuckle, made by some of his troops. Yet it was not long before it was evident that Fort Cobb was too far distant from its base for co-operation in time of trouble. While it was designed for the double purpose of protecting the Texans as well as the friendly Indians of the vicinity against enemy tribes, the people of North Texas still suffered from raids of hostile Kiowas and Comanches, and again soon sought vengeance against the Indians of the Wichita Agency. Superintendent Rector reporting from the Indian Office at Fort Smith, in 1860, pointed out that the tribes of the new agency on the Washita were kept in a state of constant alarm "by threats and excitement of the people of the Texas border." These actions changed the status of Fort Cobb left unsupported as it was, far north of Red River with its few troops liable to be cut off in time of trouble. A strong garrison would be necessary to make the new post effective in keeping peace on such a wide frontier.[12]

Fort Cobb During The War Between The States

The garrison at Fort Cobb in the spring of 1861, at the beginning of the War between the States, consisted of four companies of Federal troops.[13] Under authorization from U. S. Army headquarters at Washington, Colonel Emory ordered two companies east to Fort Washita where all Federal armed forces were to be concentrated. At the earnest appeal of the Indian agent at the Wichita Agency, two companies remained at Fort Cobb where there was a large store of corn. Confederate troops from Texas were already on the way north, and were threatening the military posts in southern Indian Territory before Colonel Emory could reach Fort Washita

[11] Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Vera Z. Holding, introductory notes in manuscript on "Fort Cobb . . . . Prairie Town."

[12] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. I, p. 660.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 662.

with his command. In view of a superior number of enemy troops when he was encamped en route near his post, Colonel Emory set out with his forces to the aid of forts Arbuckle and Cobb. The next day (April 17), Fort Washita was occupied by Texas troops. On the same day, new orders from the General-in-Chief of the Army at Washington directed that "all troops in the Indian country west of Arkansas, march to Fort Leavenworth, Kans., taking such useful public property" as transportation would permit. This communication was received by Colonel Emory en route to Fort Arbuckle, and on May 3, 1861, the troops from that post and the two companies from Fort Cobb joined him on the east bank of the Washita River, five miles from Fort Arbuckle. This post was occupied by Texans on May 5.[14]

The next day, Colonel Emory[15] marching with his whole command to the relief of Fort Cobb sent word ahead to the two companies of the First Infantry that had remained there to meet him en route to Kansas. These last troops evacuated Fort Cobb, and met Colonel Emory's command on May 9, about thirty-five miles northeast near the present town of Minco. Immediately the whole command ("eleven companies, 759 fighting men, 150 women, children, teamsters, and other non-combatants") set out north through

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[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 648-9.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 649. William Helmsly Emory was a native of Maryland, born September 7, 1811, of a prominent family of colonial descent. He graduated from the Military Academy at West Point in 1831, and served as a lieutenant in the Fourth Artillery until 1836 when he resigned from the service. In the reorganization of the Army in 1838, he was commissioned First Lieutenant of the Topographical Engineers. He served as principal assistant in the Northeastern Boundary Survey between the United States and Canada, 1844-46. At the outbreak of the Mexican War, he was assigned as Chief Engineer in the Army of the West, and subsequently was commissioned Lieut. Colonel of Volunteers in Mexico. He won two brevets for gallant and meritorious service in the battles of San Pasqual, San Gabriel, and Plains of Mesa. After the Mexican War, he served as Chief Astronomer for running the boundary between California and Mexico (1848-53). In 1851, he was promoted to the rank of Captain, and on reorganization of the Army in 1855, promoted to Major of the Second Cavalry, a new regiment. During his service in the Topograpical Engineers, he was active and conspicuous in making surveys and in compiling and reducing to form, maps of the country west of the Mississippi River. At the outbreak of the War between the States, he was commissioned Lieut. Colonel of the Third Cavalry. He was commissioned Brigadier General of Volunteers in 1862, and served with distinction as Brigade, Division and Corps commander. He won four brevets and was twice thanked for his brilliant operations in the Virginia campaigns, and was commissioned Major General of Volunteers in 1865. After he was honorably mustered out of volunteer service in 1866, he served as Brevet Major General of the 6th Infantry, U.S.A. After his special service as Kiowa and Comanche Agent, he was successively commander of District of Washington, District of Republican (1869-71), Department of Gulf (1871-75), retiring in 1876 after forty-five years of service. He had married Matilda Wilkens Bache, a granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin, in 1838. He has been described as a talented soldier, calm, dignified, courageous, firm; though stern in appearance, he was warm hearted, sympathetic and generous. He died on December 31, 1887.—Heitman, *op. cit.*, and *Dictionary of American Biography.*

the wilderness guided by Black Beaver, the noted Delaware scout and guide, arriving at Fort Leavenworth in Kansas on May 31, 1861. The traces left by the troops along this path charted by Black Beaver became a part of the famous Chisholm Trail after the War when the great herds of Texas cattle were driven north to the markets in Kansas.[16]

Fort Cobb was immediately occupied by a small force of Confederates under the command of William C. Young, "Texas State Regimental Colonel," in May, 1861, and Agent Mathew Leeper remained in charge of the Wichita Agency under the employ of the Indian Department of the Confederate States. A report was abroad in Texas that Colonel Young had made a treaty of peace with the Reserve Indians around Fort Cobb, "on the condition that the Confederacy issue them supplies and protect them as had been done by the United States government.[17] However, there were no officially recognized alliances between the Reserve Indians and the Confederate government until the arrival of Albert Pike, the Confederate Commissioner to treat with the Indians in the vicinity of Fort Cobb. Commissioner Pike drew up two treaties that were signed by the chiefs and leaders of eleven different tribes at the Wichita Agency on August 12, 1861, providing the protection and support of the Confederate States for these people.[18] It was easier for the Confederates to make these promises than to fulfill them.

About thirty men from among the tribes around Fort Cobb were enlisted in the Confederate Army and armed as a guard for the Wichita Agency but no regular Confederate troops were ordered to garrison Fort Cobb until May, 1862, when General Albert Pike reported a company of Texans stationed there. These collected and guarded supplies during the summer but abandoned the fort in August.[19]

The continued failure of the Confederates in keeping the treaty promises caused trouble among the Indians. Many of them, especially Buffalo Hump a leader of the Penateka Comanches, were unruly and insolent toward Agent Leeper who was cantankerous in dealing with the Indians and never well liked by them. His removal as agent was demanded. He left to take his family to Texas for safety, and most of the Wichita, if not all, besides many of the Caddo and bands of Delawares and other Indians left the Fort Cobb region for Kansas where they remained as refugees until after the end of the War in 1865. Some of them in a scouting party (Osages, Shawnees, Dela-

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[16] Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), Vol. I, pp. 310-11.

[17] *Official Records,* Series I, Vol. I, p. 653.

[18] For Pike's treaties with the Wichita Agency tribes, see *ibid.*, Series IV, Vol. I, pp. 542-54.

[19] Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

wares, Cherokees, Seminoles) armed by the Union forces came to the Wichita Agency where Agent Leeper arrived from Texas on October 23, 1862. Late in the evening of the same day, the armed Indians from the North attacked the Agency, killed the white employees, placed their bodies in the building and burned it to the ground. Agent Leeper was at first reported killed but he escaped under cover of darkness, was furnished a horse by Toshewa, a friendly Penateka Comanche, and fled to Texas where he lived until his death many years later.[20]

The Tonkawas were the only tribe near Fort Cobb that had remained unanimously loyal to the Confederate States, remembering their old friendship with the Texans. During the excitement of the fight at the Wichita Agency, the report was circulated among the Indians that the Tonkawas had killed a Caddo boy and were about to begin their cannibalistic practices in a feast. An infuriated Indian mob of Caddoes and others joined by the armed bands of Indians from the north hurriedly crossed the Washita River early the next morning (October 24) in search of the Tonkawas, who had heard of a possible attack and were already in flight toward Fort Arbuckle seeking protection. They were overtaken by their Indian enemies and, in the running fight that lasted nearly all day, Tonkawa men, women and children were slaughtered until nearly the whole tribe was exterminated. Only a few Tonkawas escaped to Fort Arbuckle, near which they stayed for a time, pitiful refugees from the war around Fort Cobb. No efforts were ever made to regarrison this western post with Confederate troops after this Tonkawa massacre in 1862.[21]

The Kiowa-Comanche Agency

The end of the war found most of the Comanches and Kiowas encamped on the Washita River near old Fort Cobb which was reported their headquarters for their hunting and their war expeditions both north and south. They, like the Cheyenne and the Sioux tribes in the north, were in their most savage mood beginning their last stand for their old life as buffalo hunters on the Plains. Early in the spring of 1865, General G. M. Dodge at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, recommended that an expedition of three powerul columns of U. S. troops be sent down to Fort Cobb to punish the Indians for their attacks and their depredations on the emigrant trains and traders' expeditions along the Santa Fe Trail.[22] The year before this recommendation, Colonel Jesse Henry Leavenworth, who had recently resigned his command of the Federal forces on the Western Frontier, was appointed U. S. Indian agent for the Kiowas, Comanches

[20] Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (Chicago and New York, 1916), Vol. I, p. 302; Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-40; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XIII, pp. 919-21.

[22] Nye, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-1.

and Southern Cheyennes, having been recommended as one who knew better than anyone how to deal with these tribes, as well as for "his firmness, sagacity and devotion . . . . in favor of peace."[23]

Some of the most dramatic scenes in the Indian and the military history of Oklahoma were enacted in the region around Fort Cobb during the next ten years, in which the Kiowas and Comanches generally had the part of "wild Indian" warriors. The old post was garrisoned by United States troops only a part of this time. Yet even when deserted by the military, it was an important location in the country assigned the Kiowas and Comanches in October, 1865.[24] The treaty signed by their chiefs at this time, in a meeting with Colonel Leavenworth, General Kit Carson and other Government commissioners near the Little Arkansas River, in Kansas, provided a great tract including Western Oklahoma south of the Cimarron as well as the Texas Panhandle which was assigned without the consent of the Texans.[25] The old hatred of Indians still existing in Texas brought trouble again, the Comanches continuing their raids in which women and children were taken captive. Colonel Leavenworth's task as Kiowa-Comanche agent was a difficult one, in which he made a remarkable record in securing the release of many white captives without payment of ransom to the Indians.[26]

Two years after the Treaty of the Little Arkansas a new treaty signed in a great council with Government commissioners on Medicine Lodge Creek, Kansas, reduced the Kiowa-Comanche country to a reservation in Southwestern Oklahoma where the two tribes were to build homes and farm for a living. The name of Fort Cobb appears in Article 2 of this Medicine Lodge treaty describing the boundaries of this reservation: Its north boundary began where the 98th Meridian crossed the Washita, continuing west up the river to

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[23] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Col. Jesse Henry Leavenworth," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (March, 1935), pp. 12-29.

[24] In his "Memoranda of a Trip Across the Plains in 1866," including present Oklahoma, Thomas A. Muzzall, Hospital Steward 1st Class, 1st Missouri Cavalry, mentions old Fort Cobb. The "Memoranda" is in the form of a daily journal, under the heading, "The Command consisting of the 3rd U. S. Cavalry, commanded by Col. M. S. Howe, U. S. Army and the 57th U. S. Colored Infantry, commanded by Col. Paul Harwood, U.S.V., with a large train of waggons, all under the command of Col. M. S. Howe started from Fort Smith, Ark. enroute to Fort Union, N. M. on 8th of June, 1866." The entry for "July 9" states: "Start 5 A.M. and march 12 miles. We camp at Fort Cobb. The Fort is in ruins, was built of red sand stone and sun dried bricks, there are some good bridges crossing the stream on which the Fort stands. It was evacuated upon the outbreak of the War." —Typescript from the original "Memoranda of a Trip Across the Plains in 1866" in the Oklahoma Historical Society, by Gene Marquette Minium, March 6, 1956, at Springfield, Oregon, granddaughter of Thomas A. Muzzall, taken from his ninety year old diary.

[25] Charles Kappler, Indian Affairs, *Treaties*, (Washington, 1903), Vol. II, pp. 683-5.

[26] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

a "*point thirty miles, by river, west of Fort Cobb,*" and thence on a straight line to the 100th Meridian.[27] All the land lying south of this line to Red River and its North Fork and west of the 98th Meridian in Oklahoma, was henceforth known as the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation until opened to white settlement in 1901.

Colonel Leavenworth moved down to Fort Cobb from his agency headquarters at Fort Zarah, Kansas, early in 1868, and established the Kiowa-Comanche Agency in "Eureka Valley" in the vicinity of the old post near the Washita.[28] Some months before this, in the fall of 1867, the Wichita Agent, Henry Shanklin, also had come to Fort Cobb from Kansas, and established the Wichita Agency in the same region, on a new site west of present Anadarko. Bands of refugee Wichita, Caddo and others of the former Reserve tribes began returning from Kansas, making their encampments near here south of the Washita. The Kiowas and Comanches were disgruntled seeing these settlements on their reservation lands. They grew threatening when Colonel Leavenworth could not give them food and supplies during a spell of cold weather in early March. Some of the young Comanche and Kiowa warriors attacked and stole food and horses from a band of Wichitas temporarily camped in Cottonwood Grove (present Verden) about fifteen miles east. Then they proceeded with depredations over in the Chickasaw Nation. Colonel Leavenworth alarmed called for troops to be sent to Fort Cobb from Fort Arbuckle but later countermanded the order, thinking his Indian charges had quieted down. This countermand was right in line with the thinking of Army officers at Fort Arbuckle, itself a lonely outpost with a small force of troops, the only fort garrisoned in Southern Indian Territory at the time. The peaceful lull was short. In May, a party of Kiowa and Comanche warriors again threatening war attacked the Wichita Agency and burned one of the large buildings to the ground. They insolently ordered the agent and his employees not to cut any more trees and build any more houses around here. Agent Shanklin hurriedly moved away to set up the Wichita Agency office at Cottonwood Grove temporarily. Colonel Leavenworth, also, left his agency encampment, seeing that he was helpless in the trouble without necessary support to maintain his office in the Indian Service.[29] By June, 1868, three-fourths of

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[27] Kappler, *op. cit.*, p. 755.

[28] This was in the "Leased District" (or "Leased Land") secured by the United States in 1855 in the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty of 1855. The Wichita Agency in 1859 included the tribes from the Brazos Reserve in Texas and bands of Delawares, Shawnees, and the Kichai (or Keechi) tribe together with the Wichita. Col. Leavenworth wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Nathaniel J. Taylor, concerning a Kiowa raid in Texas, in a letter dated "Kiowa & Comanche In. Agency, Eureka Valley, L.L., 21st May, 1868." (Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 26.)

[29] The Agent for the Wichitas and Affiliated Tribes, Henry Shanklin, wrote in a letter dated from "Wichita Agency, Indian Territory, October 1, 1868," stating: " . . . . the Indians attached to this agency have all been removed from their tem-

the Kiowas and most of the Comanches separated from the war bands among them left the reservation south of Fort Cobb, and went to Fort Larned, Kansas, to prove their peaceful intentions.

These Indians from the region of Fort Cobb were soon an embarrassment to Major General Philip H. Sheridan who could not distinguish friendly from unfriendly Indians in his preparations at Fort Larned for a punitive expedition against the hostile tribes on the southern Plains. General Sheridan made an agreement and arrangements to furnish the Kiowas and Comanches with military rations at Fort Cobb if they would return to their reservation.[30] Brevet Major General William B. Hazen, 6th Infantry, appointed to serve under assignment as a special United States Indian agent set out from Fort Larned with the two tribes—men, women and children—to accompany them to Fort Cobb where he was to make his headquarters.[31] He received the following directive from Lieutenant General William T. Sherman, Commanding Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri, dated at St. Louis on October 13, 1868, and addressed to Fort Cobb, Indian Territory:[32]

> . . . . . I want you to go to Fort Cobb and make provision for all the Indians who come there to keep out of the war, and I prefer that no war-like proceedings be made from that quarter.
>
> The object is for the War and Interior Departments to afford the peaceful Indians every possible protection, support and encouragement, whilst the troops proceed against all outside of the reservation, as hostile; and it may be that General Sheridan will be forced to invade the reservation in pursuit of hostile Indians; if so, I will instruct him to do all he can to spare the well disposed; but their only safety now is in rendezvousing at Fort Cobb.

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porary location on the Arkansas river to their old home on the Washita, in the vicinity of old Fort Cobb. . . . ." Agent Shanklin further stated that the former agent (Leavenworth, recently resigned) of the Kiowas and Comanches had located in the immediate vicinity of the Wichita Agency tribes, "bringing into their midst between 4,000 and 5,000 of the very worst plains Indians, some having never before seen an agency. Their conduct was insolent and humiliating to the last degree, helping themselves to everything that pleased their fancy without paying the least attention to protests against it." See Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report of* 1868, pp. 287-8; also, Nye, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-66.

[30] William B. Hazen, "Some Corrections of 'Life on the Plains,'" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, No. 4 (December, 1925), pp. 300-01.

[31] William Babcock Hazen, a native of Vermont, entered the Military Academy from Ohio, graduating in 1855. He served as brevet 2nd Lieutenant in the Fourth Infantry and transferred to the Eighth Infantry in which he was commissioned captain in 1861. At the outbreak of the War in this year, he was commissioned Colonel in the Forty-first Ohio Infantry. He was commissioned Brigadier General of Volunteers in 1862, attaining the rank of Major General in 1864. Honorably mustered out of the service in 1866, he became Colonel of the Thirty-eighth Infantry; transferred to the Sixth Infantry in 1869; Brigadier General, Chief Signal Officer, 1880. He had been brevetted 1st Lieutenant for gallant conduct in two engagements with the Indians of Texas in 1859; and was cited for gallant and meritorious service in battles in Tennessee and Georgia during the War between the States. He died January 16, 1887. —Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), Vol. I.

[32] Hazen, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

Fort Cobb Regarrisoned

In the meantime, Captain Joseph B. Rife, Company E of the 6th Infantry, commanding, with Lieutenant Philip L. Lee in command of Troop M of the Tenth Cavalry, was ordered to occupy Fort Cobb. They found the walls of the one stone building which they covered with thatch and used for storage of commissary supplies. Some of the old adobe huts were repaired and covered with thatch. These with the erection of additional half-dugouts and log huts served as barracks for the men; the officers were housed in side-walled tents. General Hazen arrived on November 7. Upon his call for additional troops from Fort Arbuckle, Major Meredith Kidd arrived with his squadron of the 10th Cavalry. Suspicious moves on the part of hostile bands of Kiowas and Yamparika Comanches with the possibility of General Sheridan's campaign reaching the reservation kept the post in a constant state of alarm. There were double guards on duty day and night. A stockade was erected on the sandy hill just east of the post, for the protection of the white people in the event of an attack; a corral surrounded by a trench was built for the horses.[33]

Some Cheyennes led by their Chief, Black Kettle, and a band of the Arapaho with their leader, Big Mouth, came in to Fort Cobb for a conference with Colonel Hazen on November 20, They reported that they were anxious for peace though some of their young men had been unruly the summer before and had taken part in the war north of the Arkansas River. Big Mouth asked Colonel Hazen to stop the soldiers from coming down into the Indian Territory to fight his people. Chief Black Kettle made the principal talk during the meeting, in which he said in part:[34]

> I always feel well when I am among these Indians—the Caddoes, Wichitas, Wacoes, Keechi—as I know they are all my friends, and I do not feel afraid to go among the white men, because I feel them to be my friends also. . . . .I have always done my best to keep my young men quiet, but some of them will not listen, and, since the fighting began, I have not been able to keep them all at home. But we all want peace, and I would be glad to move my people down this way. I could then keep them all quietly in camp. My camp is now on the Washita, forty miles east of the Antelope Hills, and I have there about 180 lodges. I speak only for my own people.

Colonel Hazen replied that he had been sent to Fort Cobb as a "peace chief" but he could not stop the war. General Sheridan was in charge of the war against the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and they must make peace with him. If the President after hearing the talks made in this meeting gave orders to treat them as friends, the word would be sent them, and then they could come to this Agency. Otherwise the Cheyennes and Arapahoes must not come to Fort Cobb for protection.

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[33] *Ibid.* Also, Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 71-3; Morrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-15.
[34] Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

The Comanches and most of the Kiowas under General Hazen's agency had arrived, and were issued their first supply of rations at Fort Cobb on November 26. Their encampments were on both sides of the Fort as far as twenty miles away to have grazing for their thousands of horses, many Indians individually owning as high as two hundred head.[35] The next day after the first issue of supplies at Fort Cobb, Colonel George Custer with his troops of the 7th Cavalry made a surprise attack at daybreak on Chief Black Kettle's Southern Cheyenne village on the Washita, out near the Antelope Hills (November 27, 1868). In this so-called "Battle of the Washita," Chief Black Kettle was killed, and there were further heavy casualties of killed and wounded both among the Indians and the white troops. This disaster spread terror among the tribes of the Fort Cobb Agency, for some of the Kiowas had always been fearful that the concentration of the tribes here was a trap though General Hazen assured them all friendly bands would have full protection by the troops.[36]

When the report came on December 16 that General Sheridan's troops were on their way to Fort Cobb, the Indians were panic stricken, "as uncontrollable as a herd of scared buffalo." General Hazen afterward described the scene at Fort Cobb:[37] "The sensitiveness and fright of all the Indians of my camps, was from this time until some days after the arrival of the troops, beyond all description. They all, except the Kiowas, moved down behind my camp, sat up all night with their ponies saddled, took very little food nor allowed their animals grazing."

General Sheridan's Command at Fort Cobb

General Sheridan reached Fort Cobb with his command on December 17. Colonel Custer's cavalry troops made camp just west of the stockade about where the town of Fort Cobb is now located. On their way down the Washita, a message had been received from General Hazen giving the locations of the friendly Kiowa encampments under his protection and not subject to punitive methods. Nevertheless, two Kiowa leaders, Chief Lone Wolf and Satanta who were suspected of treachery in a meeting with Sherman were arrested and taken to Fort Cobb. They were placed in a Sibley tent under guard where they remained until all the Kiowas came in and surrendered in compliance with an ultimatum delivered by Colonel Custer, from General Sheridan:[38]

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[35] Hazen, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-02.

[36] Charles J. Brill, *Conquest of the Southern Plains* (Oklahoma City, 1938), pp. 153-78.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 196-206; Hazen, *op. cit.*, p. 310; Nye, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-6.

[38] Col. Horace L. Moore, "The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry in the Washita Campaign," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 4 (December, 1924), pp. 360-61. (This was reprinted by permission of the Kansas State Historical Society, from Vol. VI, *Kansas Historical Collections.*)

When the command reached Cobb they found no Kiowas, but Sheridan told Satanta and Lone Wolf that he would hang them both on the day following if the tribe did not report by that time. Satanta was put into a Sibley tent with an armed guard around it. He would wrap his blanket around himself and come out and sit down by the side of the tent, then swaying back and forth, chant the most doleful and monotonous death-song. Then stooping over he would scoop up sand and dirt and put into his mouth. Then he would go around to the south and west side of the tent and, shading his eyes with his hand, would sweep the horizon to discover if possible the approach of his people. But Satanta's hour had not yet struck. Before sundown the advance of his tribe came in, and before morning the Kiowas were camped around Fort Cobb ready to obey orders.

There were some tense moments at Fort Cobb during this period when Colonel Custer urged punishment of the Kiowas and an attack on their encampments, claiming that these Indians had been with Cheyennes in the recent battle on the Washita. General Hazen stood firm in his opposition to such action because he knew where the Kiowas were at the time. "Nine tenths" of them had been issued supplies at Fort Cobb the day before this battle, and Satanta and other Kiowa leaders had slept in his tent that night, making their departure about mid-morning on the day of the battle (November 27). He maintained that it was impossible for the Kiowas to have made the more than one hundred miles to Black Kettle's village which Custer had attacked at daylight. Calm prevailed at Fort Cobb. Writing later about the heated session with Custer whose reports were published sometime afterward, General Hazen wrote:[39]

The command never seemed to comprehend what they were endeavoring to do. In warning them not to attack the Kiowas, I was not only doing an unmistakable duty, but warning them from a dreadful mistake that never could be rectified. . . . . That the Kiowas have at all times richly deserved the severest punishment, I have constantly maintained, but punishment under the circumstances as it was desired to inflict it on the 17th day of December, 1868, while they were resting under the most sacred promises of protection, I could never assent to.

These were great moments in the history of Fort Cobb, for at no other time was there such an assemblage of many noted not only in the history of Oklahoma but of the whole region of the Western Plains. Colonel George A Forsythe served as Military Secretary to General Sheridan. Colonel Samuel J. Crawford, lately resigned as the Governor of Kansas, and Colonel Horace L. Moore were in command of the Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry organized for the Washita Campaign against the hostile Indians. Captain David L. Payne, who later led the "boomers" for the opening of the Oklahoma Country, commanded Company H of this Regiment. Colonel Custer held forth hard and impatient in command of the famous Seventh Cavalry troops. Noted characters in the history of the West, including Ben Clark, California Joe, Jack Corbin, Romero,

[39] P. H. Sheridan, General United States Army. *Personal Memoirs* (New York, 1888), Vol. II, pp. 331-37; Hazen, *op. cit.*, pp. 306, 308-18.

and Jimmy Morrison served General Sheridan's column as civilian scouts, besides a number of Indian scouts including Hard Rope, the Osage. Randolph Keim, a journalist, came along with the Kansas Regiment, and later published graphic, first hand descriptions of the Washita Campaign and scenes at Fort Cobb.[40] D. L. Spots, on special detail to the Commissary Guard, from Company L, Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry, kept a daily journal which many years later was published giving fine descriptions of the life of the soldiers and his own experiences during the stay at Fort Cobb.[41]

General Hazen was in command as Agent at the old post for the Kiowas and Comanches, with many agency employees including Philip McCusker, noted scout and interpreter. Horace Jones, who had seen the establishment of the old Wichita Agency and Fort Cobb in 1859, came with the troops from Fort Arbuckle as a guide and interpreter.[42] The garrison at Fort Cobb was made up of troops from the Sixth Infantry, Captain Joseph E. Rife, and from the Tenth Cavalry, Captain Henry E. Alvord and Major Meredith Kidd, the latter having superintended the fortifications on the cap-rock hill that rose on the east side of the Fort. Another officer arrived soon by way of Fort Arbuckle, Colonel B. H. Grierson, of the Tenth Cavalry, who had made a reconnaisance to the Medicine Bluff the summer before, the location still fresh in his memory for a possible new military post.[43]

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[40] De B. Randolph Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers on the Borders* (Philadelphia, 1885).

[41] David L. Spotts with E. A. Brininstool as editor, *Campaigning with Custer* (Los Angeles, 1928).

[42] Joseph B. Thoburn, "Horace P. Jones, Scout and Interpreter," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 4 (December, 1924), pp. 380-91.

[43] Benjamin Henry Grierson was born in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, of Irish parentage, on July 8, 1820. After attending school at Youngstown, Ohio, he taught music and later was a merchant at Meredosia, Illinois. He enlisted in the Union Army in 1861, and was soon commissioned Major of the Sixth Illinois Cavalry, serving in Mississippi and Tennessee. At the reorganization of the Cavalry, he was commissioned Brigadier General in command of First Brigade of Volunteers (1863), and took part in the Vicksburg campaign in Mississippi. He was specially praised by General U. S. Grant, and his services were recognized by President Lincoln. He was commissioned Major General of Volunteers in 1865, and after the War served as Colonel of the Tenth Cavalry from 1866 to 1890 when he was commissioned Brigadier General, U. S. Army. At various times he was commander of the Department of Texas and Arizona and the District of New Mexico. It was Colonel Grierson who built Fort Sill where he was stationed from 1869 to 1872. He died at his summer home in Omena, Michigan, on September 1, 1911. One of the finest microfilm collections in the Oklahoma Historical Society is that of the original Grierson Papers now in the Illinois State Historical Society; many letters and other documents in this collection have to do with the history of Fort Sill, and Colonel Grierson's two reconnaisances in the selection of the site of this Oklahoma military post. See Nye, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-204, for Colonel Grierson's work in the establishment and building of Fort Sill. His biography is given briefly in *Dictionary of American Biography*, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII.

Under military orders, beginning one mile distant around from Fort Cobb, were the encampments of 3,000 Kiowas and Comanches with their herds of literally thousands of horses grazing and eating out the grass on the range for miles in all directions. A few miles east were the Wichita Agency tribes including the Penateka Comanches (300) who were the most dependable and reasonable of all the friendly Indian groups. They moved their lodges right up to Fort Cobb by special permission of the military officers when their chiefs, Essahavits and Towasi were employed to head a band of Penatekas as scouts serving as a patrol to keep count and report the location of every Indian encampment in the region. Generally there was bitter talk everywhere among the Indians as well as among many of the white forces, over the death of Chief Black Kettle in Custer's recent attack on the Cheyenne village, one hundred miles west of Fort Cobb, up the Washita.

The last of General Sheridan's column reached Fort Cobb on December 18, 1868, the column counting in all two thousand troops, four thousand horses and mules and three hundred wagons loaded with a month's supplies when leaving Camp Supply on December 7. It had been a rough expedition with the loss of 148 horses traveling the more than 170 miles by the meanders of the route followed during cold, threatening weather. The next day there was a review of the troops of the Nineteenth Cavalry, on the parade ground at Fort Cobb. Colonel Forsyth reported this event, in part as follows:[44]

> The soldierly bearing and military appearance of this regiment has made rapid and marked improvements since my inspection at Camp Supply; for this favorable condition of affairs the field officers are entitled and are deserving of special mention and praise. I have the pleasure, in concluding this report, to mention particularly the military bearing and soldierly appearance of Captain Norton's Company D of this regiment. Next to Captain Norton's company, I have the pleasant duty of bringing to your notice Capt. A. J. Pliley's Company A. By reference to the table before given, it will be seen that Captain Pliley was the only officer either in the Seventh Cavalry or Nineteenth Kansas that made the march through from Camp Supply to this post without losing a single horse.

Private Spotts gave the following description of the Review at Fort Cobb, in his *Journal*:[54]

Saturday, December 19, 1868.

> Everyone is cleaning up for regimental inspection this afternoon. Our guns have to be polished, also buckles on straps and belts. We have to have clean clothes and boots to look as well as we can make them without polish. Some of the 7th Cavalry are expected to be there and Col. Crawford has given orders for every man to look as clean as soap and water can make him. We have to go to our companies and march out with them. I have spent most of the day cleaning and polishing, even going over my saddle and bridle with a greasy woolen cloth. It happens that my suit is nearly new so I will average with the rest of the company.

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[44] Col. Horace L. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 360.
[45] Spots and Brininstool, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

Promptly at 2 o'clock we formed in battalions of three companies each on the parade ground and rode in front of the officers—Gens. Sheridan, Custer, Hazen and our regimental officers. About fifty feet to their right stood the Indian chiefs, Satanta, Lone Wolf of the Kiowas and Ten Bears, a Comanche chief. A son of Satanta was also with them. The Indians were on horseback and wore the chiefs headdress of beads and feathers.

Satanta's son had on pants and shirt and a red and black blanket over his shoulders. He is his father's messenger and a fine looking boy, straight as an arrow and appears about 20 years old. Satanta is quite large and very strongly built, much more noble looking than the others who are darker and just ordinary looking Indians, only finely dressed.

Word came from General Sheridan that the column would remain at Fort Cobb until the horses were rested. The men had fared scarcely better than their mounts, but had learned how to take care of themselves during the ten day march. Not knowing how long they would be in their new location, they proceeded to house up for cold weather, contriving to increase the space allowed by their "dog tents" to make themselves more comfortable.[46] Their favorite shelter was the dugout made by digging a pit three to four feet deep, roofing it with a shelter-tent, and constructing a sod chimney and fireplace in one end. In one of these dugouts, four men could live snugly cooking their meals inside on the fireplace. Private Spots wrote: "Our chimney draws nicely and we are not troubled with smoke. . . . Our fire makes enough light that we could read if we had anything to read, so one of the boys in the squad got a deck of cards and we borrowed them and play once in awhile."[47] Shortly, such shelters were all over the hillside and round about the encampments at Fort Cobb, the men often "amusing themselvs by poking their heads out and barking at the occupants of the adjacent huts in imitation of the prairie-dog, whose comfortable nests had probably suggested the idea of dugouts."[48]

Keim described the scene at Fort Cobb: "In the course of a week, the camp had the appearance of a regular winter cantonment. The weather was inexplicable. It was one of two things —either very wet or very cold. It rained in torrents one day, and blew and froze the next." The officers fared worse than the soldiers when their side-walled tent quarters blew down in the gales of wind. Caring for

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[46] Colonel Moore described a "shelter tent," *op. cit.*, p. 360: "During the war it was always called a 'dog' tent. It is made of ducking, and very thin, is about six feet long and five or six feet wide. To pitch the tent the soldier must first hunt a couple of sticks with a fork or crotch, stick them in the ground with the fork a couple of feet from the ground. Now, he hunts another stick that will reach from one fork to the other and then stretches the cloth over this, pinning the edges as close to the ground as he can. This leaves his tent open at both ends, with an open space of three or four inches between the cloth and the ground on each side. It always seemed to me that, in zero weather, this tent sacrificed a great deal in the interest of ventilation."

[47] Spotts and Brininstool, entry for "Thursday, December 24, 1868," *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[48] Gen. P. H. Sheridan, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

the horses was a tremenduous problem when feed and forage supplies were gone. Hundreds of the animals had given out and had to be shot, and the rest were terribly weak and thin.[49]

The last week in December a flood of rain came, and Fort Cobb became a mire of mud and water. In the low places, only deep pits of water remained where had been snug dugouts, their occupants having to move their "dog-tent" roofs to higher ground. Another writer has given this description of Fort Cobb in the midst of the deluge:[50]

> The water came down intermittently but in heavy showers. The downpour softened the whole landscape. Little rivulets trickled into the dugouts. The men were not required to shave. Bathing was unpopular. In a few days the soldiers looked and smelled like tramps. Horses were dying on the picket lines. Forage ordered from a contractor named Shirley had not been delivered. The Indian horses had cropped off the prairie grass for miles in every direction. Cotton wood trees were cut down and the animals were allowed to browse on the tender tops, but it was a poor substitute for grain and hay.
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> "This is a hell of a place," Sheridan snorted. "Grierson, how about that camp of yours at Medicine Bluff?"

Conditions at Fort Cobb called for the selection of a new location for the encampment. Colonel Grierson formed a reconnaisance party and made a two-day expedition to Cache Creek, accompanied by General Hazen, Colonel G. A. Forsyth with two other officers from General Sheridan's staff, and Randolph Keim, with an escort of forty from the Tenth Cavalry, commanded by Lieutenant W. E. Doyle. Philip McCusker went along as interpreter, and Essatoyeh (Asa-Toyeh), a Penateka Comanche accompanied by his wife, served as guide. On December 29, the party made it back to Fort Cobb after a day's ride through a terrible winter storm on the return trip, in which some of the horses gave out and some of the soldiers had to be hospitalized upon reaching their camps.[51] A report of the expedition favored the Medicine Bluff as a location for new camp site. When January 6, 1869, dawned cold and clear, General Sheridan set his column in motion for the Wichita Mountains, reaching the Medicine Bluff the next day. Instead of a temporary encampment, he decided to establish a permanent post here. On January 8, 1869, General Sheridan called Johnny Murphy,[52] a wagon teamster with the column, to plant the first stake on the site of Camp Wichita which was soon named Fort Sill. On March 12, 1869, Fort Cobb was finally abandoned, General Hazen having transferred the Kiowa and Comanche Agency to Fort Sill.[53]

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[49] Keim, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-6.
[50] Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
[51] Keim, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-51.
[52] John Murphy, "Reminiscences of the Washita Campaign and of the Darlington Indian Agency," edited by Joseph B. Thoburn, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, No. 3 (June, 1923), pp. 259-69.
[53] Gen. P. H. Sheridan, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-39.

The name of Fort Cobb was long and well remembered in the Indian Territory. Another meeting to promote peace in 1872 was an anti-climax in the history of the old post. The General Council of the Indian Territory at Okmulgee in the summer appointed a "Peace Commission" of delegates from the Five Civilized Tribes to meet the Indians of the Wichita Agency region at old Fort Cobb for it was a period of wide-spread alarm and apprehension of Indian war in the West. The work of the Peace Commission at Fort Cobb, late in the summer of 1872, was fruitful of happy results, and any idea of an Indian war " was cut off."[54] To-day the town of Fort Cobb, in Caddo County, perpetuates the name of the old military post.

[54] *Journal* of the 4th Annual Session of the General Council of the Indian Territory meeting at Okmulgee, 1873, gives a report of the Fort Cobb Council, pp. 182-84. International Council File, Indian Archives Department, Oklahoma Historical Society.

FORT COBB—PRAIRIE TOWN

*By Vera Zumwalt Holding**

In the shadow of the hill where the old stockade once stood, a prairie town lifts its proud head, named for the famous old military post, Fort Cobb. The story of this community is the story of many prairie towns in Oklahoma yet few of them can boast of such a colorful background; such a lusty, hearty western spirit bred of the joining of the old south with the north, the red man and the white in bonds of neighborliness and friendships which have lasted through cyclone and blizzard, drought and sand storm, gentle summer rains and crimson day-dawns for over half a century.

The smoke spiral ascending from the old time teepee or from the campfire where waddies cooked black coffee and jerky, is like the smoke from an old cobb pipe—the smoke of remembrance.

On October 1, 1901, on a fertile plain between Cobb Creek and the Washita River, eighty acres of land formerly belonging to Nora Hazelett was platted into a townsite and laid off into wide streets and avenues.[1] In less than six months the population numbered five hundred with fifty business houses dotting the streets. Sided, tent-topped business houses were erected where a corn field had lately been, showing the determination and foresight of the citizenship that realized the trade conditions and the desirable location of the town. The Rock Island Railroad had come through the year before.

Among the seven saloons were the Cotton Exchange Bar and the Rough and Tumble. The Caddo County Bank was run by the Hite brothers. The Cobb Hotel was operated by Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Zumwalt. John Davenport had a Livery Barn, and Lindsey, a blacksmith shop. Hite's General Merchandise, George Hall's Barber

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* Vera Zumwalt Holding is one of Oklahoma's beloved poets. Best known as "Vera Holding," her poems have appeared in leading newspapers and magazines. Her books of poetry include *Prairie Nautilus* (Tipton, 1936), *Prairie Moods* (Dallas, 1938), and *Prairie Brand* (Boston, 1946). Her last mentioned book was published after her summer visit to the MacDowell Colony at Peterborough, New Hampshire, where she had been an honor guest nominated by the MacDowell Club of Anadarko. Vera Holding is also the author of short stories, and until the retirement of her husband, Mr. C. A. Holding, recently was the editor of a column in the *Tipton Tribune* of which he was owner and publisher. In the compilation of this contribution on the town of Fort Cobb, Mrs. Holding has expressed her deep appreciation to Mr. W. D. Finney of the Washita Valley Bank, and to the Wingos of the *Fort Cobb Express* for their kind assistance and the use of the historical data in their files of material.—Ed.

been opened to settlement on August 6, 1902.—Ed.

[1] The townsite of Fort Cobb was in the Wichita-Caddo Reservation that had

First Thanksgiving Day, 1901, at Hotel Cobb, owned and operated by W. A. Zumwalt. His wife and he are the second couple in the back row; Ed, Sadie and Vera Zumwalt are their three children with their dog, "Tige," left front row.

Shop and Hays Meat Market were among the first merchants remembered by the town's oldest citizen, Tom Henderson, still actively engaged in business. The first year a cotton gin was built by the Chickasha Milling Company, managed by E. J. Luce. Thomas Kearse, an early day banker, was also interested in cattle ranching. The first physician was Dr. Peters. Dr. George O. Johnson who came later was elected the first senator from Caddo County to the First State Legislature, in 1907.

The first post office here before the opening of the Wichita-Caddo Reservation was called "Cobb," established on September 20, 1899, with Hugh B. Brady as postmaster. The name was changed to "Fort Cobb" on October 31, 1902, with Henry Amey as postmaster.[2]

The first school was opened in two down-town buildings with an enrollment of thirty-seven students. Dr. Peters, W. J. Grant and O. W. Waltman were the first school trustees. T. W. Cooper was employed as first teacher but in less than a month the enrollment had increased, and a lady teacher was hired to assist him. Some of the parents and pupils disliked the assistant, so they brought in a new one. Older folk remember with a smile the day they had two teachers attempting to instruct the same pupils in the same room. The first teacher refused to be ousted so stayed on for several months. A. L. Oakison was the first principal of the school regularly elected. He taught in the first real school house erected in Fort Cobb.

Two churches were organized this first year: the Methodist, organization of which was perfected October, 1901, by J. W. Grant, with ten members; in March, 1902, the Congregational Church was organized with fifteen members. Robert W. McCrackin and J. B. Weatherman were elected deacons of this group. The members of both church organizations met in the different homes of the members until church buildings were erected.

The lusty town grew and prospered. Rodeos, Indian stomp dances, box suppers and Sunday school picnics made up the entertainment for both young and old. Fast Runner, a Caddo Indian, with his wife lived about a mile from the town on Cobb Creek, and was one of the best friends the townspeople had. Indian Scout Pamjo, the father of Nora Hazelett, was also one of the men whose fine assistance and advice helped the early day citizens.

Tom Henderson, one of the first settlers of the town and was later postmaster, still takes an active interest in civic affairs. His grandson, T. H. Henderson, is now postmaster. The elder Henderson has operated a gin and seed cleaning plant in Fort Cobb for

[2] George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952), pp. 52 and 62.—Ed.

years, and boasts that he has lived here fifty-five years. Recalling the early days, this spry, alert business man of eighty-two remembered that Monte Churchill had gone from the old time afternoon rodeos in Little Jenny Flat to Madison Square Garden as a champion rope artist; that Maymie Milwee, outstanding artist, is a home town girl who has made good. Mr. Henderson leans back in his hide bottom chair and really brags with just cause about the Milwee boy: "Mrs. Milwee's folks, Lena and William K. Hartwell, didn't come to Caddo County until 1910, but they came to Logan County in 1889. They've been the backbone of this area ever since coming here." Then, Henderson goes on to tell about Leonard and Maymie Milwee's son, Claude, who showed the Grand Champion Shorthorn steer at the International Show held in Chicago in 1947. He is the only F. F. A. boy to win this honor. The steer had been bred by O. H. Deason and Son, also of Caddo County.

Perhaps the fine honor which the Milwee boy brought to his home town started the Shorthorn movement in the area which has made Fort Cobb in Caddo County the "Shorthorn Capital of the World." The Oklahoma Shorthorn breeders hold their state convention here every April.

Since a community is judged by its newspaper, the advent of the first newspaper proved a source of much information: "Fort Cobb, the pearl of the Washita" and "Caddo County, best section of the grand Oklahoma Territory," are the two headlines of the front page of *The Caddo County Record,* Vol. I, No. I, a three column newspaper published on May 15th, 1902, at Fort Cobb. The mast head reads, "Published every Thursday, James Herbig, editor and manager." In the first editorial, "Our Bow," James Herbig said in part:

> We being among the first to cast our lot with the few in the infancy of this village, knowing the need of a newspaper among our people and to scatter and broadcast to the outside world the welcome to our city and to Caddo County, the glad tidings, the upbuilding of our village since its infancy six months ago and the magnificant growth of our country since the day of the opening last October. . . . . A paper that every farmer will gladly welcome to his fireside, a paper that the citizens will be proud of. A paper that will advertise to the outside world the upbuilding of our beautiful city and its many advantages of thousands of broad acres of rich fertile prairies that border the town on every side.

This six page weekly had for its advertisers, J. L. Craig, physician and surgeon; Oscar Davidson, the tinner; W. H. Halley, lumber dealer, located near the stock yards; C. W. Van Eaton, hardware, pumps, windmills and ammunition; The Caddo County Bank with Morris Lee Hite, president, W. M. Hazelett, vice-president, and Boone D. Hite, cashier; Marshal and Son who used the spot cash system in order to share the expense of book keeping with their customers in savings; Werner's Livery Stables that had good rigs, and says in the first advertisement, "When in need of a rig to take your best

Snort Davis, first star route carrier, Fort Cobb Post Office. After his mule ran away scattering the mail over the prairie, Davis lost his job, according to old-timers.

The Cotton Exchange Bar in the town of Fort Cobb, 1902.

girl for an evening drive, or taking trips overland, get your outfit from Mr. Werner." Other advertisers were Smith Brothers Hamilton-Browne Shoes and Stetson Hats; Grant Miller, the ice man; Ray and Kalmbach had on hand fresh and salted meats. Weatherman's Red Front Store advertised, "Drygoods, Shoes, and Notions," and also sold groceries, flour, feeds and queen's ware.

The Fort Cobb Grocery operated by Christy and Ritcheson boasted, "A child may come to this store and get good and full weights the same as their parents." Their motto was, "Quick Sale and small profit." Good news stories appeared concerning the Kirkwood Lumber Company, The Ludwick Furniture Company, Halls Barber Shop. Nora Hazelett in a half page adveritsement was urging people to come to Fort Cobb, "The prettiest situated town in Oklahoma. . . . . Doctors fail to do well."

Grimmett and Gilbert were placing before interested parties the most desirable real estate in Oklahoma. H. Starkey advertised blacksmithing and carriage repairing; Tignor, the barber, "had wide experience and skill and his patrons included the leading men of the city."

The Fort Cobb Land Company advertised choice relinquishments and school lands cheap. Indian Leases were from 3 to 25 cents an acre. The Staedlin Lumber Company had J. L. Summers for manager. Hamilton and Huffman advertised the best quality baking goods. Custard pies were a little higher because the price of eggs had gone up to ten cents a dozen. McPheeters Drug Company advertised only drugs and medicines and a prescription service. The I.X.L. Feed Yard was run by G. W. Zimmerman. Nice news stories were included on Hotel Cobb, and the Commercial Hotel, both of which had clean beds and excellent tables.

In local and personal news, G. W. Zimmerman had gone to the country to buy Indian ponies. R. L. Riggens had killed "a monstrous rattler, having eight rattlers and a button, on the west side of town Saturday morning." A nice line of ladies sateen bloomers along with muslin drawers, two pairs for twenty-five cents. "Red Lucas brought in a fish weighing 65 pounds on Wednesday morning, supplying the town with fish."

A full page advertisement announced a list of choice claims at very reasonable prices ranging from $150.00 to $3000.00 by the Herbig Realty Company. Chautauqua and Literary Circles afforded the cultural advantages at Fort Cobb.

In an issue of the *Fort Cobb Express* dated July 17, 1952, this paper having begun as the *Caddo County Record*, is a story of the bank's fifty years of service. A charter was granted to this bank on July 9, 1902, by William Grimes, then Secretary for Oklahoma Territory, to Thomas Kearse of Sickles, Jas. B. Yont of Fort Cobb

and J. H. Korndofer of Medford, with a capital stock of $5000.00. Kearse was named president. In 1912 D. L. Burket and associates purchased the controlling interest and continued in charge until the bank moratorium in 1933. During the bank holiday, Otto Wray and associates purchased the control and opened during the moratorium with Ray as president. He continued in this capacity until 1949, when W. D. Finney succeeded him, and is now in that office. The bank building is now one of the most modern, beautifully arranged and decorated small banks in the southwest with a capital stock, according to a statement of that year, of $25,000.00. Mr. Finney, who came to the area in 1908, is a Past District Governor of Kiwanis, and one of the most ardent fans of the history of the Fort Cobb community. He keeps the glory and the color of the old days alive by making addresses about his home town and its historical background, all over this area.

A beautiful new high school building is being erected and the elementary school is being enlarged and modernized. The area around Fort Cobb, as the first newspaper stated, is one of the most fertile in the state, and is known for its cotton and peanut crops. Irrigation is carried on with the sprinkler system, and those who live close enough to the river use its water; those farther away dig shallow wells from 220 to 300 feet deep producing from 200 to 1,000 gallons per minute. Short Horn cattle breeding is of course the major industry.

An annual fair is conducted without taxes and without passing the hat. Folks from all outlying districts—Foster, Oney, Highland, Swan Lake, Oak Grove, Oak View, Hopewell, Broxton, Washita, Cheatham and other districts—pour in to help put the fair over. The fair organization has its own carnival, and keeps the money in town. All of the carnival booths are manned by hometown folk. The premiums paid to the different entrants in the Fair have paid off in a creditable fair grounds fully paid for. Even the preachers dig in and help with the concessions during Fair time, according to R. G. Miller whose "Smoking Room Column" on the Fort Cobb Fair is a prized possession, proudly pasted in many scrap books, in this little city.

Smoke Gets In My Eyes

Like smoke from the bygone fires of the old Chieftains, something got in my eyes the day I visited Fort Cobb. Driving over the silver ribbon of concrete State Highway 9, from Anadarko, "the Indian Capital of the World," past the Natural Bridge under which my sister and I set up an early day bakery with broken bits of colored glass and china, and elegant mud pies baked on the hot rocks, across Cobb Creek where the ice had to be broken that we might be baptized on that long ago Thanksgiving morning. Looking up to "the hill" where often we gathered arrow heads, my heart was

W. A. Zumwalt, of Fort Cobb, and his Caddo Indian friend, "Fast Runner," who as a small boy saw the attack on the Wichita Agency and Fort Cobb in 1862, by the Northern Indians.

so flooded with memories that it was hard to breathe for the first few hours of my visit. There, down by the old river bridge was the place we learned to dance. Drawn under a colorful Indian shawl we could keep perfect step with Nana, Fast Runner's wife, who taught us many things of prairie lore, of wild bird songs and moon signs, of teepee tales and legends.

Not too far away where the old watering tank once stood, we played "run-sheep-run," and "dare base." The Parks twins, the Burnhams, Ethel and Monte Churchill, the Foster girls, Joe Ellison, and the Cheathams and Chester Henderson and Maudie all hold front seats in my heart.

There in Little Jenny Flat was the place we raced our own Indian pony, "Little Jim," on Fourth of July picnics and rodeo days. We had cheered with the crowds as Monte Churchill and Allie Burger and Jimmie Downing showed off their prowess as kid rodeo performers as did our own brothers, Edd, Claude and Ernest. The oldest one had to sit on the sidelines, although he had his own pony, for Otho was our crippled brother.

Set well back in a field was the mansion belonging to Nora and Bill Hazelett. He was the ball player we cheered to win, and it was at their home I saw the first player piano. Asking what had happened to the mansion, I learned it was a six room white house that had been torn down for progress.

At the home of Mrs. Newton Dickerson, a spry beautiful lady of ninety-two and an aunt of Mr. Finney, my heart turned over when she asked, "Aren't you the little redhead who used to sing?" She also remembered the prairie fire that wiped them out as new comers to a claim; she recalled her husband finding my father, W. A. Zumwalt who took him home until he could make arrangements to send for his family and belongings back in Kansas.

Visiting the Wingos of the *Fort Cobb Express*, to my delight I found that Mrs. Wingo was the former Myrtle Garner, who was an old time sweetheart of one of my brothers. It was she who showed me the blue feather she had kept in an envelope and upon which was written: "Blue feather from Quanah Parker's War Bonnet given to Mr. Zumwalt who in turn gave it to me following a barbecue celebration in 1902." It was signed by Mrs. Clemmie Garner, Mrs. Wingo's mother.

I went back to the bank to thank Mr. Finney for his fine help and all the data he had accumulated and loaned to me, and found a plate made and hand-decorated by Maymie Milwee, which Mr. Finney had hung there close to the door for all to see and read. I would like to share the inscription with you. I am glad I wrote this verse, for it is how I feel:

"On the arm of a red-dyed river
Like lovers in embrace
A town lifts spires and towers
With a look of pride on its face.
I remember when a corn field
Was plowed to make Main Street
And a sided, tent-topped dwelling
Made my small world complete.
Now the river sings in gladness
And an Indian sky bends down
And a rainbow bright with mem'ry
Spans the years to my home town.
And I love each shaded pathway
My heart runs down each street
And I am just a child again
As old time friends I meet.
Oh I sing not of the city
Though its fame is quite renown
But of open hearts and welcome . . .
They're my folks . . . It's my home town."

"Vera Zumwalt Holding."

THE FOUNDING OF EL RENO

By Berlin B. Chapman

The founding of El Reno was unique in Oklahoma history. It differed from Guthrie, Oklahoma City, and Kingfisher because the period of turmoil came not in 1889, but in 1892 when the town was nearly three years old. El Reno was founded as a business venture, perhaps more expedient than lawful. The views of the Acting Commissioner of the General Land Office and the Secretary of the Interior clashed on the matter. It is a frontier story in which few of the local factions played the game with perfect fairness. There was a county seat war, politics, and class struggle between the homeseeker and the wealthier absentee landlord. This is a new chapter in Oklahoma history and I have spared no pains to assemble an impartial account from records in the National Archives, in the Oklahoma Historical Society, and in El Reno.[1]

The best known name in the founding of El Reno is that of John A. Foreman. He was born in New York in 1824. His father was English, his mother a Scot. He adopted the life of a sailor on the Great Lakes. About 1850 he moved to Davenport, Iowa, and in 1857 he became a farmer at Ottawa, Kansas.[2]

In 1861 Foreman was mustered into service as a captain in Company "C", 10th Regiment of Kansas Infantry Volunteers.[3] His activities are narrated in more than a score of documents in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.* He was wounded in action at Newtonia, Missouri, on September 30, 1862. Colonel J. W. Williams reported that at Cabin Creek in the Cherokee Nation on July 2, 1863, Foreman "was twice shot by musket-balls, his horse receiving five shots." It is said that he was shot by T. B. McDaniel, a Confederate who sub-

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[1] In presenting this contribution to *The Chronicles*, Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Professor of History, Oklahoma A. & M. College, says, "In the National Archives I had the aid of the Legislative Section and of its chief, Mr. Harold E. Hufford, whose work expedited the opening of the files to searchers. The Interior Department division is a model in archival efficiency. There I had the guidance of Mr. Maurice Moore and his co-workers. The Research Foundation of Oklahoma A. & M. College provided me with room and board in Washington while I probed the files. Miss Nancy Erbar of El Reno, a student in my history classes, gave me valuable assistance in preparing the study.

[2] "Major John A. Foreman," *El Reno Daily Eagle*, Aug. 1, 1895.

[3] See Foreman pension file, NA (National Archives), cert. no. 577, 118, can. no. 49, 389, bundle no. 2. An official statement of Foreman's promotion as "Major of the 3d Indian or Cherokee Regt." is dated July 15, 1862, and is in NA, War Dept., no. 553, Co. A, 10 Kan. Inf.

sequently was wounded and captured in the battle.[4] Foreman's account of the battle written three days later is preserved.[5] Foreman escorted supply trains. He became a major in the 3rd Regiment of Indian Home Guards, mostly Cherokees, and was mustered out May 31, 1865.

Foreman was one of the early citizens of Muskogee and he evidently bore a fine reputation. He was the first president of the Indian International Fair Association organized there in 1874.[6] The fair lasted a week and was held annually in the latter part of September. It was the outstanding event of the year. Plains Indians attended it, and salesmen from adjoining states displayed their wares. Horse racing was a popular entertainment. The fair promoted agriculture, stirred emulation in its pursuit, and provided a stimulus along educational and industrial lines. The *Indian Journal* on October 26, 1876, noted the "untiring and determined spirit" of Foreman in making the fair a success. In the *Cherokee Advocate,* August 25, 1882, is an illustrated announcement of the fair, filling two columns. Foreman was still president. The amount of premiums and incidentals was $2,000.

On December 5, 1876, Foreman was elected steward of the Cherokee Asylum for the Insane, Deaf, Dumb, and Blind, located six miles south of Tahlequah. His first written report was made the next year and it is preserved.[7]

Foreman's activity as a miller and his relations with the Creek Nation deserve attention. He entered Creek territory as a contractor for the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad and remained in its employment about a decade. On December 12, 1873, the Indian agent permitted him to operate a mill on the east side of Muskogee. The site was west of present Cherokee Street and just north of the viaduct of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad. It is proper to assume that Foreman had the good of the country at heart and that he realized a mill would reduce the price of breadstuffs. He erected a windmill and later a steam mill. He added a cotton gin to the gristmill, the first cotton gin in that part of Indian Territory.

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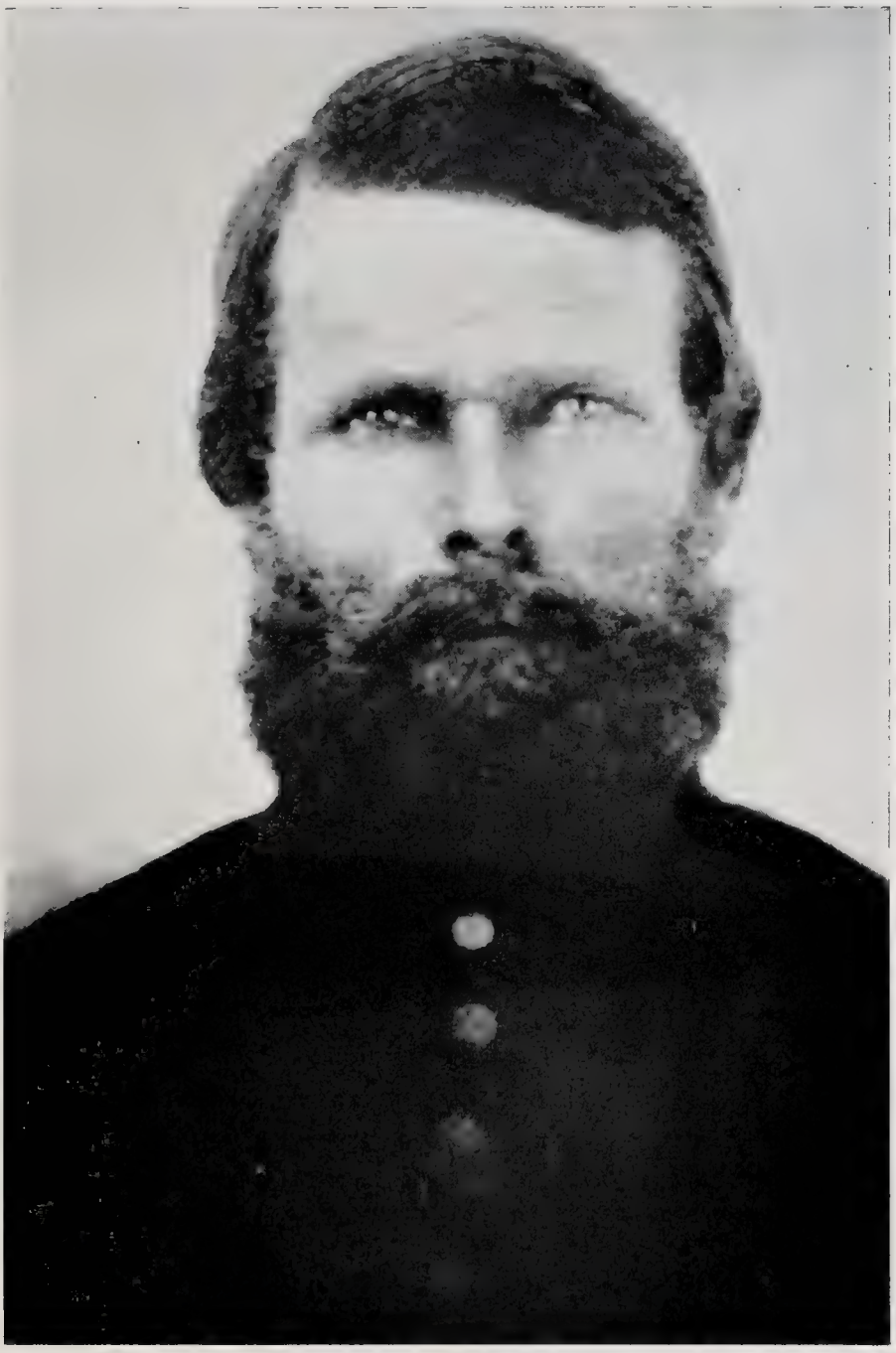
[4] Annie Rosser Cubage, "Engagement at Cabin Creek, Indian Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. X, No. 1 (March, 1932), pp. 44-51.

[5] *The War of the Rebellion,* series I, vol. 22, p. 382.

[6] Grant Foreman, *Muskogee,* pp. 32-73; Ella Robinson, "Indian International Fair," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XVII, No. 4 (Dec., 1939), pp. 413-416; Alice Robertson, "Muskogee. Historical and Anecdotal," *End of the Century of the Muskogee Phoenix,* Nov. 2, 1899, pp. 11-17. An excellent collection of extracts from contemporary newspapers concerning John A. Foreman is in the Okla. Hist. Society, *Grant Foreman Transcripts, Superintendent for Five Civilized Tribes, Creek,* vol. 10, pp. 178-199. There is no evidence that John A. Foreman and Grant Foreman were related.

[7] Carl T. Steen, "The Home for the Insane, Deaf, Dumb, and Blind of the Cherokee Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXI, No. 4 (Dec., 1943), pp. 402-417.



MAJOR JOHN A. FOREMAN

When the millers of the world met in Cincinnati in 1880, Foreman as a representative of Indian Territory sent a hundred pounds of his sunflower brand made from wheat grown by William Fisher, a member of the Creek National Council.[8] That year and the next year John A. Foreman was licensed to trade with the Creek Indians. A situation developed which resulted in representatives of the Creeks passing an "Act of the Council" providing for his removal from the limits of the nation.[9] Pleasant Porter called Foreman an intruder, but Alice Robertson considered him one of the most public-spirited, energetic, and enterprising first residents of Muskogee.

Foreman and his wife, Armanda Foreman, had two children, Fannie and Charles. Armanda died in 1869, and in 1885 Foreman maried Miss Mary E. Randolph. They adopted a daughter, Gertrude Lee Foreman, now Mrs. Charles Stuart Staig of Stephenville, Texas. Mrs. Staig remembers Foreman as a kind, soft-spoken man, but one very stern who meant what he said. She recalls that he was an expert shot, a good orator, and a man of religious tendency.[10]

In regard to the Great Rock Island and Pacific Route, see Marion Tuttle Rock, *Illustrated History of Oklahoma*, pp. 200-202. By an act of March 2, 1887, Congress granted the Chicago, Kansas, and Nebraska Railway Company the right to construct a railroad through Indian Territory from a point near Caldwell, Kansas, on the most practicable route to or near Fort Reno, and from thence in a southerly direction to the south line of Indian Territory; 24 *Statutes*, 446. The company was better known as, "Rock Island."

In 1881-82 in the present vicinity of El Reno, Foreman located cattle trails suitable to the interests of the Frisco Railroad. He lived at Wichita Falls, Texas, engaged in stockraising, and worked for the Rock Island Railway. He knew Indian Territory well and the company seemed to respect his views in constructing lines there. In 1888-89 he assisted the company in running a line from Kansas to El Reno.

On three different occasions during the prohibitory period Foreman traveled over the military road between Fort Sill and Caldwell, Kansas, for the purpose of consummating business matters, and not for the purpose of gaining undue advantage over anyone in making the Run on April 22, 1889. He said he planned to take a homestead in section four just north of present El Reno, but finding a large crowd at the ninety-eighth meridian opposite that section, he moved a mile south. In the Run on April 22 he traveled a half mile and immediately afternoon on that day went upon the northwest quarter

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[8] *Indian Journal*, May 20, 1880, *Grant Foreman Transcripts*, *loc. cit.*, vol. 10, p. 199.

[9] H. Price, Com. Ind. Aff., to Pleasant Porter et al., Jan. 11, 1882, Okla. Hist. Society, Ind. Archives Div., Creek Intruders, no. 31015; Porter to Price, Feb. 9, 1882, *ibid.*, no. 31019.

[10] Mrs. Staig has no papers on the founding of El Reno, but things she learned in that community helped me to understand better the early history there. Mr. and Mrs. Staig lived in El Reno several years.

of section nine at present El Reno. He found the tract unoccupied and claimed it for his homestead. The next day in the Kingfisher land office he filed a soldier's declaratory statement for the land, and made homestead entry for it on May 11. Routine procedure under Section 2290 of the *Revised Statutes* required that Foreman sign a homestead affidavit stating that the entry was "for the purpose of actual settlement and cultivation; that said entry is made for my own exclusive benefit, and not directly or indirectly for the benefit or use of any other person or persons whomsoever." His homestead claim was about seventeen miles from the military road he had traversed.

Two days after making homestead entry Foreman went on a four-day trip to the South Canadian River, leaving his homestead in charge of two friends.[11] He said he gave them

> . . . . special instructions to prevent any parties from coming on the place; as an attempt had been made about the 12th by four wagons loaded with men and effects coming onto the place, and informing me they intended to start a townsite: I gave them to understand that I would not permit it, as long as I could hold my homestead filing. I do not know who they were, but they took the advice and left. There had another party attempted to establish a townsite on the flats on the lowlands or the valley. They also were defeated by the holder of that claim. This caused the instruction to the aforenamed parties to prevent any settlement on or jumping of my claim. I instructed them that if any effort was made to call upon the military. During my absence the parties came and moved on and defied my men to put them off; the military was invoked; they refused to act without the orders of a U. S. marshal; the marshal was invoked, came to the ground and after a consultation with the intruders withdrew without calling on the military to help him.
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> Upon my return from the south to the South Canadian I was informed that I had a town on my place. I asked who the parties were; they could not name them. Next morning I went directly to Fort Reno to find out what had been done and who they were. I there found out that there was a company and that the military could not act without the orders of a U. S. marshal. I then went out to the homestead; I found a group of men actively engaged in surveying and laying off a town. I found a number of tents, a boarding tent with lumber for a floor for a boarding house. They had stopped my plow, which I had contracted plowing for ten acres on the northeast corner of the claim.
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> After waiting a few hours at my own tent to gain full information of all that had transpired and the names of the parties, I sent word to the man that had the contract for plowing to complete his contract of ten acres. I then went over to the tent representing headquarters. I there met one Dr. Rogers who stated they wanted to start a town. I told him that they did not want to start but that they had already done it. A proposition to lease was made. I refused to accept. I asked them to vacate. He commenced to argue the question with me: that he represented a large capital, and that he had already given the marshal $75, to leave the claim, and leave him in possession. He further stated that if I would not agree to lease that he would furnish the money to Dr. Westfall to contest me and he would lease it. I then sent to the Fort to see Mr. Evans, post sutler. Having confidence in him to obtain advice; he advised me to lease a portion of my homestead to the parties as the place was full of lot jumpers and by that

[11] Foreman's statement is in the case of Davis *v.* Foreman, 14 L. D. 146 (1892).

means the party might organize a town government to keep peace. I accordingly on the 19th day of May, agreed with them upon a lease.

Thus Foreman retained 40 acres for cultivation and leased 120 acres to the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company. The company was a private corporation formed under the laws of Colorado. The charter was executed on February 26, 1889, and was filed in the office of the Secretary of State of Colorado on March 8.[12] The objects of the company were to purchase and acquire lands in Colorado, Kansas, Missouri, and Indian Territory including Oklahoma district; to lay out townsites and to buy and sell lots, blocks, farms, and ranches; to erect buildings on any townsite or land purchased or acquired; to lease, rent, and sell buildings; to mortgage or bond any land or property purchased or acquired; to negotiate any stocks, bonds, or notes acquired by the company; and to do and perform all things authorized by law to be done by a corporation of this nature. The capital stock of the corporation was $100,000, divided into 1,000 shares of $100 each. The corporation should exist twenty years. Its principal office should be kept at Denver, and there should also be maintained an office at Purcell or other towns in Indian Territory, and branch offices might be held at Kansas City or Topeka. The organization was commonly known as a Kansas City company.

The corporation should have twelve directors, those for the first year being Thomas T. Crittenden, George W. Glick, J. S. Emery, George Leis, A. R. French, William C. Jones, Edward Austin, F. N. Chick, W. H. Whiteside, S. W. Sawyer, C. S. Rogers, Winfield Freeman. Crittenden was a former governor of Missouri, and Glick was a former governor of Kansas. Jones was the United States Marshal for the district of Kansas who with a number of his deputies should help preserve order in Oklahoma district during the land opening. C. D. French was a trustee of the company and Rogers was an agent for it. Sawyer was president of the Bank of El Reno.

According to Marion Tuttle Rock, a careful contemporary writer, Crittenden was president of the company, Glick was vice president, and George Leis of Lawrence, Kansas, was secretary.[13] She said the company took possession of the El Reno townsite on April 22, 1889, and "immediately secured two old soldiers [Foreman and James Thompson] to place homestead filings on the half section. The company then leased the land of the soldier homesteaders for a term of ninety-nine years, which, together with a contract in which the homesteaders agreed to deed to the townsite company after the Government had issued to them a patent for the land, was all the title the company had." She said the first election at El Reno was held on May 3

[12] A certified copy of the charter is in NA, GLO, townsite box 164, El Reno. T. B. Bullentene served on the board of directors of the company in 1890: see also *Records of the Secretary of State of Colorado*, vol. 18, pp. 257-258.

[13] Rock, *Illustrated History of Oklahoma*, p. 180.

at which Rogers was chosen mayor. Among those elected to the council were W. F. Sawyer, James P. Scales, and John A. McDonald. A post office was established at El Reno on June 28 with Reuben J. Hickox as postmaster. The name of the town was changed from "Reno" to "El Reno" in order to satisfy the Post Office Department and to prevent the location from being confused with Fort Reno and Reno City.[14]

At El Reno the company assumed its right to sublease. A condition of the lease provided that the company should erect a schoolhouse and maintain a school, plat the grounds for a town, and pay all expenses. As soon as Foreman received title to the land he was to convey it accordingly. The rental price was one dollar an acre per annum until title was obtained by the lot holders. Based on this lease entered into a few days after Foreman made homestead entry, El Reno became a well-known town.

On securing the lease the company at once surveyed, staked, and platted the tract into blocks, lots, streets, and alleys. Their claim and control was recognized by the people of El Reno as expressed in a charter adopted on the townsite on May 22. At that time there were about 25 or 50 persons on the Foreman tract, according to Martin L. Stanley who later became chairman of the Board of Townsite Trustees of the Town of El Reno. The charter was officially published in the *El Reno Herald* on September 26. It reads:

> It was unanimously resolved, that, whereas, there are no means whereby the inhabitants of El Reno can legally enter lands under the laws of the United States, and whereas, in all lands attempted to be occupied as government townsites, there is great strife and uncertainty in regard to titles and the possession of lots, it is expedient that the people of the town of El Reno, adopt the system proposed by the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company, and take leases for the lots with an agreement for the deeds as soon as the settlers get final receipt or the Government provides a law under which the occupants can secure title.[15]

The charter provided for a city recorder. That officer was duly elected and immediately entered upon the duties of the office, and at all proper times thereafter his official records were kept open to the public. The office was generally recognized by the people of El Reno, and quitclaim deeds were generally recorded there. Deeds issued from time to time to the holders of lots in what was known as Foreman's part of El Reno, and were recognized by the people of the town. Certificates and contracts issued by the company to lots on the tract were recognized by the people as evidence of title. From time to time Foreman issued deeds upon these certificates and contracts.

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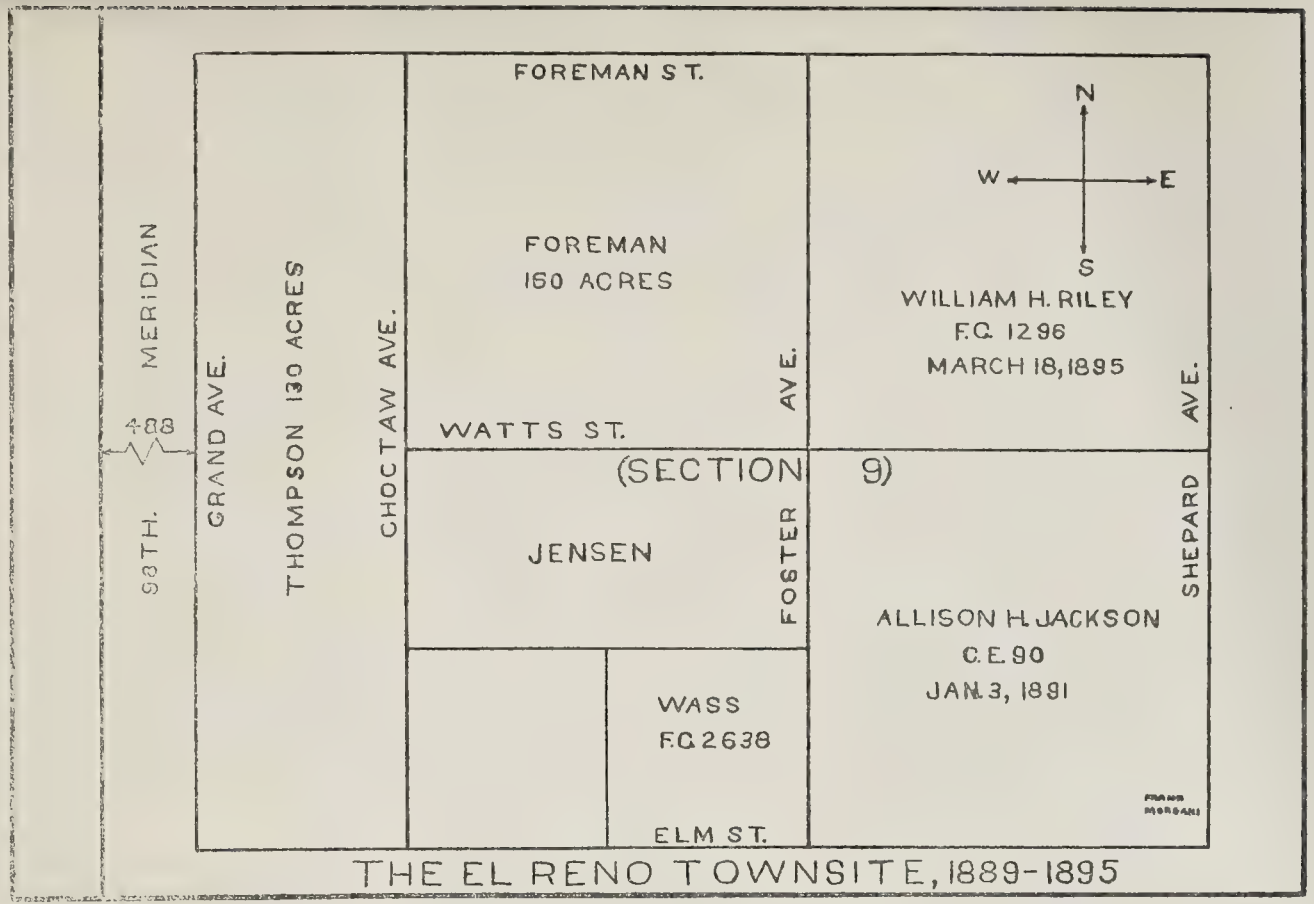
[14] Claude E. Hensley, "How El Reno Acquired its Name," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 4 (Dec., 1933), pp. 1116-1117; George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952), p. 59.

[15] This provision of the charter is quoted in the case of Frank E. Walker and George D. Buckley, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 16, pp. 183-188 (July 20, 1894).



TOWNSITE MAP OF EL RENO, 1888-1895

Apparently there was harmony in the growing town so far as Foreman and the company were concerned. Foreman made more than one visit to Washington to secure appropriate townsite legislation and to enter his homestead for townsite purposes. By February 10, 1890, he was active in an effort to have Congress empower local city governments to carry out their contracts with all parties in good faith as to titles to town lots. He stated that except for Guthrie and Oklahoma City "the towns were organized by the buying of a relinquishment of parts of claims of entrymen and taking from them legal subdivisions of their claims, and upon this the Town was layed off."[16]

On January 22 Bishop Walden Perkins of the House Committee on Territories said he did not think it would be right to attempt to legalize what the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company and the cooperating homesteaders had done in establishing El Reno.[17] Any assumption that the company and Foreman were operating a secret system was dispelled by the following document published that day in the *Congressional Record*:

> The Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company having leased from three homesteaders three 80-acre tracts of land at a rental of $1 per acre annually in advance, and having laid said land off for a townsite, in lots and blocks, and having subleased the same for a consideration in hand paid and a balance to be paid when a perfect title can be made, and there being the most perfect understanding and absolute satisfaction between the holders of the leased lots, the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company, and the homesteaders who have leased the aforesaid company their lands, and the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company having erected and maintained a first-class hotel, built store buildings, office buildings, and school buildings, made roads in and around the town, built bridges and culverts, sunk and equipped public wells, and subsidized stage-lines to the amount of thousands of dollars over and above all money received from the lease of lots: Now, therefore, we respectfully ask that our contracts and agreements between all parties connected therewith shall be legalized, that they may be fully carried out.
>
> A. A. Farnham, mayor; James B. Scales, councilman; Alva C. Springs, councilman; S. W. Sawyer, councilman; Frank Fischer, police judge; John A. Foreman, homesteader; James D. S. Chalmers, homesteader; W. G. McDonald, editor El Reno Herald; William A. Clute, homesteader; W. R. Reardon; R. R. Hickox, homesteader; Ignoces Losineicki; William Hughs, livery barn; William J. Grant, editor and proprietor El Reno Herald; V. D. Tinklepaugh; C. S. Carswell, attorney at law; H. P. Randolph.

Three miles north of El Reno was Reno City. It began with high hopes of becoming a place of prominence. The *Reno Capital City* and two other newspapers were established there in 1889.[18] A resident of

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[16] See statement by Foreman to House of Representatives, endorsed by a list of citizens of Union City. The statement was on the "table" February 10, 1890. It is in NA, Legislative Section, Sen. 51A-J49.

[17] *Cong. Record*, Jan. 22, 1890, p. 780.

[18] Carolyn Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints*, p. 393. According to Claude E. Hensley, the *Reno County Press* and the *Reno City Eagle* were the only newspapers ever published at Reno City.

Reno City had his choice of sixteen saloons. George E. Lambe said of the Rock Island Railroad: "Reno City foolishly refused to donate anything, thinking that because the route was already surveyed they would not go to the expense of a re-survey."[19] Lambe added that Foreman made the railroad an attractive offer in lots and "a large cash bonus." It was announced that the route of the Rock Island would be more than a mile west of Reno City, and that the settlement of El Reno was along the right of way. Some residents of Reno City slipped across the river to buy lots in the new town, while others argued about what steps could be taken to halt the upstart to the south. "In the succeeding months, the rivalry between the two communities ran high, sometimes even becoming violent, but when, in January of 1890, the whistle of the locomotive of the first train crossing the river into El Reno, was heard in Reno City, its fate was sealed."[20]

Frisco was twelve miles east of El Reno, just across the North Canadian River from present Yukon. One source has it that the election for a county seat was held in March, 1890, at which time El Reno was said to have a population of about 400 or about half that of Frisco.[21] The situation was as follows:

> On election day Rock Island section gangs from 100 miles up the line came to town along with a number of Fort Reno soldiers in civilian garb. Election rules were not too strict and when the polls closed El Reno had chalked up 763 votes in town, which with the support of Yukon and Mustang, was enough to swing the decision . . . . . Thus the routing of the Rock Island more than a mile west of Reno City brought about the founding of El Reno, and the vote of Rock Island employees made it the county seat.

Reno City and Frisco as rivals of El Reno saw their hopes fade away when Congress placed this sentence in the Territorial Act of May 2, 1890: "The county seat of the Fourth County shall be at El Reno."[22] There is very limited documentary evidence pointing to the

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[19] For a readable and rather full account of the views of an El Reno resident, see George E. Lambe, March 15, 1938, Okla. Hist. Society, *Indian-Pioneer History*, vol. 109, pp. 54-76. Charles Brandley has lived in the vicinity of El Reno since 1889. He told the author that popular tradition perpetuates the statement that Reno City refused to donate a local right of way to the railroad, and that Foreman and his associates offered a consideration at El Reno.

[20] Illustrated section on early history of El Reno. The *El Reno Daily Tribune*, Oct. 5, 1952.

[21] *Ibid.* A census lists a population of 327 at Frisco, 285 at El Reno, and 234 at Reno Village; *Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census*: 1890, part 1, p. 283. See also, "Frisco—Once Leading Town of State—Now Extinct," the *El Reno American, Agricultural Edition*, March 22, 1928, p. 6.

[22] 26 *Statutes*, 81. On April 23, 1889, Thomas J. Holdridge made homestead entry for 151 acres three miles north of El Reno. He relinquished it on May 11 and on May 7, 1891, it was purchased as the townsite of Reno City by Townsite Board no. 3 consisting of Joseph T. Moore, Winfield S. Silver, and Mitchael C. Connelly; GLO, *Okla. Tract Book*, vol. 4, p. 166: NA, GLO, Okla. City, C. E. 185 Norman A. McClean of Reno City estimated the population at about 185.

motivating force that caused Congress to designate El Reno as a county seat. Those versed in practical politics of that era will not doubt that the dominant influence stemmed from an organized local community. The Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company and the Rock Island Railroad Company could hardly have been strangers to that influence.

The Territorial Act provided that in all surveys for townsites there should be reserved not less than ten acres for parks, schools, and other public purposes. Of special interest to Foreman was a provision stating that in case any land in the Territory of Oklahoma, which might be occupied and filed upon as a homestead, under the provisions of law applicable to the Territory, by a person who was entitled to perfect his title thereto under such laws, were required for townsite purposes, it should be lawful for such person to apply to the Secretary of the Interior to purchase the lands embraced in said homestead, or any part thereof, for townsite purposes. He should file with the application a plat of such proposed townsite, and if the plat should be approved by the Secretary of the Interior, he should issue a patent to such person for land embraced in said townsite, upon the payment of the sum of ten dollars per acre for all the lands embraced in such townsite, except the lands to be donated and maintained for public purposes as explained above. The sums so received by the Secretary of the Interior should be paid over to the proper authorities of the municipalities when organized, to be used by them for school purposes only.

There was no law in Oklahoma district under which townsites could be entered until Congress passed the Townsite Act on May 14, 1890.[23] The act provided that so much of the public lands situated in Oklahoma, then open to settlement, as might be necessary to embrace all the legal subdivisions "covered by actual occupancy for purposes of trade and business" might be entered as townsites for the several use and benefit of the occupants thereof. The act provided that all unclaimed lots, or lots not otherwise disposed of as provided for in the act, should be sold under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior for the benefit of the municipal government of the town, or the same or any part thereof might be reserved for public use as sites for public buildings, or for the purpose of parks, if in the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior such reservation would be for the public interest.

The act provided that any certificate or other paper evidence of claim duly issued by the authority recognized for such purpose by the people residing upon any townsite and subject to legal entry, should be taken as evidence of occupancy by the holder thereof of the lot or lots therein described, except that where there was an ad-

[23] 26 *Statutes*, 109.

verse claim to said property, such certificate should be only prima facie evidence of the claim of occupancy of the holder.

A belated and unsuccessful participant in the El Reno picture was John W. Brewer who located on the Foreman tract February 1, 1890. On or about May 16 he attempted to file in the Kingfisher land office an affidavit of contest against Foreman's homestead entry charging soonerism, and he offered to present corroborating evidence..[24] The land office refused to take action on the affidavit of contest and Brewer presented the matter to the Commissioner of the General Land Office with the request to make homestead entry for the tract Foreman claimed.

The Territorial Act of May 2, 1890, made provision for the incorporation of towns. On June 12 a petition for incorporation was submitted to the Board of Fourth County Commissioners. It appeared to the commissioners that a majority of the taxable male inhabitants of the village had signed the petition. The commissioners accordingly ordered and declared that 120 acres of the tract occupied by Foreman and the adjoining 80 acres occupied by Thomas Jensen (the north half of Jensen's homestead) be incorporated and that the inhabitants "within said bounds" be a body politic and corporate by the name and style of "The Village of El Reno."[25] It was further ordered that A. A. Farnham, E. E. Elterman, A. F. Masterman, M. M. Kerfoot, and H. T. Graham should constitute the board of trustees of the village until their successors were elected and qualified as provided by law. The trustees on July 11 ordered W. E. Fryberger, village clerk, to secure a seal with the words, "Village of El Reno and Seal," engraved thereon. On July 16 ordinances were adopted establishing a criminal code, prohibiting stock from running at large, and prohibiting nuisances which included placing buildings or other obstructions in the streets.[26]

On July 11 Foreman and his wife, Mary E. Foreman, appeared before Jensen, notary public, and executed a dedication on a plat marked, "Foreman's Part of El Reno." The plat was by A. W. Boeke who stated that it was made prior to May 2. Boeke and Foreman noted on the plat that the tract previous to May 2 had been "occupied for trade and business and Townsite Purposes."

Foreman on August 9 made application to purchase the quarter section he occupied, under the provisions of section 22 of the act of

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[24] Brewer's statement of his case is dated May 21, 1892, and is in NA, GLO, Okla. City, C. E. 553; see also tel. from Asst. Com. M. M. Rose to James M. Bishop, Jan. 6, 1893, NA, GLO, "A" *Telegrams*, vol. 28, p. 427.

[25] *El Reno Minute Book, July*, 1890, *to May*, 1893, pp. 3-4. The book is in the City Hall of El Reno. The northeast quarter of Foreman's tract was outside the corporation.

[26] The criminal code provided a fine from ten to fifty dollars for every person who should appear in any public place in the village "in any dress not belonging to his or her sex or in any indecent or lewd dress."

May 2. His house was worth $400 and his farming equipment was substantial. He said: "I want this land for a townsite, the convenience of the neighborhood requires it. It has been laid off into lots many of which are now occupied for the purpose of trade and business. I am willing to make all the reservations and donations demanded by the statute, and pay at the rate of ten dollars per acre therefor." Foreman filed the required plats for a townsite, the Secretary of the Interior approved them, and on November 8 they were filed in the office of the Register of Deeds of Canadian County.[27]

On December 16 in the Oklahoma City land office Foreman submitted final proof for his application. This required him to make the final affidavit of a homestead claimant, stating that no part of the land had been alienated except as provided in Section 2288 of the *Revised Statutes,* and that he was the sole, bona fide owner as an actual settler.[28] Opposition came from a group headed by Anson A. Davis, a homesteader about two miles east of Frisco. Davis charged that Foreman had soonered, that his purpose in taking the homestead was to speculate in the sale of portions of it for townsite purposes, and that Foreman was an agent of the company and from the first was in collusion with them. John H. Burford and John C. Delaney, register and receiver of the land office, found the conditions "very questionable on the part of Foreman," probably justifying cancellation of the homestead entry. They also said: "The townsite occupants are all willing and anxious for the proof to be approved and that Foreman be allowed to make his entry and the opposition comes from parties not interested in the townsite occupants or settlers. Davis has a homestead filing and is living near a rival town, while the others have had trouble with Foreman."[29]

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[27] The plat Foreman filed is in the office of the clerk of Canadian County, *Plat Book,* no. 1, p. 1. Similar plats were filed by Jensen and James Thompson on November 8, 1890, and are in *ibid.,* pp. 2-3. A helpful guide to towns, important individuals, and places of business is *Smith's First Directory of Oklahoma Territory, For the Year Commencing, August* 1, 1890.

[28] No final homestead affidavit was found in Foreman's homestead papers in NA, GLO, Oklahoma City land office, Cash Entry 204. It may be assumed that he made such an affidavit which was part of the procedure in making cash entry for a homestead. Section 2288 of the *Revised Statutes* empowered a homesteader to transfer by warrant against his own acts, any portion of his homestead for church, cemetery, or school purposes, or for the right of way of railroads.

[29] Joseph Hickox lived at El Reno. He circulated a petition among residents there requesting Burford and Delaney to avoid any unnecessary delay in securing Foreman a title to his homestead. Hickox said that nearly every businessman and occupant of a lot there signed the petition. When Foreman was making final proof, Hickox met Angus McClean for the first time, and heard that he lived at Caldwell, Kansas. Attorneys representing Davis and McClean cross-examined Foreman. The *Reno City Tract Book* in the General Land Office shows that Norman A. McClean of Caldwell acquired more than a half dozen lots in Reno City. Claude E. Hensley who knew Angus McClean and Norman A. McClean told me that they were brothers.

Acting Commissioner W. M. Stone on May 19, 1891, said of Foreman:[30]

> As to his qualifications as a homesteader no doubt can be entertained. Beyond question he entered Oklahoma in compliance with the President's proclamation . . . . It is apparent that Mr. Foreman was over-powered by the townsite locators; that they went upon the claim during his absence and commenced their operations against his earnest protests. He could not evict them without assistance from the authorities. This he endeavored to procure but failed. He could not be expected to commence legal proceedings against all those intruders. These surroundings did not of course, amount to legal duress but the conditions were obviously such as to compel him to act contrary to his own wishes and judgment in the premises. It was clearly a case of implied coercion. Acting upon what he supposed was good advice, he entered into a compromise with the intruders, in order to avoid a threatened contest which might have been vexatious and expensive. This compromise resulted in the lease heretofore spoken of. I am unable to perceive how the arrangement thus made in any manner militates against his good faith. It does not tend to show that when he selected his claim and settled upon it he did not honestly intend it for homestead purposes. Upon this point the usual presumption of good faith is in his favor. He is certainly not responsible for the condition of affairs that came about by the unlawful intrusion of the town lot jumpers. It was a force too powerful for him to resist unaided, had he attempted it loss of life might have resulted. I think under the circumstances, he adopted the wiser course.

Stone also said:

> It is the condition of the land at the date of the *original* entry that is to determine the question, and not its *subsequent occupation* for the purposes named . . . . . The lot owners are themselves satisfied with the situation, and by petition have asked that Foreman's townsite application be allowed. The opposition to this comes entirely from persons outside the town who own no property there, and are not interested in its welfare.

Foreman on May 28 paid $1,500 and commuted the homestead entry to cash for townsite purposes, except for ten acres, and received Cash Certificate 204. On May 29 he filed the certificate in the office of the Register of Deeds of Canadian County where all could read the contents including the following: "On presentation of this certificate to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, the said John A. Foreman shall be entitled to receive a patent."[31] Under and by virtue of the certificate Foreman issued deeds to lot claimants. Many people believed that issuance of the certificate settled the question of title.

A map published in 1891 designates El Reno as the "Great Railroad Centre and the Future Capital of the Territory."[32] The town

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[30] Stone to register and receiver, Okla. City land office, May 19, 1891, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 5, pp. 392-405. A paragraph of this unpublished letter is quoted by B. B. Chapman, "Guthrie, From Public Land to Private Property," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1955), p. 66.

[31] Cash Certificate 204, filed on May 29, 1891, is in the office of the clerk of Canadian County, *Final Receipt Record*, vol. 9, p. 25.

[32] The map is in NA, Legislative Section, 52A-E1.

is termed the "Hub of Oklahoma Territory and the Gateway and Distributing Supply Point for the Cheyennes and Arapahoes." The map states that the Rock Island Railroad was largely interested in realty in El Reno and was determined to make it a city of the first class.

Mention should be made of Foreman's neighbors who homesteaded at El Reno. Thomas Jensen, age 38, on April 23, 1889, made homestead entry for the southwest quarter of section nine, adjoining Foreman's tract on the south. On December 20, 1890, he relinquished the south half of the tract. On the same day he made Cash Entry 77 for townsite purposes by paying $800 for the north half. Napoleon B. Wass, a former rival of Foreman and Jensen, promptly made homestead entry for the east 40 acres of the south half and proved up in 1897.[33] The west 40 was entered by two successive homesteaders before it was purchased from the government by townsite trustees.

James Thompson was a single man who had considerable military service from 1863 to 1880, and until the opening of Oklahoma district he was Post Saddler at Fort Reno.[34] On May 1, 1889, he made homestead entry for a rectangular tract of 130 acres which on the east bordered lands of Foreman and Jensen. Thompson's west line was the 98th meridian. On December 20, 1890, Thompson made Cash Entry 76 for the portion of his tract west of Foreman, and on December 26 he made Cash Entry 82 for the portion west of Jensen. Thus lands purchased by Jensen and Thompson bordered the Foreman tract and were occupied and used as a part of the townsite of El Reno. Jensen and Thompson entered into a lease and contract with the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company for a valuable consideration at about the time Foreman did.[35]

In his contest with Foreman, Anson A. Davis appealed from the decision of the General Land Office to the Secretary of the Interior. The matter was also taken to Congress. On January 7, 1892, Perkins introduced Senate Bill 1542 providing that Foreman's entry for townsite purposes be "confirmed and made valid, to relate back and take effect from the date thereof."[36] The bill was for the "relief of

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[33] On December 20, 1889, Wass acquired a substantial interest in the 80 acres for which Jensen made cash entry; office of clerk of Canadian County, *Warranty Deeds*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9.

[34] Thompson to Maj. E. F. Weigle, Feb. 20, 1892, "James Thompson Papers," NA, GLO, townsite box 152 and related boxes; see also papers concerning C. E. 773, *ibid.*; GLO, *Okla. Tract Book*, vol. 4, p. 147.

[35] Asst. Com. Rose to register and receiver, Okla. City land office, Nov. 26, 1892, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 10, pp. 159-160; same to same, Nov. 26, 1892, *ibid.*, pp. 162-164.

Julius A. Penn on April 23, 1889, made homestead entry for the northeast quarter of section nine. The west border of his claim touched the Foreman tract. Penn relinquished his homestead on July 18. On that day it was entered by William H. Riley who received Final Certificate 1296 on March 18, 1895.

[36] Senate Bill 1542 is in NA, Legislative Section, 52A-E1.

the occupants of the townsite." On January 28 Davis sent to Congress a letter relating the speculative purposes of Foreman in connection with the townsite company, and exposing the "fraud" being perpetrated.[37] Davis said: "The statement that the contest was initiated for speculative purposes is a lie on its face. On the contrary it was made in good faith to protect the legal settlers against fraud. In substantiation of this position I will say that I was importuned by Foreman's representative and by the attorney for the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company by offers of money and lots if I would withdraw my contest."

Between July 1, 1891, and January 28, 1892, Foreman and his wife made 444 warranty deeds conveying 589 lots. These lot holders requested Congress to pass the bill for the relief of the inhabitants of El Reno.[38] Most of the inhabitants of El Reno seem to have conceded to the company and to Foreman the right to sell and convey lots, and to have recognized the instruments of the same as conveying to the purchasers, not only the right of possession, but title to the lots therein designated. The General Land Office did not flinch from its devotion to the established order. When Senate Bill 1542 came before Commissioner Thomas H. Carter on January 30 he noted that Foreman's entry covered but half of the El Reno townsite, and recommended a bill by which not only Foreman's entry, but all other similar entries then suspended by the General Land Office could be passed to patent.[39]

On Saturday, February 6, County Attorney E. J. Simpson transmitted to Secretary John W. Noble a petition signed by Mayor Martin L. Stanley and by more than sixty other citizens and property owners of El Reno, urging Noble to hasten the issuance of a patent to Thompson for all his tract.[40] The petition stated that it was the unanimous wish of the people that the title be perfected, "both on his account, and in order that our own titles may be perfected." Among signers were Sheriff Orville Shelby, County Clerk D. D. Davisson, and County Surveyor J. W. Maney.

Like thunder at dawn, the decision of Noble fell on El Reno. On February 6 he directed that the homestead and cash entries made by Foreman be canceled, and the land entered under the provisions of the townsite law.[41] Noble had no doubt as to the illegality of the action of Foreman. He said that under the homestead law Foreman was not entitled to perfect title to the land. He noted that some members of the company were friends of Foreman whom he had known for years, and in whom he had implicit confidence. Noble said:

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[37] Davis to Chairman of Sen. Committee on Public Lands, Jan. 28, 1892, *ibid.*

[38] The list of names and location of lots is in *ibid;* see also *Oklahoma Democrat*, Sept. 12, 1891.

[39] Carter to Sec. Int., Jan. 30, 1892, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 8, pp. 71-82.

[40] The petition is in the "James Thompson Papers," *loc. cit.*

[41] Davis *v.* Foreman, 14 L. D. 146 (1892).

Foreman attempts to convey the impression that the occupation of this land by the townsite company was in opposition to his will and against his wishes. The evidence before me is neither satisfactory nor convincing on this point . . . . The company had absolute control of the land, it disposed of lots, and valuable improvements were placed upon the same by the purchasers, and it would be absurd to suppose that this was done on any other theory than the one that Foreman had parted with his interest in said land or lots. The contention of Foreman, carried to its logical conclusion, would result in this, that a homestead claimant, immediately after the entry, may transfer possession and relinquish to another, all the land embraced in his entry with a covenant to transfer absolute title as soon as title is perfected in him, and then having been permitted by his grantee, to reside on the land for the required time, he may perfect title upon the theory that there has been no alienation of the land as contemplated by law, as he had no ownership to transfer or alienate. It is sufficient to say that such a construction would be contrary to, and utterly subversive of, all the principles of the homestead law and can not be entertained.

On February 6 about noon a citizen of El Reno received a private message stating the essence of Noble's decision. The land Foreman claimed was public domain. About 9 p. m. lot jumpers moved along the line with a grand rush and in one hour scarcely a lot could be found on the Foreman tract that was not occupied. The *Oklahoma Democrat* at El Reno said: "All night long the deafening sound of the hammer was heard in every portion of the city and when dawn broke upon the scene, El Reno presented an appearance never before witnessed in this section. Shingles, pieces of scantling foundations, dugouts and skeleton frames loomed up from two thousand places which gave the city the appearance of having been visited by a cyclone."[42] The *Wichita Daily Eagle* on Sunday, February 7, seemed to confirm the message of the day previous. Then vigilant search was made by people to find lots that might have been overlooked and fences were in some instances torn down and shacks built within. Lawrence G. Adams said: "By putting improvements on vavant land or lots, you could hold the property against the wishes of the first owners."[43]

The following report from El Reno on February 9 appeared the next day in the *Wichita Daily Eagle*:

Notwithstanding reports to the contrary, the lot jumping at El Reno is not a bloody or serious affair. It is a fact that some of the county officials seem to be rather inclined to take sides with the jumpers or to remain on the fence, and to their inactivity and examples is principally due the troubles which have occurred. United States Marshal [William] Grimes and Deputy Marshal [Chris] Madsen arrived here yesterday, but it is not yet known what they have decided to do. Marshal Grimes went to Guthrie, leaving Deputy Marshal Madsen in charge of affairs, and it is presumed

[42] *Oklahoma Democrat*, Feb. 13, 1892. The newspaper said: "Talk about messiah crazes and the foolish antics of the aboriginees, they in comparison stand as nothing to the wild and sometimes dangerous excitement incident to lot jumping in Oklahoma."

[43] Statement by Adams, July 7, 1937, Okla. Hist. Society, *Indian-Pioneer History*, vol. 12, pp. 81-89.

that as soon as he receives instructions he will at once proceed to remove the jumpers and restore order.

A telegram received by President Benjamin Harrison on February 11 described the situation thus: "Lot jumpers have taken possession of El Reno."[44] In the meantime a rush had been made on the Jensen tract but the lot jumpers "finding their mistake did not follow up their settlement."

The *Oklahoma Democrat* on Saturday, February 13, said that countless numbers of messages "poured in to the Secretary of the Interior, President of the United States and various federal officers for information and instruction. U. S. Marshal Grimes finally appeared upon the scene." The account continued:

> The restraining order of the U. S. District Court was found to be still in force and Marshal Madsen on Wednesday morning posted notices of the order in various parts of the city. The town government did all they could for law and order and requested that the citizens obey the order of the court. Unnecessary excitement has been caused by officers of the law jumping lots and persons termed leading professional men advising against the order of the court. Today peace reigns so far as external appearances go. The officers are removing the improvements of the jumpers as fast as complaints are made by the lot owners and there are now but few residents and property owners who believe that the jumping will in the end amount to anything. It is evident to all observers that the masses have been misled, that bad council has been given and that private messages have been mistaken for official information.

Under date of February 15, a petition with a half-dozen pages of signatures of interested parties in El Reno was addressed to Congress.[45] Signers included Sheriff Orville Shelby, County Clerk D. D. Davisson and other local officers. Their signatures on petitions illustrate how quickly county officers could join a lot-jumpers camp. The petition of February 15 urged Congress to pass no legislation for "innocent purchasers" because there were none. It was charged that after Noble's decision Foreman had been making many deeds, backdating them in 1891, and conveying lots to the members of the town

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[44] Martin L. Stanley and the town board consisting of S. W. Sawyer, William A. Clute, R. D. Wood, and James G. Tompkins met in called session on February 8 and prepared the telegram "after long discussion"; *El Reno Minute Book, July, 1890, to May*, 1893, p. 152. The telegram is in NA, Justice Dept., appointment file of John H. Burford.

[45] Petition of Feb. 15, 1892, NA, Legislative Section 52A-E1. The *Oklahoma Democrat* on March 5, 1892 said: "The petition recently sent to the Senate from this city setting forth that 95 per cent of the people were in favor of a government townsite and technically favoring lot jumping basely misrepresents the interests and wishes of the property owners and bona fide residents of this city. The petition is calculated to mislead the senate in representing that the fight is between the people and the town company when in reality it is between those who have paid valuable consideraion for their property and those who desire to get something for nothing. The town company has nothing to do with it. The people want what they paid for and justly own and no more. And they are confident the government will recognize their rights."

company which was "a foreign corporation," and their friends. The petition said that 95 percent of the resident voters wanted the land entered under the townsite law, for nearly all except members of the town company had their lots improved and could hold them. Issuance of deeds by Foreman after Noble's decision brought about the observation that he was likely to get into trouble.[46] Davisson wrote a letter giving grave charges of apparent fraud. He presented documentary evidence tending to show that actual settlers holding under Foreman's pledge of title paid valuable consideration, only to have the lots finally deeded by Foreman to adherents of the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company.

A committee requesting relief from Congress consisted of A. F. Masterman, F. H. Gerrer, W. S. Wright, George D. Orput, M. M. Engle, H. C. Acuff, and Amos Aspey. They stated that no relief could be secured from the county court and officers of the law.[47] They said:

> Many people have come into El Reno and leased lots of the purchasers but joined themselves together to defeat the title of those who have purchased property in El Reno in good faith, thereby hoping to turn El Reno into a government townsite and obtain the lots themselves. Others again joined in the fight with the hope that the town might be destroyed or kept back that they may, when the Cheyenne and Arapahoe country is opened, go into that country a short distance from El Reno and build up another town and profit thereby. This class of people, of course, and the leaders especially, have no property interests in El Reno and in the struggle they have brought on they have nothing to lose. For sometime the people who have been working against the rightful owners have been organized for a general movement to take possession of all the unimproved lots and without regard to others rights. Among these people are low characters found in all frontier towns. The people whose lots they have taken and jumped are actual settlers and purchasers.

Secretary Noble thought that innocent purchasers should be protected "so far as it is possible to be done." He also said: "I could not consistently recommend that Foreman's entry be confirmed by act of Congress, as he had violated the provisions of the law under which he had made entry for the land."[48] On February 25 Delegate David A. Harvey introduced House Bill 6481 for the relief of citizens of El Reno.

In confidence and without the knowledge of her husband, Mary E. Foreman addressed a letter to Senator Perkins.[49] She said:

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[46] *Wichita Daily Eagle*, Feb. 17, 1892; Davisson to Emera E. Wilson, Feb. 25, 1892, NA, Legislative Section, 52A-E1.

[47] The statement of the committee, not dated, is in *ibid.*

[48] Noble to Sen. J. N. Dolph, Feb. 16, 1892, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., *Rec. Letters Sent*, vol. 112, pp. 26-29.

[49] Mary E. Foreman to Perkins, Feb. 26, 1892, NA, Legislative Section 52A-E1. This file contains on printed form a copy of a warranty deed Foreman and his wife made on Jan. 12, 1892, to the First Baptist Church of El Reno for lot 6 in block 105.

I wish all good people like yourself knew just how we have suffered here in El Reno for ever since the day my husband, Major Foreman, taken [sic] his claim he has had trouble, for it was a valuable claim and a splendid location for a townsite, and the contestants were many and terrible. They forced Major Foreman into the leasing a portion of his claim by threats if he didn't lease to them the contestants would . . . . This story about him occupying the land before the Run on the 22 is false as false can be . . . . Strange that would-be-gentlemen of this enlightened age would in the face of the Almighty swear such notorious falsehoods. Such men as Dr. Davis of Frisco, a would-be-gentleman to go before the Almighty, the God who gave him his being and swear to such things as he did, just through malice towards Major Foreman, just for the simple reason that Frisco lost the county seat. In fact all the bordering towns are against El Reno for she is the Bell[e] of Oklahoma, and everything is fighting her and trying to keep her back. Even some of the people in her midst are trying to ruin her progress for the sake of jumping a few lots . . . .

They are constantly reporting that Foreman's claim is canceled to the enemy and causing lot jumpers to jump into our field among our trees and shrubbery and stake off lots. We have lived here and prepared the soil, planted trees and shrubbery and cultivated our land ever since the Run . . . .

When he [Foreman] came to Oklahoma he expected to take a homestead and not a townsite . . . . They crowded on him, he either had to do as he did or walk off and leave it with the contestants. And why should this land now be taken from him and given to others far less worthy? Many of them here [are] only waiting till the west land [Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation] is ready for them to go onto, and why should they and the people of the border towns come in here and ruin the homesteaders and the good citizens of El Reno, while they are waiting for their lands to open. If this land is taken from Major Foreman it will leave him and his family without means and break him up, as he has used his means and time for the growth of the town. I have lived right here and suffered and was exposed to hardships trying to hold our claim and I felt all the time that it was our claim and that we were entitled to it or I should never have staid and worked as I have to beautify it for others to come and take by jumping it without having any right to it. My husband says that if they do take it from him he will never try to take another homestead as he will always feel that this land is his, and that he tried to do fare [sic] by the government and all parties, and he feels that he is entitled to this land, and the government that he done so much to save should stand by him. I do not write this to you for sympathy, but simply to give you these facts. He gave 4 years and some months of his life to the government in time of the war, and also his health. I do not care so much for myself although I am an invalid myself; it's my husband I care for. I hate to see him treated so.

The Canadian County Republican Convention in session in El Reno on February 27 passed a resolution terming Noble's decision an act of justice in wresting the land from the control of "a foreign landed syndicate."[50] The resolution expressed opposition to class legislation tending to legalize illegal acts of any entryman or corporation, whereby they might be enabled to rob the masses of what in law and right belonged to the people. The Senate Committee on Public Lands on April 5 recommended that all claims to lots purchased for value previous to Noble's decision on February 6 should be recognized in

[50] The resolution of February 27, 1892, is in the *El Reno Herald*, March 4, 1892.

the disposal of the lots included in the entry under the townsite law.[51] But Congress took no action.

William A. Clute, editor of the *Oklahoma Democrat*, was a staunch supporter of Foreman's cause. On February 29 he received by mail drawings of a skull and crossbones, and of a man being hanged. With it was this note signed, "White Caps": "We give thee warning—Don't oppose the lot jumpers any more in your paper. We never warn but once. If there is anything against the lot jumpers in your next issue, beware as we are mighty as Sampson with the jawbone of an ass. We will crush you as thou were but a fly. Once again we give thee timely warning."

In the next issue of the paper, March 5, Clute published the note and a facsimile of the drawings. He said:

> The editor acknowledges receipt by publication of the notice. It is a little late for valentines but nevertheless shows that the writer holds us in some consideration. As his weapon is the jawbone of an ass, we presume he chose the article mostly used by his profession. The ass who sent the notice is probably in training for congress, or some foreign mission. We know of nothing that so completely illustrates the capacity of the writer as does this valentine. Bring on your delegation of lot-jumping white caps, your garbage grabbers and parasites of decent communities. You have our assurance of a deserving reception.

In the paper issued on March 5 Clute stood firmly by Foreman whose interests paralleled those of the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company. In a mood of sarcasm Clute said:

> Terrible is it not to think a man in this free country where property rights are generally respected would dare to defend by legal process his just rights in its possession. Yes such people are terrors to the country in which they live and in the language of the moguls of lot jumping should be compelled to vacate, leave town that their property may be taken by men who have personal hatred to carry out and a few paltry dollars to make in carrying out the present strife. Again that the owner would be so dishonest as to raise an objection to a lessee of a lot when said lessee endeavors to boldly steal it from him. This to be sure is hard to understand. For this offense he should be banished to Reno City or "Tank Town"[52] to there live in complete solitude and await developments, or he should be sent to the ancient town of Frisco where government flour and slabs of bacon were once as free as these people desire to make the property of the individual in El Reno.
>
> Politically a man running a newspaper in El Reno should renounce allegiance to the just principles of his party, sell out the city and the property holders that he may please a few officials who are aiding and abetting lot jumping, and that to the disgrace of the party to which they belong. For opposing their methods we get the promise of another paper that is expected to champion their cause and to help them in continuing in public trust. Gentlemen we are uncompromisingly in favor of protecting the rights of the property owner with the law-abiding citizens of El Reno and with democrats who attend to their official duties if such they have.

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[51] *S. Reports*, 52 Cong. 1 sess., iii(2913), no. 505.

[52] "Tank Town" was a place where a train stopped for the purpose of securing water.

Files of the *El Reno Herald* are sparse but evidence shows that it opposed the interests of Foreman and the town company.[53] On March 19, 1892, the *Oklahoma Democrat* said:

Seldom it is that a newspaper man is called upon to notice the rank expressions of a man who has neither principle, politics, or brains. We hope our readers will pardon us for giving time and space to answer the editor of the hermaphrodite sheet known as the El Reno Herald who attacks the DEMOCRAT for standing by the property holders of El Reno in their present lot jumping unpleasantness which can't result in any good to the jumper and only tends to temporarily lessen the light of the prosperous "Queen of the Canadian." There are one or two so called editors in Canadian county, the editor of the Herald being chief mogul, who have so little brains that when they sneeze the tears run down the back of their neck. After exhausting the small amount of truth they possess, they in their light of the breech-clout aboriginees set to work to disorganize society and the law by unwarranted attacks on the lawful acts of officers who have the peace and welfare of the people at heart.

Come old man roll out your spittoon, pull down your vest, let go your neighbor's lot on Bickford street, be a man or a mouse politically and stand by truth and fair play. It will not hurt you after becoming accustomed to it, and by so doing you will have better digestion, nightmare will cease to bother your peaceful slumbers, the wrinkled look of faking snipe of the valley will leave your countenance and that look of a slightly honest man will take its place. Don't train with men who seek only to destroy and give nothing in return. Cut yourself loose from the leaders discord who are raising h—l with the people for the purpose of filling their own pockets with money or either robbing the people of their property or injuring the town. Adieu, Mr. when we again run short of news we will give you a few lines of advertising.

The *Frisco Times* was established in 1889, and subsequently was owned by Frank Fillmore and William Seaman. Fillmore later admitted that Frisco "was about dead" when the *Oklahoma Democrat* carried the following article on March 19, 1892:

The Frisco Times in last week's issue in commenting on the position of this paper in what we consider a town fight as far as Frisco is concerned, and one for blood money, personal hatred and jealousy on the part of others who are leaders in the move against El Reno. The "Times" like other interested parties are stuck on the word "Syndicate" and town company, when they know that the so-called town company or syndicate are not in any way considered and that the fight is simply between the person who purchased his property on a final receipt given by the U. S. Land Office, the man who paid his cash for it, the peaceable American citizen who respects the rights of property, the man who is a resident and taxpayer in Canadian county against the men who have laid on their oars and like a vulture bides his time, sweeps down to destroy that which honest labor has made.

How many people who are residents and property holders, Mr. Times, do you think are making this fight? Why sir we know the leaders like a book. Many of them come from Reno City and Frisco, some are lessees of property upon which they are doing business and hope by claiming fraud to gain title to property upon which they are located by filing upon it and thus leave their trusting benefactors in the soup. Are you not proud to

[53] For a sketch of the *El Reno Herald*, see Carolyn Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints*, pp. 307-308.

favor such a scheme? Did your crowd ask the question as to the ownership of the property jumped? How did they know whether it belonged to a Vanderbilt or some widow woman who had paid her last dollar for it? Do you think that every man who has purchased a lot in El Reno belongs to a foreign syndicate?

We know you are opposed to the building of railroads, opposed to the man who has enough money to buy a lot and pay an honest dollar for it. But you are in it when it comes to faking it. Yes we understand you are in favor of cornfields instead of railroads, in favor of potato patches in preference to manufacturies. You endeavor to misrepresent the facts and to mislead the farmer and businessmen as to our reasons for upholding the property holder. If the farmer wants to sell a load of grain and get his cash for it he must have a market which necessitates the building of cities. Of course we understand that your system of building a city and assisting the farmers of Canadian county has been a blooming success.

Cannot you possibly keep your nose out of the affairs of prosperous cities and give your paper enough time to keep it from sinking absolutely out of existence? Or do you after killing your own town by reckless management desire to try your fatal system on this place? Canadian county needs a good market for the farmer. The DEMOCRAT has taken the right position without fear or favor and expects to stay in a political fight with democracy as its title implies. Call off your would be town killing, make it a political fight. We'll be there.[54]

On March 11 the inhabitants of El Reno elected a board composed of three members, the duty of which was to issue certificates to lot occupants under the provisions of the act of May 14, 1890. The opening of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation to white settlers on April 19, 1892, diverted popular attention from the situation in El Reno. Assistant Commissioner Stone on April 29, canceled Foreman's homestead and cash entries.[55] On May 6 the Board of Townsite Trustees made application to Townsite Board No. 4 to enter the Foreman tract for the use and benefit of the occupants thereof for business and trade, in conformity to law.[56] Martin L. Stanley was chairman of the board of trustees and members were S. W. Sawyer, R. D. Wood, J. G. Tompkins, and William A. Clute. On May 23 Townsite Board No. 4 composed of James M. Bishop, Delbert L. Larsh, and Samuel T. Leavy entered the quarter section on payment of $200.

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[54] Fillmore moved the *Frisco Times* to Arapaho six weeks after the appearance of this article. Frisco died when Yukon was built. Clute edited the *Oklahoma Democrat* until July, 1892. For five years he and Dan W. Peery edited and published the *El Reno Globe*. Clute died at El Reno in 1932 at the age of 72. There is a sketch of his life in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 4 (Dec., 1932), pp. 607-608.

[55] The market for lots remained open in the spring of 1892. On April 9 the *Oklahoma Democrat* carried the following advertisement: "Attention! Attention! H. P. Shimer, the Special Agent of the Choctaw Coal and Railway Co., has been authorized by J. D. Bradley, Manager, to dispose of a few choice lots in the city of El Reno." On May 7 and May 14 the paper announced that S. W. Sawyer had "one thousand choice lots for sale on the installment plan. Warranty deed given to every lot when full payment is made. Buy now before the raise. These lots will double in 60 days."

[56] The application of May 6, 1892, is in *El Reno Minute Book, July*, 1890, *to May*, 1893, pp. 182-183.

Stanley estimated the population of the town as 1,500, half of whom lived on the Foreman tract.[57] He estimated the value of improvements on the tract at about $140,000. The post office and courthouse were on the tract. The corporate limits of El Reno included 380 acres.

The townsite should be allotted under the provisions of the act on May 14, 1890, and purchasers should hold their lots, not by virtue of any rights secured from Foreman or the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company, but by virtue of early occupancy and possession. On May 21 and 28, 1892, John W. Brewer called attention of the General Land Office to his contest of Foreman's homestead entry, and asserted his preference right to make homestead entry for the tract in whole or in part. The application was rejected because of conflict with that of the townsite board. By a quitclaim deed on June 16 Foreman relinquished to Mary E. Foreman all his right, title, and interest to the improvements, crops, etc., on the quarter section for which he had made homestead entry.[58] Homestead and cash entries by James Thompson and Thomas Jensen were canceled on November 26. Thus the way was paved for a number of hard fought townsite cases, as evidenced by the El Reno records in the National Archives.

Beginning in November, 1891, the following advertisement with slight variation ran weekly for several months in the *Oklahoma Democrat*, filling a half page of the newspaper:

> El Reno, Oklahoma. The great commercial and railroad center; the most accessible point to the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation! County seat of Canadian, the best county in the entire territory. Located within five miles of Fort Reno, which is now garrisoned with the 5th cavalry and several companies of infantry. Also within four miles of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency at which place the 3,500 Indians receive their annual annuity from the government, three fourths of which drop into the tills of El Reno merchants. Is attracting more capital than any other town in the territory. Address Thos. Jensen, Real Estate Agent, El Reno, Oklahoma, for Bargains in choice Business and Residence Lots.

Foreman on August 1, 1893, relinquished to the government of the United States all his right, title, and interest in the tract of land he had claimed as a homestead. On August 22, 1894, he filed a petition in the district court of Canadian County to recover judgment against the United States in the sum of $1,500 he had paid for the land. The question was raised as to whether Foreman had properly applied to the Secretary of the Interior for the return of the money. The district court decided in Foreman's favor. The Supreme Court of the Territory of Oklahoma said that Foreman was "entitled either

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[57] Stanley's testimony, May 21, 1892, is in NA, GLO, Okla. City C. E. 553. Townsite Board no. 4 approved the plat for the Foreman tract on May 26, 1892, and the plat for the Jensen and Thompson tracts on February 3, 1893. The plats are in the office of the clerk of Canadian County, *Plat Book*, no. 1, pp. 56-58.

[58] A copy of the quitclaim deed is in the case of N. J. Anstine *v.* Mary E. Foreman, NA, GLO, Townsite box 168.

to the land or to the return of his money."[59] When the case came before the United States Supreme Court in 1897 the Justice Department did not resist the return of the money to Foreman.

Attention should be given to a few of the leading townsite cases at El Reno. Contest No. 75 concerned lot 17 in block 52. About a month after the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company leased three-fourths of Foreman's homestead, it issued receipt No. 905 for one dollar to G. A. Colton. The receipt was dated, "Kansas City, Mo., June 17, 1889," and was on account of lease money on lots 17 and 19. The balance of lease money, $16.66, was due on each lot when deed was given. The receipt was signed by C. S. Rogers, agent. On May 7, 1890, Colton, in consideration of $150, quitclaimed to James P. Scales all his right, title, and interest in lots 17 and 18. Three days later Scales executed and delivered a quitclaim deed for lots 17 and 18 to Henry P. Shimer in consideration of $175. These transfers of lots were duly recorded by Calvin L. Severy who was city recorder and a member of the board of directors of the company. Foreman received a cash certificate or final receipt for his homestead on May 28, 1891. On November 30 he and his wife, in consideration of $104.42, executed and delivered to Shimer a warranty deed for lots including No. 17.[60] Shimer paid a tax of two dollars on the lot.

On February 8, 1892, two days after Secretary Noble directed that the homestead and cash entries of Foreman be canceled, Mrs. Sada Montgomery with the aid of friends erected on the east end of lot 17 a crude wooden structure representing a fence. She did no more work on the lot, and in March sold her rights in it to Alexander C. Bender who homesteaded a quarter section seven miles southeast of El Reno. In the meantime, February 29, 1892, Shimer enclosed lots 17 and 18 with a two-strand wire and post fence. He occupied the lot only long enough to put the fence there; he did not molest Mrs. Montgomery's "fence." On the night of February 29 his fence was destroyed by unknown parties.

On March 29 Bender placed a two-room dwelling house upon the lot, which at that time had no other improvements. He stayed on the lot for a time, and about a month later rented it to a tenant. Bender resided on his homestead, not on the El Reno townsite. The townsite trustees on May 23 made cash entry for the Foreman tract for the several use and benefit of the occupants thereof. Lot 17 was valued at $150, and the improvements at $125.[61]

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[59] United States *v.* John A. Foreman, 5 Okla. 237 (1897); 42 Law Ed. 1210 (1897).

Townsite Board no. 4, filed November 12, 1892.

box contains the testimony in the case, briefs of attorneys, and the decision of

[60] The deed is in NA, GLO, townsite box 170 in case of Bender *v.* Shimer. The

[61] GLO, *Townsite Tract Books,* vol. 35, *El Reno,* p. 8.

On September 29 the townsite board considered the evidence and by a vote of two to one awarded the lot to Shimer. Larsh wrote a dissenting statement. At that time the house was unrented, and no one was living on the lot. Commissioner S. W. Lamoreux in a decision on June 27, 1894, awarded the lot to Bender.[62] Lamoreux held Mrs. Montgomery's "fence" for naught, but noted that Bender initiated a right by entering upon the lot in person and improving it. Lamoreux said that evidence of possession should consist of fixed and substantial improvements on the lot, or some visible sign of ownership, having some recognized domestic or commercial value, or some utility in reference thereto, intended, erected and so placed on the lot as to operate as notice to all others of the claim of right to possession, and negative any inference that the claim was merely for the purpose of presently speculating in the same.

Shimer appealed to the Secretary of the Interior. On September 8 Lamoreux requested early action on the case because there were 190 cases on the docket in the General Land Office involving the same question.[63] Secretary Hoke Smith on November 30 affirmed Lamoreux's decision. Smith said that a sale of land after issuance of final certificate did not entitle the purchaser to the benefit of a patent, unless it should appear that the entryman had complied with the law and was in his own right entitled to a patent. He concluded that all claims based on a title derived from Foreman, either directly or through intermediate assignors, by virtue of the homestead entry and final certificate of Foreman were invalid, and the ownership of the lot in controversy must be determined on other lines. Actual possession could be evidenced by a substantial enclosure, and actual possession was all that was necessary to constitute occupancy, so far as the word related to the issue involved. Shimer's evidence of occupancy was so frail as to amount to abandonment of the lot. Smith said:

> It appearing that Shimer in good faith purchased this lot from the recognized authorities of the town, and that he was not in any moral sense a party to Foreman's fraud against the government, the equities of the case are with him; but there is no escape from the plain terms of the statute. Shimer was not an occupant, and Bender was an occupant, of the lot in controversy at the time it was entered by the townsite board "for the use and benefit of the occupants thereof." The contention that Bender was a trespasser when he moved his home on the lot, and that such act was not and could not have been the initiation of a claim against the government, is, under the peculiar circumstances of this case, immaterial.

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[62] Lamoreux to Trustees of Townsite Board no. 4, June 27, 1894, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 15, pp. 473-500. This letter gives a good history of the case.

Lamoreux said: "By the issuance of the final certificate to Foreman, the right acquired to the land he had entered as a homestead, was one *sub judice*, the whole title to the land yet being in the United States. Foreman could convey no better right than he had."

[63] Bender v. Shimer, 19 L. D. 363 (1894); Lamoreux to Sec. Int., Sept. 8, 1894, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 17, p. 291.

On May 13, 1895, a deed was issued to Bender for the lot, and he proved up on his homestead the next year.

In the Foreman part of El Reno is lot 16 in block 49. On June 25, 1890, the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company leased the lot to C. D. French, trustee, who immediately assigned the lease contract to T. T. Crittenden.[64] On February 10, 1892, four days after Secretary Noble directed that the homestead and cash entries of Foreman be canceled, Foreman gave Crittenden a warranty deed for the lot.[65] A month or two later M. D. Colgrove enclosed the lot with two others in a weak, badly constructed wire fence. So far as the fence pertained to lot 16, it was worth about two dollars. On April 29 the "Provisional Board for the town of El Reno" issued Colgrove a certificate of occupancy for the lot. The townsite board of trustees made cash entry for the Foreman tract on May 23. They valued the lot at $85 and the improvements at twenty-five cents. They awarded the lot to Crittenden by a vote of two to one, Larsh being the dissenter.

In a decision on August 2, 1894, Commissioner Lamoreux held that neither Crittenden nor Colgrove was entitled to a deed because both failed to show evidence of occupying the lot at the time of the townsite entry. Lamoreux said:

> To hold that this so-called fence constituted legal occupancy of said lot by the party constructing it would be to open wide the door of fraud, and to invite speculators to grab all vacant lots of a town around which they could throw a one or two strand wire fence. This is not the kind of occupancy contemplated by Congress and intended by the statutory enactments governing townsite entries.[66]

He said that the lease and contract from the company were not even *prima facie* evidence of such occupancy. Colgrove and Crittenden appealed to Secretary Hoke Smith who affirmed Lamoreux's decision. The lot was disposed of at public sale under the provisions of the act of May 14, 1890.

When a settler on learning of Secretary Noble's decision of February 6, 1892, took possession of a vacant and unimproved lot, used no force, broke no inclosure, deprived no one of his lawful possession, and inflicted no injury on the person or property of Foreman, Crittenden or any other person, the General Land Office held that the settler was not a trespasser but a lawful occupant of the lot.[67] James

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[64] The lease contract is in NA, GLO, townsite box 168, case of Colgrove *v.* Crittenden. The place of execution was Kansas City, and the sum named was $16.66.

[65] The deed, and the decision of Townsite Board no. 4 filed on November 19, 1892, are in box 168, *loc. cit.*

[66] Lamoreux to Townsite Board no. 4, Aug. 2, 1894, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 16, pp. 373-381; Colgrove *v.* Crittenden, 20 L. D. 267 (1895).

[67] Asst. Com. Edward A. Bowers to Townsite Board no. 6, June 19, 1894, NA, *Townsites*, vol. 20, pp. 235-239; Bishop to Com. Gen. Land Office, Jan. 5, 1893, NA, GLO, townsite box 168, case of N. J. Anstine *v.* Mary E. Foreman.

M. Bishop, Chairman of Townsite Board No. 4, said that the condition of occupancy here stated was fundamental in many contest cases. James Thompson on February 19, 1892, executed to Crittenden a warranty deed for a lot on his former homestead. Crittenden was a nonresident of El Reno and had only a paper title. Nearly a year after the deed was made Isaac W. Brown entered upon and occupied the lot, and Secretary Smith awarded it to him. [68]

On April 24, 1892, N. J. Anstine entered an oat field in the northeast forty acres of the Foreman homestead and attempted to acquire lots 1-11 in block 45. The land in question had been cultivated by the Foremans since 1889, and fenced since 1890. The district court issued a restraining order and Anstine was arrested for trespass. Townsite Board No. 4 said his "forcible entry within the enclosure and upon the growing crops can not be viewed in any other light than that of a trespass. An entry of this character, is not a valid settlement, and does not initiate a right of purchase of the land from the government."[69] The General Land Office held that the fencing of the lots by the Foremans and cultivating the same to oats, did not constitute such an occupancy as was contemplated by law. Commissioner Lamoreux said: "Anstine appears to be qualified and there is nothing to show that he did not enter upon the same in good faith and make improvements as long as permitted to do so."[70] On November 22, 1895, the Secretary of the Interior affirmed Lamoreux's decision.

Allison H. Jackson made homestead entry for the southeast quarter of section nine at El Reno. The northwest corner of his land touched the Foreman tract. Jackson said that the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company wanted to add his west 80 acres to lands the company leased from Foreman and Thompson. He said that George Leis, secretary of the company, threatened a contest if the land were not leased, and said that unless the tract were secured the Rock Island Railroad would construct its line by Fort Reno instead of El Reno.[71]

An agreement entered into on October 9, 1889, was signed by Jackson, Crittenden, and attested by Leis. The instrument states that for a good and valuable consideration Jackson rented and leased the west half of his homestead for the term of seven years. The company agreed to pay him an annual rental of two dollars. The company or its assigns acquired the privilege to subdivide the land into lots and blocks, and lease the same severally, or in any manner deemed most profitable; executing to persons leasing such lots a written contract

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[68] Crittenden v. Brown, Jan. 4, 1896, NA. Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., vol. 322, pp. 343-344.

[69] Decision of Townsite Board no. 4, Nov. 26, 1892, NA, GLO, townsite box 168, case of Anstine *v.* Mary E. Foreman.

[70] Lamoreux to Trustees of Townsite Board no. 6, March 15, 1895, *ibid.*

[71] Jackson's statement of the case is in NA, GLO, townsite box 164, C. A. Black *v.* A. H. Jackson. The original lease and agreement of Oct. 9, 1889, are in *ibid.*

or lease containing therein a stipulation that when the company obtained a deed for said premises from Jackson or his assigns, it should execute a deed for such lot or lots so previously leased.

Jackson agreed to remain upon and occupy the land as a homestead and thereby protect the company in the possession and use of the property. Jackson should not relinquish his homestead right in the land unless the party to whom he sold his improvements could prove up and acquire a receiver's certificate or deed within the same period as he might do, from the date of Jackson's entry. Jackson agreed that at the earliest possible period he should obtain a receiver's receipt or patent for the land, and immediately thereafter he should execute a warranty deed for the 80 acres to the company or its assigns. The company agreed to pay Jackson, his heirs or assigns, 25 percent of all moneys received for the lots, after deducting expenses of leasing. Provision was made for compensation to Jackson for any lots donated for railway purposes; and he reserved the right to select fifteen lots, not more than seven of which should be corner lots. It was further agreed and understood that the lease and contract were made on condition that nothing therein contained should in any wise jeapordize or interfere with Jackson in fulfilling his requirements as a homesteader under the laws of the United States.

Jackson repudiated the contract soon after it was made and it was abandoned by both parties. He received no consideration for having entered into it. On January 3, 1891, he made Cash Entry 90 for the quarter section, and on January 15 sold 80 acres of it to the Rock Island Land Company for $12 an acre. This company was not affiliated with the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company. C. A. Black filed in the Oklahoma City land office a contest charging that Jackson's homestead and cash entries were fraudulent for the reason that they were for speculative purposes, and not made in good faith.

Jackson replied that he was compelled to sell the land because of the drouth and failure of crops and because he needed the money to support his family and to pay his debts. The local land office observed that Jackson was under no obligation to comply with the terms of the contract made with the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company, and decided in his favor. Assistant Commissioner Bowers noted that at the date of cash entry no part of Jackson's tract had been platted as a townsite, and that no part of it had been occupied for purposes of trade and business.[72] In due time Jackson received a patent for the land.

In the allotment of the El Reno townsite Mary E. Foreman acquired considerable land, including ten blocks in the northeast part

[72] Bowers to register and receiver of Okla. City land office, Oct. 11, 1894, NA, GLO, *Townsites*. vol. 18, pp. 168-174; Act. Com. Stone to register and receiver of Okla. City land office, Oct. 3, 1892, *ibid.*, vol. 10, pp. 30-35.

of the Foreman tract.[73] Among the buildings she erected is a dwelling still in use. Anson A. Davis made cash entry for his homestead on October 3, 1891. On November 15 he, Hamlin W. Sawyer, and Eli Roadyback, Trustees of Townsite Board No. 7, made cash entry for a tract of 153 acres for the use and benefit of the inhabitants of Frisco.[74] That town and Reno City, like the domain of the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company, vanished into thin air. The articles of incorporation of the company expired in 1909 and no report of renewal was made after that date.

Foreman seriously applied himself to building a town at El Reno. He and Mary Foreman resisted vigorously the cancellation of his homestead entry, but after the event they accepted the situation without bitterness. They realized that some ventures must fail, some days must be dark and dreary. Throughout the years after the Civil War, Foreman carried in the back of his head, lead from a wound inflicted at Cabin Creek. He died at El Reno July 14, 1899.[75] His widow drew a pension from the government until her death on May 12, 1912.

It was my purpose to present an impartial study on the founding of El Reno rather than to draw a conclusion. The Rock Island Railroad played an important role, whether or not it was allied with the Oklahoma Homestead and Town Company. Was Foreman an agent of the town company as Davis contended, or was he an honest homesteader whose claim was overrun by townsite settlers, as the General Land Office found? This question is good for an argument any day in a college class in Oklahoma history. Perhaps all can agree with a scribe who wrote in a minute book that this period was one of "hard struggle for the life and prosperity of the Town of El Reno." George E. Lambe said: "People would come to El Reno to buy lots, intending to settle here and then would find out about the shaky titles to the land. They would then go on over to Oklahoma City where things were more secure, if possibly less exciting."

In interviews with citizens of El Reno and surviving pioneers, I found none who recognized the name of Anson A. Davis. There remains in El Reno neither name nor remembrance of (what Mary E. Foreman considered) so vile a wretch as he. To what extent, if any, was Davis the agent of an unnamed faction? The name of John A. Foreman, perpetuated by Foreman Street, is generally known and

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[73] GLO, *Townsite Tract Books*, vol. 35, *El Reno.*

[74] *Ibid.*, vol. 37, *Frisco;* Com. T. H. Carter to register and receiver of Okla. GLO, *Townsite Tract Books*, vols. 56, 57. These books are somewhat sketchy but contain scores of names of persons who must have had confidence in the future of Reno City. In its effort to be named a county seat, Reno City claimed to be fourth in Oklahoma district in wealth and population. Claude E. Hensley and Charles Brandley take issue with the statement that a newspaper was published at Reno City for more than a decade; Carolyn Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints*, p. 393. City land office, Dec. 23, 1891, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 7, p. 437.

[75] "A Patriarch Dead," *The El Reno News*, July 14, 1899.

respected by residents of the city. Streets were named for many of the pioneers. Among them were H. L. Bickford, C. S. Rogers, Jacob V. Admire, Ben Clark, W. D. Barker, Neal W. Evans, A. H. Jackson, Thomas Jensen, Ben Keith, E. F. Mitchell, and W. G. Williams. Some locations like Foster Avenue perpetuate the memory of military men who served at Fort Reno.

The outline of facts in this study invites those acquainted with human nature and the frontier to clarify the picture in their own imagination. Townsite settlers could have contested Foreman, hired false witnesses, and made it desirable for him to abandon the land. Forman could have relinquished his claim for a consideration. Growth of the townsite was a reality, a practical thing. For the government to require Foreman to swear that the homestead application was made for the purpose of actual settlement, that the homestead entry was made for "my own exclusive benefit," and that he was the sole bona fide owner as an actual settler, was inconsistent with urban development at El Reno. The town was founded in a peaceful and prosperous way and the General Land Office was satisfied with its policy of proceedure. Whether that policy was properly disturbed by John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, is left to the decision of the reader.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Order the Index for *The Chronicles,* 1955

The Index for Volume XXXIII of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* 1955, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is now ready for free distribution to those who receive the quarterly magazine. Orders for this Index should be sent to the Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.

A cumulative index of *The Chronicles* beginning with Vol. I, No. 1 (January, 1921) through Vol. XXXIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1955-56) has been completed by Mrs. Rella Looney after several years of work when she could spare the time from her duties in the Indian Archives Department, of the Historical Society. This cumulative index is not available to the general public since it is still in the form of cards on file in a special file case in the Indian Archives Department where researchers may have access to these thousands of index cards in their work. There have been many requests for a cumulative index of *The Chronicles,* 1921 to 1955, which the Historical Society hopes can be published in book form sometime in the future when funds are available for the project.

There is an increasing demand for back numbers of *The Chronicles.* Single copies beginning with 1938 (4 numbers to the volume) and including the current issue (Winter, 1955-56) may be ordered from the Oklahoma Historical Society at a cost of $1.00 each (or $4.00 for the volume, unbound). Some numbers before 1938 are no longer available, the extra supply having been exhausted. Available numbers from 1921 to 1938 (Vols. I through XIV) can be ordered at a cost of $2.00 each (or $8.00 for the volume, unbound). A complete bound set of *The Chronicles,* Volumes I to XXXIII, when available on our shelves can be ordered at a cost of $320.00 at this time. —M. H. W.

Oklahoma Historical Markers on the Chisholm Trail and at Ingalls Erected, 1955

Four additional, official Oklahoma Historical markers have been erected this spring through the active interest of local groups that have special projects to promote and preserve their community history: the Blaine County Historical Association; a citizens' group at Dover, Kingfisher County; the Delphian Club at Waurika, Jefferson County; the Ingalls Activity Club, Payne County. The inscrip-

tions giving the history in each instance have been prepared, and the large metal markers have been erected under the sponsorship of the Oklahoma Historical Society in co-operation with the State Highway Commission. The local group in each community has supplied the funds for the manufacture of the metal plaque, which is enameled in colors and bears the State insignia at the top, approved by the Oklahoma Historical Society and the State Highway Commission in the program of marking historical sites in the state. The inscriptions and locations of these four new historical markers promoted by the above mentioned local groups are respectively, as follows:

(1). *JESSE CHISHOLM*: Grave about 4 miles N. E. Born in 1805, Jesse Chisholm was Indian trader, manufacturer of salt in Blaine Co. before 1861, and pathfinder on noted expeditions in Oklahoma. Returning from Kans. in 1865, he traveled a path east of here, beginning the famous Chisholm Trail. His last camp was at Left Hand Spring where he died in 1868.

Location of Marker: On U. S. Highway #270, at the end of the tree lane, 1¼ miles north of Geary, in Blaine County.

(2). *THE CHISHOLM TRAIL*: Over this exact spot, millions of Texas cattle were driven to the railroad shipping points in Kansas from 1867 to 1889. Red Fork Ranch, established one-half mile south about 1874, was a well known holding ground for the trail herds in this vicinity.

Location of Marker: On U.S. Highway #81, in park at north edge of Dover, in Kingfisher County.

(3). *WAURIKA*: On 98th Meridian, West Long. This is the only county seat on the 98th Meridian in Oklahoma. Townsite, on west side of line, was in Kiowa-Comanche Reservation opened to settlement Aug. 6, 1901. Moneka was the post office, established 1895, on east side of line, in Pickens Co., Chickasaw Na. Waurika post office opened June 28, 1902.

Location of Marker: At Waurika, Jefferson County, where U. S. Highway #70 crosses the 98th Meridian west of the railroad, about two blocks off Main Street. This site is about 4 miles west of the old Chisholm Trail, the traces of which can still be seen overland from south to north.

(4). *OUTLAW BATTLE*: Site about 3 miles S. E. A battle at Ingalls, on Sept. 1, 1893, between a Dalton-Doolin gang and U. S. marshals was a climax in bringing law and order to Oklahoma and Indian Territories. Three marshals and two residents were killed: several persons were wounded; one outlaw was captured. Ingalls was once the home of "Rose of Cimarron."

Location of Marker: At northwest intersection of State Highway #51 and #108, one and a half miles west and two miles north of the town of Ingalls, in Payne County.

The First Dairy Herd on the Chisholm Trail

Mr. J. G. Clift, member of the Oklahoma Historical Society from Duncan, has contributed the following interesting notes on the dairy industry near old Fort Sill when it was still known as Camp Wichita in 1869:

First Dairy on the Chisholm Trail

There was a 150-cow dairy on the Chisholm Trail, near Duncan, prior to 1870. This dairy was owned and operated by Theodore Fitzpatrick. One is naturally skeptical that there was a dairy at that early date, and the question arises as to where the products from the dairy were sold.

When the Trail was established about 1867, Fitzpatrick who lived at Ft. Arbuckle, moved over on the Trail and put in a general store on Cow Creek, about one and one-half miles northeast of the present City of Duncan. There were no settlements at that time west of Ft. Arbuckle, but Fitzpatrick traded with the trail drivers and cowboys who came up the Trail. He began buying cows heavy with calf from the herds that came up the Trail, which he could get very cheaply, and sometimes for nothing. When Camp Wichita was established in 1869 at the present location of Ft. Sill, he found a market there for his butter, and later at Ft. Sill. Two trips were made each week to deliver the butter at Camp Wichita and at Ft. Sill.

Fitzpatrick was a man of many parts. He was born in Ireland, served in the Confederate Army, was a business man, a stone mason, a dairyman and a rancher. As a stone mason he helped to build the old stockade at Ft. Sill.

On his trips to Ft. Sill he became acquainted with William Duncan, who was born in Scotland, and who was a tailor at Ft. Sill at the time. He sold his store to Duncan in 1872, and the store was thereafter known as Duncan's Store. When the Rock Island Railroad was built in 1892 Duncan moved to the present site of the City of Duncan, and established the first store there. The City of Duncan was named for him.

After selling his store to William Duncan, Fitzpatrick established a cattle ranch about two or three miles northwest of Bradley, Oklahoma. He was also interested in a business in Chickasha, known as Fitzpatrick & Terry, which was located where the New Chickasha Hotel now stands; and also a business at Rush Springs known as Fitzpatrick & Lowe. Later he moved to Chickasha, where he died in 1909.

Fitzpatrick's oldest son, Jim Fitzpatrick, left Ft. Arbuckle before his father did, and established a ranch about eleven miles east of Duncan in 1865, on a creek which was later known as Fitzpatrick Creek. Lake Duncan was built on this creek. He died in Grady County in 1916.

Another son, Bob, became involved in a feud among cattlemen and was killed on July 4, 1902, at a picnic on Roaring Creek, near Bradley.

Most of the above information was obtained by the writer from another son, Silas (Buck) Fitzpatrick, later known as "Uncle Buck", who was born at Ft. Arbuckle in 1860 and died near Rush Springs in 1945. He has four children now living in or near Rush Springs, the oldest of whom, Bob, is now seventy years of age, who remember from statements of their grandfather and father practically all of the incidents and facts herein given.

Was the dairy established prior to 1870? Perhaps so. Uncle Buck was a modest man and not given to exaggeration. He remembered dates by reference to his own age. He stated that he was seven years old when his father moved to the Chisholm Trail. This could have been in 1867 or early 1868. He thought it was in 1867 and that they had just begun driving cattle up the Trail.

He remembered that they sold butter to the soldiers before the fort was known as Ft. Sill. If so, this must have been prior to 1870. Uncle Buck was not a literate man, and perhaps never read a history, but depended entirely upon his own memory. It would therefore appear that he would not have known there was a Camp Wichita before there was a Ft. Sill, except by his own memory.

—J. G. Clift

Buffalo Wallows

Newspaper writing may and often does reach heights of literature. True it has its own style, but all literature of quality has style. Quickly read and passed by, it may be too often forgotten. The writings of our own RGM often meet all of the tests of the yardstick of quality, and the subjoined piece on "Buffalo Wallows" is a good example.[1] It has received more than passing notice, and its wide spread interest renders it worth reprinting here:

—G.H.S.

THE SMOKING ROOM

By R. G. M.

COMES NOW THE SUBJECT of buffalo wallows. At the moment we cannot think of anything with less appeal to the entertaining, cultural and educational senses than a buffalo wallow, yet there may be something to be learned by consideration of it. The new learning may be of the so-what variety but, even so, some of us are grandparents and others are making daily headway along that route and some day the grandson may ask grandpa what is or was a buffalo wallow, and why. So it is well to pick up these little bits of wisdom as we go along. Being able to describe a buffalo wallow and tell how it got that way in time may return as much dividend in glory and satisfaction as knowing who made the first crosstie, who found the lost chord or who originated the darning of socks. So we proceed with the wallowing.

* * *

The thing that brought all of this on was mail received after the announcement that the old Chisholm trail would be toured May 3-4-5 by the State Historical Society. Many old-timers from the Red river to the Kansas line have invited the tourists to stop and view the buffalo wallows, made a century ago, that still are plainly visible. The younger folks, those under 70 years of age, are beginning to ask what is a buffalo wallow.

* * *

[1] R. G. Miller, Editor "The Smoking Room" in *Oklahoma City Times* for March 9, 1956.

SILAS ("RUCK") FITZPATRICK

RGM is grateful to Arthur Halloran, the game management biologist of the Wichita Mountains wildlife refuge, for professional guidance and light on buffalo wallows. It is part of his business to keep up detailed studies of the ways, habits, ailments and joys of buffalo, elk, deer, antelope, rabbits, squirrels, turkeys, longhorns, prairie dogs and other animal life in the 64,000-acre refuge. People who never have seen a buffalo wallow are invited to visit the open spaces of grassland in the refuge. There they will see buffalo wallows that are being manufactured every day, by the herd of several hundred buffalo on the range, and also they can see left-over wallows that were made 100 years ago and never used since. Any ranger riding herd in the refuge will gladly lead you to an old or a new buffalo wallow.

* * *

In our travels in the state we have been shown buffalo wallows near Harrah, Okeene, Leedey, Elk City, Geary, Laverne, Beaver, Guymon, Woodward and a few other places. Chances are any oldtime farmer in any west-side county can take you to a never-cultivated pasture and show you a buffalo wallow, made before 1877.

* * *

Getting into the meat of the situation, what is back of a buffalo wallow? Why does the buffalo wallow? It's because of the itch. The big bison is nearly always bothered by the itch. He can't reach around and scratch the itching hide as editors, bankers and teachers do, so he lies down in the grass and begins to rub and roll. He gets the itch from small black flies that pester him almost constantly. The buffalo can sooth his itch more effectively by starting a new wallow in fresh grass, but sometimes uses the ones already started. To begin a new wallow the buffalo paws up a little grass, flops down and rolls on one side. He never rolls completely over because the hump is in the way. It itches on the other side, too, so he gets up, goes down again and rolls and rubs the other side, his feet waving in the air. When the buffalo rolls in a dry wallow he gets a dust bath; if it's a muddy wallow he comes out with a poultice. You probably didn't know these things; we didn't either until Mr. Holloran told us.

* * *

Nobody seems to know just why the buffalo wallow should be round, but all of them are circular. Winds blow dust from the slight depression, and the mud carried away in the buffalo's fur also helps to make a shallow, saucer-like dish in the earth. Typical buffalo wallows, old or new, are 12 to 15 feet in diameter and usually no more than six to ten inches deep in the center.

* * *

Since the wallows persist for many years and were ever so numerous when the buffaloes ranged western Oklahoma, Mr. Halloran says it is probable that many of the wallows remain unrecognized on level, never-plowed lands throughout the plains sections. The wallows collect a little more water than the surrounding land. Very often you will find water-loving plants growing in the wallows. Botanists are intrigued with the diversity of plants and flowers which exist in and around the old wallows.

* * *

When the Chisholm Trail tour bends far enough westward to visit the wildlife refuge some of the old and new buffalo wallows will be flagged so that the inquisitive ones may see them.

* * *

On the refuge ranges, crawfish have been found to make their homes in buffalo wallows. Roaming raccoons sometimes explore the wallows nightly in quest of food. The wallow is significant in other ways. It fits into the soil and water conservation picture by allowing water to sink more readily into the soil. Pioneer folks could have used the wallows as "fraid holes" in sudden windstorm emergencies, and an occasional buffalo hunter may have saved his own hide by flattening his tummy in a wallow when arrows flew around him. You probably remember reading in books where trapped troopers sprawled in a buffalo wallow like spokes in a wheel while their blazing guns held off the circling Comanches!

At Fort Cobb in 1868, And A Visit To A Kiowa Indian Encampment

Private David L. Spotts, Co. L, Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, with General P. H. Sheridan's column at Fort Cobb in 1868, kept a journal during his sojourn at this old military post in western Indian Territory (Spotts and Brininstool, *Campaigning with Custer* [Los Angeles, 1928]). The young man's description of the soldiers' favorite shelter at Fort Cobb, the dug-out with the "dog tent" for a roof and an adobe fireplace and chimney for warmth, is given in "A History of Fort Cobb," published elsewhere in this number of *The Chronicles*. Spotts gives two other entries in his *Journal* (pp. 83-6), among many others, that are of special interest here:

Wednesday, December 21, 1868.

The train unloaded today, for the Indians are now coming in pretty fast and camping across the river about a mile from the fort. Most of the wagons went to Arbuckle in another train after supplies, for there are not only soldiers but the Indians to feed. We have been issued supplies for ten days, and we have to guard them closely. They are piled under a big tarpaulin and there has to be a guard on both sides all the time. The officers' stores are stacked in the center row and the other provisions on either side.

One man of our company is missing and it is thought by some that he went in the wagon train to Arbuckle or followed it as his horse is also missing.

I lost my gold pen this evening and will have to use a pencil to keep my records and diary. I have gotten pretty well acquainted with all the men in our squad, all of them very nice fellows. . . . . We have pretty good times together and those who command us are fine fellows. The Indians are making lots of noise and they are dancing and yelling until a late hour.

Thursday, December 22, 1868

The Indians are not allowed to camp within a mile of us and we have a double line of pickets besides the camp guard. There are at least three Indians here now to one white soldier.

We drew new dog tents today and put them up near the big tents. We have the sides of the big tent taken off in fair weather so we can see that no one can get under the canvas without being seen by the sentry. My company is camped nearest to us, next to the river and on lower ground. We have put up our tent on a high place where the water can run off if it rains. Three of us occupy one tent. . . . .

The whole regiment has dog tents and we do not like them at all as we have to get down on all fours to get inside. The regulars have "A" tents like those of our officers while at the Seventh headquarters they have wall tents, about 12 x 20 feet. It does not look to me that we Americans are all "born free and equal," but perhaps that does not apply to all soldiers. We have to be satisfied with what we get, but is all they have here, and it is a protection from the weather both rain and wind.

I have not heard from home since I left Kansas, and when I see others reading letters, with a smile on their faces, it makes me feel lonesome. Were it not for the tricks we play on each other, our time would pass very slowly.

Our horses are beginning to look better with two feeds of corn daily, and the grass we manage to find for them.

This afternoon six of my comrades and myself visited a Kiowa camp, near Fort Cobb. The tents were widely scattered along the south bank of the Washita, sometimes three or four close together. There were few Indians outside the tents except children.

We soon came to a group of boys who were playing a game with arrows. They had two stakes about thirty feet apart. They stood at one stake and threw their arrows with the hand, sticking them in the ground around the other stake. It was very much like the white man pitches horseshoes. They would put the arrows quite close so very few were more than a foot from the stake. After a lot of Indian talk they would then pitch them back to the other stake. While we were watching the game some dogs chased a squirrel up a tree a short distance away and began to bark when the boys left their game and went to the dog[s].

We could see the squirrel lying flat on the top of a large limb about forty feet from the ground. Several boys were soon there with the bows and arrows. One of them who seemed to be a good shot, sent an arrow so close that the squirrel jumped higher on the limb and laid closer than before. The same boy shot again and the arrow plowed through the hair on his back. He ran out on a small limb and jumped into space. He no sooner struck the ground when one of the dogs seized him and ended the sport.

We next visited a kind of work shop, where two or three old men were making bridles, lariats, leggins and some other things out of colored leather. The bridles were made from tanned leather cut into strips and nicely braided. Moccasins and leggins were trimmed with fringe on the seams. The work was well done for the kind of tools they used. They did not notice us or speak to us and when we spoke to them they sometimes gave a grunt, but said nothing that we could understand. We did not have any money, so did not offer to buy anything.

There were no men to be seen except a few old ones, and they all seemed to be busy. An old squaw came up to us and offered to sell us a pair of nicely beaded moccasins. She could not understand us, nor could she tell us the price. She finally started off and motioned us to follow, which we did. She led us to a nice tent some distance, where the lodges were quite thick, and there we met a very intelligent looking squaw who

could talk English. She was engaged in making fancy work of scenery, buds and flowers, on cloth and leather, and showed us some very gaudy clothing, trimmed with many colored beads. She said she learned to do that kind of work at an Indian School at some place in Texas. She stayed there nearly five years, and learned to do what we saw, and also learned to speak English. She did not sell her work for money, but traders visited their camp about once a month and she exchanged her goods for what she wanted such as beads, thread, needles, clothing, purses and hand bags, which she trimmed and traded back again. She said the white men were very good to her and she would like to have her people become like those she had lived among for several years.

We visited another tent where two squaws were engaged painting pictures. They had the walls of their tent covered with skins of various sizes and on each was a painting of some kind. On one that seemed most beautiful was a picture, in colors, of mountain scenery, a small lake, with an Indian village near the shore on one side. The two women occasionally spoke to each other, but said nothing to us and we went on to the next people we saw. An old squaw and two old men were making a frame of wicker work for an addition to their tepee. The frame was in the shape of a "prairie schooner" made of willows tied with leather. The sides were perpendicular for about four feet and then arched over, making a room 6 x 10. Another one near was finished and covered with buffalo skins. This was to be the bedroom to their home.

Then we returned and found the boys near where we left them but they had bows and arrows and showed us some good markmanship with that kind of weapon. They could hit a circle three inches in diameter quite often at thirty feet, and some hit it at fifty feet or more.

When they tell you an Indian is lazy, we beg to dispute it, for we did not see one idle in all that camp. All were doing something, even the little youngsters.

A Story About The Populist Party

Mr. Floyd R. Bull has been a resident of Oklahoma City for forty-nine years, having come to Oklahoma Territory in 1901. His recent letter to the Secretary of the Historical Society gives some personal experiences in the days of the Populist Party:

Feb. 16, 1956

Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary
State Historical Society
City

Dear Sir:

I have been a member of The State Historical Society for many years, and take a great deal of interest in Oklahoma history. I was much interested in your splendid article in Autumn, 1955 issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. "The Election of J. P. Callahan." In this article you wrote of beginnings and growth of "Populism" in early day Oklahoma Territory.

I was living in Butler County, Kansas in the same period, a boy of 16-17, and I have a personal knowledge of the development of Populism in Kansas. It was a period of "Hard Times," with the farmers faced with

very low prices for their fat hogs, corn and other agricultural products, and without a corresponding lower price for what they had to buy. They began to blame this situation on the "town people," especially the retail merchants, and about 1889-1890 organized "The Farmers Alliance" widely proclaimed a non-political organization. This spread over Kansas and I suppose was part of a general movement. The object of the "Alliance" was more co-operation among the farmers, and one of the first plans was to organize retail stores, to compete with the town stores, and thus bring prices down. Such a store was actually opened in El Dorado, and I presume in other places. They soon discovered that this was not a cure for the existing condition, and the store in El Dorado soon went out of business. Still no politics.

But it was not long before the "Populist Party" came into existence. But positively Populism did not begin as a political movement. The origin was the "Farmers Alliance." I positively know of these facts; I was living on a farm then near Chelsea, and was a member of the "Farmers Alliance," and a keen observer of following developments. The Farmers Alliance soon was "in politics" as the "Peoples Party" or Populists. They became the dominant party in Kansas, and won county, congressional, and state elections. In the election of November, 1892 the Populists elected their candidate for Governor, also approximately half of the legislature. When the Kansas Legislature assembled in January 1893, trouble at once arose over the organization of that body, resulting in the Populists electing a speaker, and assembling on one side of the chamber, and the Republicans electing a Speaker, and using the other side of the hall. This unrealistic condition, of course, could not continue long; the Populists had a bright idea (they thought).

By pre-arrangement they went to the legislative chamber early one morning, took over possessions, and locked and barred the doors. The Republicans reporting at the usual hour, found they were locked out, and the Populists in charge of the hall. They were surprised, and soon very angry. Led by George L. Douglass, a representative from Wichita (Sedgwick Co.), they repaired to the Santa Fe shops, secured sledge hammers, and returned and battered down the locked doors, entered and drove the Populists out. They then proceeded to act as the Legislature; they swore in students of Washburn College as Sergeants-at-Arms, armed them with Winchester rifles, and needless to say, Populists became scarce around there.

Then the Populist Governor called out the State Militia (National Guard).[1] I was a member of Co. "H" of El Dorado. The company assembled at its armory, under command of its captain, and soon was on its way to Topeka, via Santa Fe R. R. Upon arrival in Topeka we marched to the Capitol, and I assume the Captain reported to the Governor. We were quartered in the large basement, or first floor rooms, and marched down town for our meals at restaurants. After the Governor got us there, he seemingly did not know what to do with us, although I do recall one day serving in a detail which was assigned the duty of guarding the State Treasurer's office—on the assumption, I suppose, that the Republicans might take over the State Treasury. We remained there for several days, then were sent home.

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[1] In another letter, dated February 2, 1956, Mr. Floyd R. Bull added another note to his story about the Populist Party members in the Kansas Legislature: "I might add to the account of 'The Legislative War' that Ervin Covey, First Sergeant of our Co. 'H' was accidently shot in the left hip by a bullet from a large revolver carelessly handled by a member of the Wichita Battery quartered in the same large, ground floor room, or corridor where we were. He was given hospital treatment by the State of Kansas, and a pension by the State during the following years. This was the only casualty of 'The Legislative War.'"

I assume that the political leaders, come to a realization of serious results that might result, came to some kind of an understanding, or compromise, and called an end to the situation. In Kansas history this episode came to be known as "The Legislative War."

Sincerely,

Floyd R. Bull

P. S.

In the later nineties the following changes occurred on the Kansas political scene: First came "Fusion"—the Democrats had always been the minority party in Kansas and it was "anything to beat the Republicans." Then after a short period of "Fusion," if it is allowable to say that a smaller body can "absorb" a larger body, then I can report that the Democratic Party "absorbed" the Populist Party, along with many of their Socialistic ideas—this was many, many years before F. D. Roosevelt and the "New Deal"—and from then on the Populist Party went out of existence.

First Church Services in Oklahoma City After April 22, 1889

Captain Daniel F. Stiles, Provost-Marshal of Oklahoma City and the surrounding district, served with Captain Freeman Given, James Downie, L. F. Lee and A. C. Scott on a committee that brought about the organization of the First Presbyterian Church of Oklahoma City in 1889. Notes on the history of this church have been contributed to *The Chronicles* by Miss Eula Fullerton, a member of the present congregation:

Though now sixty-five years old, the First Presbyterian Church of Oklahoma City is not retiring. Indeed, Dr. Ralston Smith, in his recent anniversary sermon of the organization of the church, called upon the congregation for renewed spirit and effort as he recounted the struggles of the founding pioneers.

It was a Presbyterian sermon which was the first spiritual message brought to the settlers on Sunday, April 28, 1889, just six days after great throngs of people had made the run into the "Oklahoma Country," and several thousand had settled at the site of "Oklahoma Station" on the Santa Fe Railroad, to form Oklahoma City. This first Sabbath message was given by a Presbyterian preacher, the Reverend C. C. Hembree, who had come down to the Territory from Kansas in a trainload of settlers. He talked forty-five minutes standing by the well which was then located at what is now Main and Broadway, preaching to a sizeable group that had gathered after word had been spread by the soldiers from the company stationed at the military post guarding the new city. His text from the New Testament was an admonition from the Apostle Paul to the young preacher, Timothy, "Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ."

Mr. Hembree commented later that the service was well attended, the people responsive, and he was complimented by the soldier in charge for getting the young community off to a good start. The First Presbyterian Church was formally organized as a mission in Oklahoma City on November 3, 1889, and when it was not yet five years old, it assumed self-support.

BOOK REVIEWS

Buffalo Bill: King of the Old West. By Elizabeth Jane Leonard and Julia Cody Goodman. (Library Publishers, New York, 1955. Pp. 320. Illus. $4.95.)

One of the authors of this book, Julia Cody Goodman, William F. Cody's sister, was closely associated with her brother for many years, and as a result, was in a position to present a detailed and immediate account of her brother's many adventures, his feelings, defeats, and successes without the exaggerations of press agents and the many legends that have been developed regarding his adventures. The book is well documented with many reproductions of old photographs, paintings, and prints.

William F. Cody is still associated in the public mind with his Wild West Show, which bore his name, and is vaguely identified with the slaughter of the buffalo. The public generally believes he got his name, "Buffalo Bill" from the slaughter of thousands of buffalo to supply meat for the newly constructed Kansas Pacific Railroad which was pushing westward at the time. It is true he contracted to furnish this meat, but, instead of shooting the buffalo himself, he employed regular experienced buffalo hunters to do the job. It seems he acquired this title soon after his first attempt to shoot a buffalo out on the range where his hunters were shooting, skinning, and preparing the meat for the Railroad. The wounded buffalo chased him to the new town of Hays City, Kansas, which was located a short distance from the hunting ranges. One of his buffalo hunters came to his rescue and shot the buffalo, referring afterwards to William F. Cody as "Our Buffalo Bill" because of this incident with the wounded buffalo. From then on he was referred to as "Our Buffalo Bill" by the buffalo hunters in and around Hays City more in derision because he lacked courage in killing the wounded buffalo instead of running from it. Later on Ned Buntline and other fiction writers, seeking to popularize William F. Cody as a great hero, dropped "Our Buffalo Bill" and gave him the title of "Buffalo Bill" the great buffalo hunter of the Plains. And today we have that myth of William F. Cody.

What the modern reader lacks is an understanding of William F. Cody as famous for being: at the age of fourteen years the world's youngest pony express rider (he set a record of carrying the mail 322 miles without rest, averaging 15 miles an hour and exhausting 20 horses on the way); scout and guide for the U. S. Army (he traveled 365 miles through Indian-infested territory); chief of scouts of the Fifth Cavalry (he devised the grand strategy

that led to the great victory over the Indians at Summitt Springs); and his ranching and transforming the barren far western country into fertile, irrigated farms, making it possible for the building of towns and cities and bringing modern culture to this section of our country (he was the first to start Dude Ranching in America and his TE Ranch located near Cody, Wyoming was, and is today, without doubt the most famous Dude Ranch in this country). His greatest contribution is to be found in his leadership in winning the far west for modern civilization and culture. More than anyone else, he was foremost in the developing of our western tradition of today. Perhaps, this book's greatest contribution is along these lines, but more could have been said about his ranching, the building of towns and the great irrigation system in opening up of the barren ranges of the far west to farming, homes and towns.

—Ellsworth Collings

The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

And Satan Came Also. By Albert McRill. (Oklahoma City: Britton Publishing Company, 1955. Pp. 264. Illus. $3.95.)

As with other things, the writing of history may be specialized into any number of fields or limited to a certain interest. One area of historical inquiry oftentimes neglected is any forthright approach to the influence of the smoke-filled room and its politico occupants, whether on a local or national level. Often these same worthies upon close scrutiny are found to be in close harmony with the seamy side of society and with the area of the community known colloquially as the "bon ton" or "tenderloin" district.

Human nature being what it is, or for that matter if human nature were different than what it is, any objectively written book of history with such subjects as its principal theme is worthy of close attention and more than passing interest. Particularly if the volume is the careful and studied product of one whose entire life has been devoted to municipal improvement, civic betterment, and local government at the working and practical level. This book meets all of such tests.

Judge McRill has packed between the covers of this book many names that, except for the volume, would live on only by word of mouth, tradition, and smoking room after dinner story. They all come alive and seem back in business once again—Two Johns, The Turf Exchange, The Southern Club, Big Anne, Old Zulu, Noah's Ark, The Red Onion, and all the rest. We of today's

generation are fortunate that it may all be recorded for us in this fashion, so that even though the insatiable march of time has precluded a more intimate introduction, we are not to be deprived of such acquaintanceship altogether. Thanks to Judge McRill for giving our generation a reference book on something that heretofore the only reference has been eavesdropping in the club room when it is filled with old-timers.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City

MINUTES OF THE FOURTH QUARTERLY AND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY JANUARY 26, 1956.

General W. S. Key, President of the Board of Directors, called the regular quarterly meeting of that body to order at 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, January 26, 1956. The meeting was held in the Board of Directors Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building.

The following members answered roll call: H. B. Bass, Judge George L. Bowman, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Joe W. Curtis, Exall English, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Dr. Wayne Johnson, Gen. W. S. Key, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, R. M. Mountcastle, H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, George H. Shirk, Judge Baxter Taylor, and Judge Edgar S. Vaught. A telegram was presented from Mrs. Willis C. Reed telling of her inability to attend, due to other commitments. A letter from Dr. E. E. Dale was read stating that he was unable to be present due to the fact that he was teaching at the University of Houston. Word was also received from Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Treasurer, that illness prevented her from being in attendance. Upon motion of Judge Bowman, seconded by Dr. Harbour, the three absent members were excused.

Colonel Shirk moved that the reading of the minutes of the preceding meeting be dispensed with, and the motion was seconded by Judge Hefner. Upon the motion being put, it was unanimously adopted.

The report of the Administrative Secretary was given by Elmer L. Fraker. This report indicated that the Historical Society was being operated in line with its budget. Of the $17,310.00 allotted by the legislature for the year's maintenance purposes, $8,719.80 had been expended, leaving a balance of $8,590.10 to be used during the next six months. The Secretary stated that most of the $2,700.00 set up in the Special Fund Budget had been expended, leaving only a balance of $636.27. He stated, however, that most of the purchases from the Special Fund were of necessity made in the first six months of the year. It was set forth that $1,874.01 were received into the Special Fund during the past quarter, and that disbursements amounted to $1,031.15, thus making a gain of $842.86 for the quarter.

The Secretary also reported that all Board members whose pictures were not on the walls of the Board of Directors Room had been contacted, requesting they furnish photographs of themselves. He further stated that such photographs had been received from Dr. Chapman and Mrs. Reed. He said that Mrs. C. E. Cook, Curator of the Museum, had checked the pictures in the Portrait Gallery and found most of them to be in excellent condition. She had recommended, however, that the Haskell portrait be restored because of cracking in the surface.

Mr. Fraker presented a rough draft of the wording which is to appear on the granite base mounting of the old Civil War cannon, which is to be placed in front of the Historical Building. The wording to be used is the following: "Used at Battle of Missionary Ridge November 25, 1863. Brought to Oklahoma by Gordon W. Lillie as Part of His Pawnee Bill's Wild West Show."

In giving the report on membership, the Secretary announced that during the quarter 37 Life memberships had been secured and 115 annual members, along with 224 annual renewals. He pointed out that Stanley

Draper, Secretary of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, had been responsible for securing 29 new life memberships. Judge Hefner moved, and Judge Taylor seconded, that the Board go on record as expressing their appreciation to Mr. Draper for his assistance. The motion was unanimously adopted.

In continuing his report, Mr. Fraker set forth that, as of that date, there were 760 life members and 1,580 annual members, making a total of 2,340 active members in the Society. This indicated an increase of more than 400 over the same date the preceding year.

Gifts to the Library, Museum, Archives, and Memorial Halls, together with the list of new membership applications, were presented by the Secretary for acceptance. Mrs. Korn requested that Mrs. Lola Chamberlin's gift of a scrap book containing the first records of the American Legion Auxiliary be included in the gift list. Miss Seger moved that the list of gifts be formally accepted by the Society. The motion was seconded by Judge Taylor and adopted by the Board. This motion was followed by one made by Judge Cole, seconded by Dr. Harbour, that those whose names had been submitted as making application for membership in the Society be accepted. Approval was unanimously given to this motion. These lists are attached hereto and made an official part of the minutes.

Judge Vaught made a report on the special committee for erecting a monument to the memory of Joseph B. Thoburn, early day historian of Oklahoma and former Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He said that $1,300 had already been collected for this project. The Secretary called the attention of the Board to the fact that Judge Vaught had collected $945.00 of this amount. Both Colonel Shirk and Mrs. Korn observed that other Board members should get busy and help Judge Vaught raise the required amount of money. It was stated by Judge Vaught that the present contract for the monument calls for $2,000.00, but if more money is collected, the size of the monument could be increased accordingly. He said that Mr. Hardin, Manager of the Rose Hill Cemetery, had informed him that a monument could not be erected at the present site of Thoburn's grave, but that he would permit the Thoburn Memorial Committee to select a nice lot in the cemetery and would have the remains moved to that place; and that this would be done without cost to the Society.

In another report, Judge Vaught stated that at the present time, the movement to erect a monument for former Governor Jack Walton was at a standstill. He said that further contacts would need to be made with the Walton family.

General Key, in commenting on the absence of Mrs. Moore, said, "Mrs. Moore is one of the oldest officers in point of service of the Society. Any time we honor her, we are honoring ourselves." Joe Curtis said that he would like to have the privilege of writing the letter and resolution expressing good wishes to Mrs. Moore. General Key acceded to the request of Mr. Curtis, and appointed him to draw the resolution to be sent to Mrs. Moore. Judge Baxter Taylor presented a card for the signatures of the Board members that was to be sent to Mrs. Moore.

The matter of setting dues for the Historical Society was presented by Mr. Harrison, chairman of the committee to advise on the amount of dues. He said that his committee was recommending that annual dues remain the same; that is, $2.00 per member. He said the committee felt, however, that life memberships should be doubled, and was therefore recommending that life memberships be raised from $25.00 to $50.00. Reference was made to a survey that had been conducted at the request of the committee, which indicated that most historical societies have a much higher dues and membership rate than does the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Harrison moved that the report of the committee be adopted,

and this was seconded by Mr. Mountcastle. Upon the statement of the Secretary, who pointed out that many contacts had already been made by mail setting forth the old life membership rates, it was moved by Mr. Phillips that the motion be amended to state that the increase in life membership dues become effective on July 1, 1956. The amendment was accepted by the committee, and the motion approved by the Board.

General Key made the observation that the constitution and by-laws of the Oklahoma Historical Society had not been changed in any way since 1932, and that many new problems and conditions had arisen since that time. He pointed to the fact that the Historical Society membership had grown to where the following of present provisions of the constitution was made almost impossible. Judge Taylor moved that a committee be appointed to draw recommended amendments to the constitution and by-laws, the same to be submitted at the next meeting of the Board of Directors. Mrs. Korn seconded the motion. Dr. Harbour suggested that the amendments be considered at the next annual meeting. The following committee was appointed by General Key to study the constitution and by-laws and submit recommended changes: Judge Baxter Taylor, Judge N. B. Johnson, and Col. George H. Shirk.

Mr. Phillips moved that the next meeting of the Board of Directors be designated as the annual meeting, and be held as usual in the Historical Society Building. Dr. Harbour seconded the motion. The motion was put and carried. Mr. Miller suggested that a part of this annual meeting be conducted during the Forum of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce. Mrs. Korn stated that this might be impossible, due to the fact that the Chamber of Commerce luncheon was not held on Thursday. Mr. Miller then observed that the official meeting of the Society could be held at the regular time on Thursday morning, and then adjourn to the Chamber of Commerce luncheon for an Oklahoma Historical Society program. It was his opinion that the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce would cooperate in this matter.

It was directed by General Key that the regular program committee make arrangements for the annual meeting. Mrs. Anna Korn is chairman of this committee, with Judge R. A. Hefner, Judge Taylor, Judge Johnson, and Elmer L. Fraker serving as members.

Mr. Miller was called upon to make his report concerning the next annual Tour of the Society. He stated that his committee had selected the Chisholm Trail as the route to be followed on the Tour, with night stops at Lawton and Enid. At that time he suggested that the dates of the Tour be May 10, 11, and 12. Upon later consideration the dates of the Tour were set for May 3, 4, and 5. Special side trips are to be made to see the buffalo and longhorn herds at the Wichita National Park; Jess Chisholm's grave near Geary; and the Great Salt Plains in Alfalfa County. He reported that the Tour is to terminate at Caldwell, Kansas, where that city will be celebrating its "Border Queen" anniversary.

Mr. Miller continued by saying the committee was recommending that transportation cost for the Tour be $10.50 for each tourist, and that those who traveled in their own automobiles be required to pay $5.00 each. Judge Vaught moved that the committee's report be accepted. This was seconded by Colonel Shirk and carried. Mr. Bass observed that it was likely that a good many people in Texas and Kansas would join in the Tour, inasmuch as the Trail also ran through parts of both of these states.

Election of members to the Board was taken up as the next order of business. It was announced that the terms of five members of the Board were expiring with the January meeting. These five members were Miss Genevieve Seger, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Mr. Milt Phillips, Mr. George Shirk, and Mrs. Jessie Moore. It was moved by Mr. Harrison that all five

of these members be re-elected to membership on the Board of Directors. This motion was seconded by Judge Taylor and passed by a unanimous vote of those present.

General Key expressed appreciation for the fine work that had been done by the five re-elected members, and congratulated them on being elected to another term of office.

Mr. Harrison moved that the present officers of the Society be elected for another two year period, and the motion was seconded by Judge Bowman. It was pointed out by Colonel Shirk and the Secretary that it might be well to include the Editor of The Chronicles in the motion. This was accepted and the motion was put and unanimously carried. Officers thus elected were: General William S. Key, President: Redmond S. Cole, 1st Vice President; Judge Baxter Taylor, 2nd Vice President; Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Treasurer; and Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary. Miss Muriel H. Wright was elected to serve as Editor of The Chronicles of Oklahoma.

A list of nominees to fill the one vacancy on the Board of Directors was presented for consideration. The vacancy to be filled was that created by the resignation of Mrs. James Garfield Buell of Tulsa. Ballots were prepared and all members of the Board voted. When the ballots were counted by a committee consisting of Mr. Milt Phillips, Col. George Shirk, and Judge Baxter Taylor it was found that Mr. Kelly Brown of Muskogee had received a majority of votes cast. Judge Hefner moved, and Mrs. Korn seconded, that the election of Mr. Brown be made unanimous. The motion was put and carried.

General Key said that the Board was most happy to welcome Dr. James D. Morrison and Dr. Wayne Johnson to membership. Dr. Johnson expressed his appreciation at having been selected as a member of the Board and said, "I am very conscious of the honor given me, for I love Oklahoma very much and hope that I will make a good Board member." Dr. Morrison remarked that he had used the facilities of the Oklahoma Historical Society on many occasions in doing research in history, and continued, "I am very pleased to have been made a member of the Board, and realize the importance of the work the Society is doing."

Since Mr. Joe Curtis had not had much time to speak at the preceding quarterly meeting, when he first became a member of the Board, General Key called on him for remarks. Mr. Curtis said that he could truly qualify as an Oklahoman, for not only had his mother been born in Oklahoma, but also his father and grandfather. "I am happy to be a member of the Board, and hope that in some small measure I will be able to be of assistance to this Society."

It was pointed out by Dr. Harbour that fellow Board member, Chief Justice Johnson, had recently received two distinct honors. She said Judge Johnson had recently won the Freedoms Foundation Achievement Award as the Outstanding American Indian for 1955-56, and that he was the recipient of the Chicago Indian Council Fire Achievement Award as an outstanding Indian of 1955. General Key stated that the members of the Board joined with the other citizens of the state in their admiration of Judge Johnson.

As the meeting came to a close, General Key expressed appreciation to the Board on behalf of the officers of the Society for having been re-elected to their respective positions.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:00 noon.

W. S. KEY, President

ELMER L. FRAKER, Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED AND ACCEPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

LIBRARY:

Autographed copies of the following books by Caroline Bancroft, Denver, Colorado:

Famous Aspens, The Melodrama of Wolhurst, Baby Doe Tabor, Matchless Mine, Mile High Denver, Historic Central City, Augusta Tabor, and *The Brown Palace.*

Donors: Mr. and Mrs. John B. Fink, Oklahoma City

Descriptive material on Colorado scenery, Colorado Springs, Tuttle Creek Dam, Soil Conservation in Colorado, and a booklet on the history of Colorado Springs. This collection of pamphlets on Colorado and Kansas consists of 30 items.

Donors: Mr. and Mrs. John B. Fink, Oklahoma City

Ragged Roads and *Smoky Mountain,* both by Solon Porter.

Donor: Mr. Solon Porter, Fargo, Oklahoma

History of the Sewell Families in America, compiled by Worley Levi Sewell, Palm Beach, Florida.

Donor: Mr. Ralph Hudson, State Librarian, State Capitol, Oklahoma City

Military Preventive Medicine, by George C. Dunham; *Our Prize Dogs,* by Charles H. Mason; Young People's Hymnal, 1901; 10 scientific books; 9 German texts and supplementary readings: 33 volumes of *National Geographic* and 25 maps.

Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Frank Pugsley, Oklahoma City

Journal of the House of Representatives, Regular Session, First Legislature of Oklahoma; Journal of the House of Representatives, Extraordinary Session, Second Legislature of the State of Oklahoma; Journal of the House of Representatives, Regular Session, Second Legislature of the State of Oklahoma: Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the First Legislature of the State of Oklahoma; Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the Second Legislature of the State of Oklahoma; Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the Extraordinary Session of the Second Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

Donor: Mr. Whorton Mathies, Secretary, Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education, Oklahoma City

Invasion of Italy

Donor: U. S. Army, 45th Division

Magna Charta, Part 7

Donor: Mr. John S. Wurtz, Philadelphia, Pa.

"Flowers," a poem by W. A. Villines, framed, with explanatory comment.

Donor: W. A. Villines, Maud, Oklahoma.

Portrait of Count Albert D. Pourtales, a companion of Washington Irving on his Tour on the Prairies. (Transferred from the Museum)

Donor: Mrs. Alice Runyan, Sunnyside, New York.

Scrapbook containing a complete description of the Oklahoma Historical Society Tour of 1955 along the Washington Irving Trail.

Donor: Miss Genevieve Seger, Geary, Oklahoma.

Scrapbook containing early records of American Legion Auxiliary.

Donor: Mrs. Lola Chamberlin, Afton, Oklahoma

MUSEUM:

Sidesaddle
Donor: Mrs. Ola M. Neves, Springfield, Missouri

Collection of Souvenir Buttons
Donor : Wm. D. Leaf, Cleveland, Ohio

Three Confederate Bills
Donor: Mary Ann Leaf, Santa Monica, California

Three photostats of old documents
Donor: Wm. A. Burkhart, Oklahoma City

Buffalo Horn Spoon; beaded leg band; three strings of beads of baby buffalo bones, brass and amber beads; neck ornament of baby buffalo bones: two black lace shawls; one cashmere shawl worn by Osage woman.
Donor: Mr. H. B. Fessler, Oklahoma City

Gavel Stone used by Mayor C. G. Jones in 1902 at opening of new City Hall. Used continuously by Mayors until 1937.
Donor: Frank Martin, Oklahoma City

Large, framed photograph of Judge John Burford
Donor: Mr. Thomas A. Higgins, Stillwater, Oklahoma

30 pictures of Perry and Orlando, just after the Run
Donor: Mr. A. J. Barash, Seattle, Washington

5 kodak pictures of Pistol Pete and others
Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Oklahoma

629 negatives of early Indian Territory
Donor: Mr. E. K. Burnett, Museum of the American Indian, New York

Large, framed pitcure of the Fifth Territorial Legislature, (Senate); Framed picture of the Fourth Legislative Assembly, (Members of the Council)
Donors: Miss Rose Garrison and Miss Myrtle Garrison, Pond Creek, Oklahoma

ARCHIVES:

Reprint of the article, "Peyotism, 1521-1891," by Dr. J. S. Slotkin, which appeared in the *American Anthropologist*, April, 1955.
Donor: Dr. J. S. Slotkin, University of Chicago

Reprint of the article, "A Letter of Albert Parker Niblack," by Mrs. Grant Foreman, which appeared in *The Indiana Magazine of History, December*, 1955.
Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee, Oklahoma

CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL HALL:

Copy of the original prison diary of Alexander Marshall Bedford, First Lieutenant, Third Missouri Cavalry, C. S. A.
Donor: Judge Redmond S. Cole, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Two letters from Jemerson Moore, Confederate Veteran
Donor: Mrs. James R. Armstrong, Oklahoma City

NEW MEMBERS:

The following members were elected to full membership in the Society, January 26, 1956.

LIFE:

Mr. Roy Jackson	Antlers, Okla.
Mr. Frank E. Coleman	Cushing, Okla.
Mr. Tex Callahan Coleman	"
Mr. Joseph E. Bouchard	Enid, Okla.
Dr. George S. Wilson	"
Mr. Neatha H. Seger	Geary, Okla.
Mrs. Naomi M. Howard	Norman, Okla.
Mrs. Henry D. Rinsland	"
Mr. Clifton H. Adams	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Mr. H. C. Adams	"
Mr. Lee K. Anderson	"
Mr. Leonard H. Bailey	"
Mr. David D. Benham	"
Mr. Herbert L. Branan	"
Mr. George Sam Caporal	"
Mr. Roger Dolese	"
Mr. E. E. Dorsey	"
Dr. W. E. Flesher	"
Mr. John D. Frizzell	"
Mr. E. L. Gosselin	"
Mr. Charles E. Grady, Jr.	"
Mr. George H. C. Green	"
Mr. Maurice D. Green	"
Mr. H. B. Groh	"
Mr. Hugh L. Harrell	"
Mr. Lee M. Jones	"
Mr. E. C. Joullion	"
Mr. Frank Kesler	"
Mr. A. Martin Kingkade	"
Mr. R. W. Lee	"
Mr. Fred MacArthur	"
Mr. Louis C. Mersfelder	"
Mr. Malcolm Morrisson	"
Mr. Joe D. Morse	"
Mr. E. J. O'Connor	"
Mr. Ralph L. Reece	"
Mr. Byrne Ross	"
Mr. Voyle Spurlock	"
Dr. Waldo E. Stephens	"
Mr. George C. Summy	"
Mr. James R. Tolbert, Sr.	"
Mr. James E. Webb	"
Mr. Ira Williams	"
Dr. Homer L. Knight	Stillwater, Okla.
Rev. E. H. Eckel, S. T. D.	Tulsa, Okla.
Mrs. W. R. Holway	"
Mr. Ed Davis Ligon, Jr.	"
Mrs. Glen Brackney	Broussard, La.
Mr. William Justus Moll	Springfield, Mo.

ANNUAL:

Mr. G. Conner Logsdon	Ada, Okla.
Mr. Henry W. Miller	"

Dr. Holmes Crisp	Alva, Okla.
Mr. J. C. Hess	"
Mr. Francis M. Houts	"
Dr. Gene R. Smith	"
Dr. A. W. Haddox	Antlers, Okla.
Mr. J. D. Allen	Ardmore, Okla.
Mr. Joel F. Buchanan	"
Mr. Joseph G. Ralls, Jr.	Atoka, Okla.
Mr. Abraham Zweigel	"
Mrs. Blanche O. Garrison	Bartlesville, Okla.
Mr. Herbert R. Straight	"
Mr. and Mrs. Roscoe Gilmore	Blanchard, Okla.
Mr. Gene K. Murray	Boise City, Okla.
Mr. John H. A. Dumas	Bristow, Okla.
Mr. Dennis Busheyhead	Claremore, Okla.
Mrs. Max Renas	Comanche, Okla.
Miss Esther Stoolfie	Crescent, Okla.
Mr. T. C. Foster	Cushing, Okla.
Mr. W. D. Thompson	Depew, Okla.
Mr. B. L. Abernathy	Duncan. Okla.
Mr. O. R. Bridges	Durant, Okla.
Mr. Roy Hall	El Reno, Okla.
Mrs. E. L. Bagby	Enid, Okla.
Mr. R. J. Green	"
Mr. Edward C. Montgomery	Fairview, Okla.
Mrs. F. L. Millwee	Fort Cobb, Okla.
Mrs. Grace Mae Seitter	Geary, Okla.
Mr. C. V. Guthrie	Guthrie, Okla.
Mr. Don Dale	Guymon, Okla.
Lt. Vincent Dale	"
Mrs. Henry Clark	Heavener, Okla.
Rev. J. M. Gaskin	"
Mr. Roland K. Chasteen	Hinton, Okla.
Mrs. Kenneth K. Cook	Hodgen, Okla.
Dr. John D. Moore	Hugo, Okla.
Mr. Harry A. Hawk	Lexington, Okla.
Mrs. Robert S. Duncan	Locust Grove, Okla.
Mrs. Mary Ellen Parnell	Mountain View, Okla.
Mrs. Homer L. Robinson	Muskogee, Okla.
Mrs. Carl C. Dicks	Norman, Okla.
Mr. Benjamin F. Lee	"
Mrs. Harriette J. Westbrook	Okemah, Okla.
Mr. Edwin Wren Bowyer	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Mr. James L. Bradley	"
Mr. M. B. Breeding	"
Dr. Richard M. Burke	"
Mr. John F. Butler	"
Dr. Vera Buchheit	"
Mr. William A. Buchholz	"
Mr. John E. Caldwell	"
Lt. Bill Dale	"
Mr. Charles W. Elder	"
Miss Ann Gormley	'
Mrs. Gloria Foreman Gould	"
Hays & Hays	"
Mr. Moore C. Hess	"
Mr. David Ingram	"
Mrs. J. Henry Johnson	"
Mr. Charles R. Key	"
Mrs. E. C. Kidd	"

Mrs. Marcellus P. Lehman	"
Mr. A. E. Nelson	"
Mr. Thomas E. Nolen	"
Mrs. Maybelle Poole	"
Mr. Al Rosenthal	"
Mrs. Belle Spiers	"
Mr. Hugh S. Tennant	"
Miss Nellie V. Way	"
Mr. Jack P. Whitmarsh	"
Mr. Will A. Blake	Pauls Valley, Okla.
Mrs. J. W. Keith	Pawhuska, Okla.
Mr. George V. Labadie	"
Miss Ruth Louise Alexander	Ponca City, Okla.
Mrs. Dillard H. Clark	"
Dr. Charles R. Hocker	"
Mrs. Ivan Bunger Williams	"
Mr. D. F. Smith	Proctor, Okla.
Mr. C. W. Bethell	Pryor, Okla.
Mrs. Jean A. Budd	"
Mrs. Neva Goss	"
Mrs. Hope M. Conrad	Reydon, Okla.
Miss June N. Conrad	"
Mr. Orville G. Conrad	"
Mr. Lawrence J. Brown	Ryan, Okla.
Mrs. L. J. Brant	Shawnee, Okla.
Mr. Francis H. Tibbitts	Spiro, Okla.
Mr. Charles F. Vaught	"
Dr. Harold C. Ward	"
Mr. Paul L. Farrington	Stillwater, Okla.
Dr. Ida T. Smith	"
Dean Julia E. Stout	"
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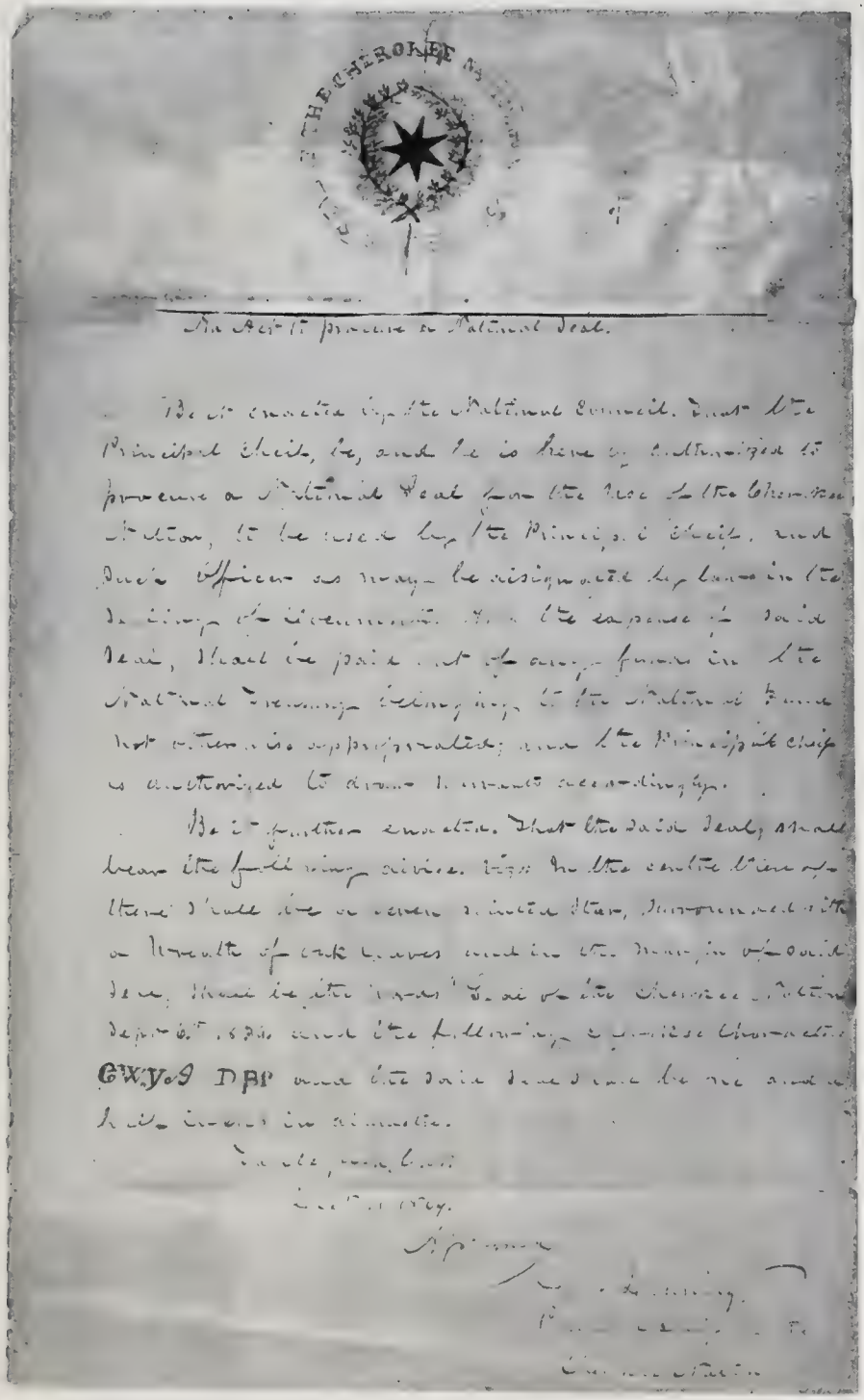
SEAL OF THE CHEROKEE NATION

A reproduction in colors of the Seal of the Cherokee Nation appears on the front cover of this summer number of *The Chronicles,* made from the original painting in the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society.[1] The official Cherokee Seal is centered by a large seven-pointed star surrounded by a wreath of oak leaves, the border encircling this central device bearing the words "Seal of the Cherokee Nation" in English and seven characters of the Sequoyah alphabet which form two words in Cherokee. These seven characters representing syllables from Sequoyah's alphabet are phonetically pronounced in English "Tsa-la-gi-hi A-ye-li" and mean "Cherokee Nation" in the native language. At the lower part of the circular border is the date "Sept. 6, 1839," that of the adoption of the Constitution of the Cherokee Nation, West.

Interpretation of the device in this seal is found in Cherokee folklore and history. Ritual songs in certain ancient tribal ceremonials and songs made reference to seven clans, the legendary beginnings of the Cherokee Nation whose country early in the historic period took in a wide area now included in the present eastern parts of Tennessee and Kentucky, the western parts of Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as extending over into what are now northern sections of Georgia and Alabama. A sacred fire was kept burning in the "Town House" at a central part of the old nation, logs of the live oak, a hardwood timber in the region, laid end to end to keep the fire going. The oak was thus a symbol of strength and everlasting life in connection with the sacred fire. The seven-pointed star centering the device of the Cherokee Seal represents the seven ancient clans in tribal lore.

The Seal of the Cherokee Nation was adopted by law of the National Council, and approved by Lewis Downing, Principal Chief, on December 11, 1869. The imprint of the seal was used on official Cherokee documents as provided by law, until the close of the Cherokee government at the time that Oklahoma became a State in 1907. The original manuscript of the law providing for the Seal of the Cherokee Nation is preserved on display in the Museum of

[1] The original paintings of each of the official seals of the Five Civilized Tribes were done as a contribution to the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1940, by Mr. Guy C. Reid, of Oklahoma City, now Past President of the Oklahoma State Architects Association and member of the Institute of American Architects. Each of these paintings was designed from the impress of the original seals preserved in the Office of the Five Civilized Tribes Agency at Muskogee, and checked for accuracy on the available Indian laws describing the seals. For more details on the history of the Seal of the Cherokee Nation see Muriel H. Wright, "Official Seals of the Five Civilized Tribes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (December, 1940), pp. 356-70.



(Oklahoma Historical Society Museum)

The original manuscript of "An Act to Procure a National Seal" approved and signed by Lewis Downing, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, 1869.

the Oklahoma Historical Society. A facsimile of this rare manuscript appears on the opposite page in this number of *The Chronicles*. The law itself reads as follows:

An Act to Procure a National Seal

Be it enacted by the National Council. That the Principal Chief, be, and he is hereby authorized to procure a National Seal for the use of the Cherokee Nation, to be used by the Principal Chief, and such officers as may be designated by law in the sealing of Documents. and the expense of said seal, shall be paid out of any funds in the National Treasury belonging to the National Fund not otherwise appropriated; and the Principal Chief is authorized to draw warrants accordingly.

Be it further enacted. That the said Seal, shall bear the following devices. Viz: In the centre thereof there shall be a seven pointed star, surrounded with a wreath of oak leaves, and in the margin of said seal, shall be the words "Seal of the Cherokee Nation," Sept. 6th, 1839, and the following Cherokee characters ᏩᎳᏯ ᎠᏰᎫ and the said seal shall be one and a half inches in diameter.

Tahlequah, C. N.
Dec. 11, 1869.

Approved

Lewis Downing
Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation

The Cherokee was an Iroquoian tribe that originated in the North but was found in possession of the southern Alleghany region by De Soto's expedition in 1540. Cherokee relations beginning with the British in the Carolina colonies 150 years later made the 18th Century the age of Cherokee heroes under the last of the ancient tribal regime. The old colonial records give the names of Cherokee chiefs and leaders who sparred wits in councils with the colonial authorities, and who fought in battles to save the Cherokee country from European colonists on the east; they also fought in battles with the Iroquois on the north, and the Creeks, on the south. During this century, Irishmen, Germans, Englishmen and Scots who settled and married among the Cherokees were the progenitors of number of mixed-blood Cherokee families, some of whose members were wealthy traders and planters, owners of substantial residences, Negro slaves and herds of cattle by 1800. Some of the children of these families were taught by hired tutors or sent to school in the neighboring states. The establishment of Springplace Mission in Georgia, by the Moravians in 1801 was the beginning of schools

within the Cherokee country that brought educational advantages to the people generally.

The Cherokees were the most advanced of the southeastern Indian tribes by 1828, in which year they established their nation under a written constitution providing for legislative, executive and judicial departments. Their country was divided into eight districts for government purposes, and their capital was established at New Echota,[2] located a few miles northeast of present Calhoun, Gordon County, Georgia. Cherokee leaders at the same time planned the establishment of institutions of higher learning, a national museum and the preservation of Cherokee history. The first Indian newspaper in America, called the *Cherokee Phoenix*[3] was soon published with its columns printed in both the English and the characters of the Cherokee syllabary that had been invented by the famous Sequoyah and was widely used by the people in the nation.

The advancement of the Cherokees as a nation had gone forward under the auspices of the United States government that from the early days of the Republic had established peace with the southeastern Indian tribes and had taken steps to aid them in their steps to become progressive communities. The first treaty between the United States and the Cherokees was signed at Hopewell, on the Keowee Rever, in present South Carolina, on November 28, 1785. Government commissioners of the time advised that Indians should be paid for lands taken from them, and that the money thus raised should be used to teach them useful branches of mechanics.

Plans for the removal to the West of all the Indian tribes living east of the Mississippi River was promoted by the United States even in President Jefferson's administration when already some of the Cherokees were making their homes in the White River region of what is now the state of Arkansas. These people became known as the Western Cherokees though they were only a small part of the original tribe. Of fourteen treaties between the United States and the Cherokees, including that at Hopewell, eleven made cessions of tribal land. Finally a treaty signed at New Echota on December 29, 1835, by special United States Commissioners, provided the removal of the Cherokees to the West and the sale of all their domain in what are now the Southeastern States. The Cherokee cession by the terms of this Treaty amounted to approximately 8,000,000 acres for which the tribe was paid little more than fifty cents an acre. The policy of the United States for the removal of the eastern tribes to

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[2] The restoration of New Echota, the last capital of the Cherokee Nation in Georgia, carried on under the sponsorship of the Georgia Historical Commission is reviewed in "Notes and Documents" of this number of *The Chronicles*, pp. 229-30.

[3] A history of the *Cherokee Phoenix* and its successor the *Cherokee Advocate* (first newspaper in Oklahoma, printed at Tahlequah, 1844) is Robert G. Martin's "The Cherokee Phoenix: Pioneer of Indian Journalism," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV, No. 2 (Summer, 1947), pp. 102-118.

the West beyond the Mississippi River and the opposition of the State of Georgia against the continuance of the Cherokee government within her borders created an impossible situation for Cherokees. Major Ridge, his son John, and his two nephews, Elias Boudinot and Stand Waite, with other prominent leaders signed the treaty at New Echota, thinking it the only course open to the tribe. Chief Ross, Assistant Chief George Lowery and other leaders representing a large majority of the people, had not been at the New Echota meeting with the United States Commissioners, and bitterly opposed to the treaty. A proposal made by Chief Ross at Washington some time before this that the Cherokee Nation be paid approximately $2.50 per acre for its lands had been turned down by Government officials as exorbitant.[4]

Not long after the New Echota council, members of the Ridge party moved west and joined the Western Cherokees, or "Old Settlers," in the Indian Territory. The latter had moved to this region, and established their government, by the terms of the Treaty of 1828, which had provided 7,000,000 acres in what is now Northeastern Oklahoma, as well as some 9,000,000 acres west known as the Cherokee Outlet, to be owned and settled by all the Cherokees, west and east.

Members of the Ross Party, nearly two-thirds of the nation refused to leave Georgia, remaining peaceably in their homes with the hope that the New Echota Treaty would not be carried into effect but Chief Ross's efforts at Washington to have it annulled were not successful. A council was held at Red Clay in 1837, and matters reached a crisis in the following summer. General Winfield Scott, carrying out the orders of President Jackson, established army headquarters at New Echota, and issued a proclamation that every Cherokee man, woman and child must be on the way west within thirty days. The delay came to an end when soldiers under General Scott's orders with rifles and bayonets drove the startled Cherokees from their homes and marched them to stockade encampments. Suffering deprivation and hardship, the emigrants were thence in large groups, on horseback, in wagons and thousands on foot, under military supervision over several different routes to the West, in the midst of (1838-39) winter storms.[5] Others of the Five Civilized Tribes had had similiar experiences, beginning with the Choctaw Removal from Mississippi in 1831-2, and today in retrospect, the many different roads traveled by the Indian people from their eastern homelands to the Indian Territory are symbolized in the general expression the "Trail of Tears."

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[4] Principles and policies of the Federal Government in its treatment of the Cherokee Indians is given in Thomas Valentine Parker's book, *The Cherokee Indians* (New York, 1907).

[5] James Mooney reviews the Cherokee Removal in his "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report,* Bur. Amer. Ethnol. (Washington, 1900).

Chief Ross and his followers, many of whose relatives had died on the "Trail of Tears," arrived in the Indian Territory in the spring of 1839. The Western Cherokees held that the newcomers, Chief Ross and his followers, should join them and recognize the western laws and officers, at least until the regular elections in the fall. Party feeling was high among the full bloods of the Ross Party, who had suffered so recently in the eviction from Georgia, against the Ridge Party members who now took sides with the Western Cherokees or "Old Settlers." Major Ridge had sponsored a law in the Cherokee Council, making it a penalty of death to sell any of the tribal domain. Presumably for having signed the New Echota Treaty and failing to observe this law, Major Ridge, John Ridge and Elias Boudinot were assassinated by unknown parties, in different parts of the new country at almost the same hour on June 22, 1839. These tragic events were the beginning of a feud which together with controversies over the terms of the New Echota Treaty formed the background of political life in the Cherokee Nation for many years.

John Ross and his friends were blamed for the recent trouble yet despite threats against their lives, they proceeded to organize the Cherokee government in the new country. In July, 1839, an Act of Union was signed in a convention by members of the different political parties, over which the famous Sequoyah (or "George Guess") presided. On September 6, 1839, a new constitution was adopted in a national convention at Tahlequah, signed by Major George Lowry as president of the convention. The new constitution was similiar to that which had been adopted in the Cherokee Nation East, a decade before. Elected members of a national committee (senate) and a council (house) together composed the National Council of the Cherokee Nation. The executive branch consisted of a principal chief and an assistant chief, with an executive council of five (or three) members appointed by the National Council. Supreme, circuit and lesser courts made up the judiciary. By 1841, the nation had been divided into eight districts (later increased to nine), for government purposes and Tahlequah had been designated the capital of the Nation. John Ross was elected many successive terms as principal chief, serving in this office until his death in Washington in 1866.[6]

The Cherokees were soon progressing in their new country. Homes and farms were improved and neighborhood schools increased under a public school system with a native Cherokee elected as Superintendent of Public Schools. Two national seminaries were opened in 1851 through the personal interest and work of Chief John Ross: the Cherokee National Male Seminary near Tahlequah, and the Cherokee National Female Seminary near Park Hill. Christ-

[6] The Constitution of the Cherokee Nation and other laws and data are in Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921).

Cherokee Female Seminary. Graduating Class, 1889.
Building erected at Tahlequah, 1888.

Cherokee National Male Seminary, 1851, near Tahlequah.

The Cherokee National Female Seminary, 1851, near Park Hill was a replica of this building; destroyed by fire and moved to new building at Tahlequah, 1888.

ian churches gained converts; well selected libraries were found in a number of homes. Thousands of Cherokees could speak and write in English; many wrote using the Sequoyah alphabet in the native language. Many were able to draw up contracts and deeds, and were shrewd and intelligent in carrying on ordinary business transactions. The first Masonic lodge was established in the Nation in the 1840's, and was followed by other Masonic lodges in different communities. The noted Baptist missionaries, Evan Jones and his son, John Jones, organzed a secret society among the fullblood Cherokees in 1859 called the "Keetoowah," to preserve Cherokee history and promote high ideals of individualism.

The Cherokee Nation aligned by treaty with the Confederate States during the War between the States was a scene of desolation at the close of the great conflict. The people had been hopelessly divided in the War: Stand Waite was the leader of the Confederate group, and was commissioned the only Indian Brigadier General in the Confederate Army; on the other hand John Ross and many of his followers sympathized with the Union. The Keetoowah members had served as scouts for the Federal forces that took over and occupied Fort Gibson in 1862; They were known generally as "Cherokee Pins" identified by two crossed pins on the lapel of the coat. When the new treaty with the Federal Government was signed and approved in 1866, the 14,000 Cherokees impoverished by the recent War began to build their homes and nation again with determnation and perserverance.

Colonel Lewis Downing, a Cherokee who had been recently a lieutenant-colonal in the Union Army, was first elected principal chief of the Cherokee Nation in 1867. In this year when old factional and political strife threatened to disrupt the Nation, the Reverend Evan Jones and his son succeeded in futhering the organization of the Downing Party, an alliance between members of the former Ross Party (Union sympathizers) and the ex-Confederate Cherokees. From this time until the close of the Cherokee government in 1907, the Downing Party elected all the principal chiefs of the Nation, except one.

It was in Colonel Downing's second term as principal chief that the Seal of the Cherokee Nation was adopted by the National Council, reflecting his influence and his associations with his people.[7] One of the darkest chapters in the history of the Cherokees,

[7] There are many publications on the history of the Cherokee Nation—articles in former numbers of *The Chronicles*, and books. Among the suggested references are: John P. Brown, *Old Frontiers* (Kingsport, Tenn., 1938); Grant Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934); Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Park Hill* (Muskogee, 1948); Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers* (Norman, 1939); Marion Lena Starkey, *The Cherokee Nation* (New York, 1946); Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation* (Norman, 1938); Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide To the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951).

that of the War between the States, had recently closed. The mystic seven-pointed star and the wreath of oak leaves in the seal, surrounded by the name of the Cherokee Nation both in English and Sequoyah characters, together with the date of the adoption of the constitution west, formed a symbol of great promise.

—*The Editor*

AN EARLY ACCOUNT OF THE CHEROKEES

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

George W. Featherstonhaugh was born in 1780 and died in Havre, France September 28, 1866. He is described as an American traveler in one of the well known biographical dictionaries in this country, but he distinctly states in one of his books that he was an Englishman and this is easily seen from his spelling of many words.* He appears to have had a thorough knowledge of geology and he must have kept careful notes during his many travels throughout the United States.

Owing to the unsettled condition of the northeastern boundary between the United States and Canada, Sir Robert Peel sent Lord Ashburton to the United States as he was widely acquainted with the affairs of this country. On August 9, 1842, he and Daniel Webster concluded the Webster-Ashburton Treaty which settled the boundary question between the United States and the British Dominions. Featherstonhaugh was present during the negotiations of this famous treaty as a representative of Great Britian and was afterward appointed English consul for the two departments of Calvados and Seine, France.

All of this above history seems far removed from the Cherokee Nation, but Featherstonhaugh was in the old Cherokee country during the trying time the Cherokees were experiencing, before they were driven from the land of their nativity by the leaders and people in Georgia. His account of his stay among the Cherokees is contained in his book, *A Canoe Voyage up The Minnay Sotor* published in London in 1847.

This beautiful book in two volumes relates that he boarded a steamer on the Tennessee River and arrived at Gunter's Landing[1]

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* George W. Featherstonhaugh wrote a translation of Cicero's *Republic* in 1828; *A Geological Report of the Elevated Country between the Missouri and Red River*, 1835; *Geological Reconnaissance from Green Bay to Couteau des Prairies*, 1836; *Observations on the Ashburton Treaty*, London, 1842; *Excursion Through the Slave States*, New York, 1844; *A Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor*, London, 1847.

[1] Gunter's Landing was the home of John Gunter, a Scot trader who arrived in the country about 1750 or 1760. He was a man of ability and exemplary character; he married Katy, a fullblood Cherokee of the Paint Clan, a cousin of Major George Lowery, second chief of the nation for many years. The location was first known as Gunter's Ferry because John's son Edward Gunter operated a ferry there on the Tennessee River as early as 1818. It later bore the name of Gunter's Village and Gunterville. Gunter and his wife left a large family of children who became prominent citizens after their removal to the Indian Territory (Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "John Gunter and His Family," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No. 3 (Fall Issue, 1947), pp. 412-51).

early on July 23, 1837. He describetd the small Indian town as follows:

. . . . a collection of slightly-built, unpainted wooden stores, upon a high sandy bank, about thirty five feet above the level of the river. Much rain had fallen during the night. We were now at the most southern bend of the Tennessee River, with the Cherokee country on our right. Various sand-stone ridges were in sight.

Fifteen miles further up, we stopped to take in wood, at the old Cherokee Coosawda village[2]; and seeing a rude log house in a small clearing hemmed in by the woods, I walked up to it. Some peach trees were around, with green fruit on them, growing in a fertile, sandy, micaceous loam.

The writer entered the house where he found a Cherokee man, woman and young girl. They invited him to sit down but advanced no farther than the door, saying that there were a great many Indians within two miles of the place, but that the whites had got possession of the country, and they all expected to be driven out of it. The account continues:

At this time the brave and intelligent nation of Cherokees was in a very distressing position. For the sake of tranquility, they had not only in various treaties with the United States surrendered, as the Creeks had before done, important portions of their territory to the state of Georgia, but had, *upon the urgent recommendation of the whites*, abandoned the savage life, had successfully entered upon agriculture, and universally adopted the Christian religion.

A remarkable man who had appeared amongst them, (here the author introduced the following footnote):

"This man, *Sequoyah*,[3] called by the Americans *Guess*, was a native Cherokee. Having been informed that the characters which he had seen in the books at the missionary schools, represented the sounds made in pronouncing words, and pondering upon this, he finally invented a character for every sound in the Cherokee language, to the number of eighty-five. His countrymen soon acquired the knowledge of these characters, and all those who I saw could read the books printed in them. As the distinct sounds do not modify each other, as the syllables in the European languages do, every one who can pronounce the characters correctly can read the words . . . . .

"Sequoyah had invented alphabetical characters to express every separate sound in their language, and books and prayers, psalms and hymns, with the gospels, had been printed in these characters, in the familiar knowledge of which the whole Cherokee nation had been instructed."

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[2] Coosada, a former settlement of Koasati Indians, an Upper Creek tribe. The place was established about 1784 on the left bank of the Tennessee River at what is now Larkin's Landing, Jackson County, Alabama. There was an Indian trail from this village to Gunter's Landing.—Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, (Washington, 1912), Part I, pp. 342, 719.

[3] Grant Foreman, *Sequoyah* (Norman, 1938); Samuel C. Williams, "The Father of Sequoyah," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XV, No. 1 (March, 1921), p. 3; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints* (Norman, 1936); R. S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians* (Norman, 1954), p. 229.

(Photo Bureau of American Ethnology)

Left: Sequoyah, inventor of the Cherokee alphabet.

Below: Mast head of the **Cherokee Phoenix,** the name in Sequoyah letters at top and in English directly beneath.

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CHEROKEE PHŒNIX.

VOL. I. NEW ECHOTA, WEDNESDAY JUNE 25, 1828. NO. 18.

EDITED BY ELIAS BOUDINOTT

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Letters addressed to the Editor, post paid, will receive due attention.

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AGENTS FOR THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX

The following persons are authorized to receive subscriptions and payments for the Cherokee Phenix

to all other officers within their respective Districts

New Echota, Oct 14, 1826

JNO. ROSS, Pres't Con

MAJOR RIDGE, Speaker.

Approved—CHARLES HICKS

A. McCOY, Clerk to the N Com.

E. BOUDINOTT, Cle N Coun

Resolved by the National Committee and Council, That a child under the age of twelve years whose trades are readers it impossible that he or she should be impressed with a proper sense of moral obligation or sufficient capacity deliberately to have committed an offence, shall not be considered, or found guilty of any crime or misdemeanor: and a lunatic or a person insane without lucid intervals, shall be found guilty of any crime with which he or she may be charged. Provided the act so charged as criminal shall have been committed as the condition of such lunacy or insanity. Be it further resolved that an act shall not be found guilty or punished for any crime or misdemeanor with which he or she may be charged. Be it also further resolved that a person counseling, advising, or encouraging a child under the age of twelve years, or a lunatic, or an idiot to commit an offence, shall be prosecuted for such offence when committed as principal, and if found guilty shall suffer the same punishment as would have been inflicted on said child lunatic or idiot if he or she had possessed discretion, and had been guilty

New Echota, Oct 14, 1826

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These poor people did more than possess the Christian religion; in the honest simplicity of their hearts, they endeavored to live in conformity to its precepts, and were most exemplary in the performance of their religious duties.

In the treaties which the Government of the United States had made with them—the whole of which, on the part of the Cherokees, were treaties of cession—that Government always guaranteed to the Indians, in the most solemn form, that portion of their territory which was not ceded; so that they had the security for the performance of these treaties from the same people at whose instance they had embraced the Christian religion; a moral security, which national faith on the one side, and their own friendless condition on the other, invested with high responsibility. It is, I dare say, but doing justice to the Government of the United States to believe, that at first they were disposed to observe the stipulations they had entered into with the Indians, and that they would not have turned aside from so sacred a duty, but for the pressure of the population of those states whose territory was contiguous to that of the Cherokees, to whom every successful encroachment served but as an incentive to further invasions upon the rights of the Indians, and whose political influence was brought to bear upon the general Government for the accomplishment of their cupidity.

This state of things got at length at such a height, that it became evident the whites would never remain satisfied until they had wrested every acre of land from the hands of the rightful owners. The discovery, too, of several alluvial deposits of native gold[4] in the Cherokee lands had removed the last moral restraint from the people of Georgia, who entered, without leave or license, upon the best possessions of the Indians.

At the time of my visit, the Cherokees were almost incensed to desperation; they were yet about 18,000 in number; were brave, and had leaders of great ability. An outbreak was therefore expected.

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The proposition to abandon their native country was abhorrent to the Cherokees, with the exception of a very small minority of them, that had been gained over by some subordinate chiefs, whom the agents of the Federal Government had induced to enter into a contract to cede the whole territory to the Georgians, with a stipulation that the entire nation was to evacuate the country within a short period.

In this contract, the legitimate chiefs, who alone were authorized to transact their public business for the Cherokees, and who, in fact, constituted the Government of the nation, had had no part. They immediately protested strongly against it, and at least five-sixths of the nation adhered to them, under the advisement of a half-breed [one-eighth] named John Ross,[5] a man who had received a good education amongst

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[4] It is said that gold was first discovered near Dahlonega by a boy at play. His mother sold the nugget to a white man, but would not disclose where the find was made. The deposit was rediscovered in 1828 or 1829 and by 1830 the gold rush was on and this settled the question of the Cherokees being allowed to hold their country (Marion L. Starkey, *The Cherokee Nation* (New York, 1946), pp. 110-14). Dahlonega was the county seat of Lumpkin County, Georgia.

[5] John Ross, the son of an immigrant from Scotland by a Cherokee wife (three-fourths Scot), was born in Rossville, Georgia, October 3, 1790. He first bore the name of Tsan-usdi, "Little John" which was later exchanged for Coosweecoowee. He was educated at Kingston, Tennessee. In 1809 the Indian agent sent him on a mission to the Cherokees who had settled in Arkansas.

He was adjutant of the Cherokee regiment which fought at the battle of the Horseshoe against the Creeks in 1813. Chosen a member of the Cherokee Council

the whites, had fine talents, great experience, an inflexible character, and who possessed unbounded influence over his countrymen. It was now more obvious than ever that the Cherokees never would leave the country voluntarily, and that their affairs were nearly brought to a crisis.

Under all these circumstances, which had a great notoriety, I felt a warm interest for this much wronged people, fully persuaded, however, that although justice was not to be expected, the United States Government would observe a merciful and humane conduct towards them.

By landing at some point higher up the Tennessee River, I determined to avail myself of the opportunity of crossing the whole of the Cherokee territory . . . . and observing the real condition of the famous aboriginal race, with which Ferdinand de Soto communicated when, in 1539, he traversed that part of the American continent which extends from Tampa Bay, in East Florida, to the shores of Texas, in the Gulf of Mexico.

We continued to advance up the river to the north-east . . . . . At half-past three p. m., we stopped at Bellefonts [Jackson County, Alabama], forty miles from Gunter's Landing, to take in wood . . . . .

On July 25, the steamer could proceed no farther so Featherstonhaugh went in search of a man by the name of Thompson who owned a canoe in which he hoped to continue his way up the river. He engaged Thompson, his canoe and another man to take him fifteen miles up the river to a "new settlement called Ross's Landing."[6] On reaching that point he hired the men to carry his luggage to a tavern kept by a person by the name of Kennedy. He dreaded to enter the tavern but was happy to learn that it was built on high ground and consisted of three new log cabins.

There was no sort of conveyance in which the writer could proceed on his journey. He learned about Camp Wool[7] in the neighborhood and on going there was informed by Colonel Ramsey,[8] acting commissary and store keeper of the Tennessee Mounted Volunteers, that Colonel Powell, Major Vaughan and a Captain Vernon expected an order any minute to take the command to a place called Red

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in 1817 he devoted the remainder of his life to the affairs of his nation. On the adoption of the constitution he became second chief and from 1828 to 1839 he was principal chief. After the arrival of the Cherokees in the West, Ross was chosen as chief of the united nation and held the high office until his death in Washington August 1, 1866 (*Handbook of American Indians*, Part 2, pp. 396-97).

A few months after the death of Ross the National Council ordered his remains brought back to the nation by his nephew, William P. Ross. The Rev. Jesse Bushyhead and Judge Riley Keys accompanied Ross and the party arrived in Fort Smith May 6, 1867. On arrival at Tahlequah the chief's body lay in state in the Male Seminary before being taken to the family burying ground in Park Hill (Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Park Hill* [Muskogee, 1948], p. 40).

[6] "Ross's Landing" now Chattanooga, Tennessee.

[7] Camp Wool was no doubt named for General John E. Wool.

[8] Colonel Francis A. Ramsay of Knox County, Tennessee.

Clay,[9] "where Ross, the Cherokee chief, had convened his nation to meet on the 31st of this month [July]."

Featherstonhaugh thought it a fine opportunity to see the whole Cherokee people together. Told that his best chance of getting a vehicle was at the . . . . . Mission of Brainerd,[10] six miles distant, he hired a horse from the sutler as the heat was too oppressive to go on foot:

On reaching the Mission, which had the appearance of a farm-house, I dismounted, and an Indian woman called Mr. Butrick,[11] the resident—missionary, a pious elderly person apparently out of health, with whom I had a very interesting conversation about his mission and the situation of the Cherokees.

On the subject of my visit, he referred me to a Mr. Blunt[12] who managed the farm belonging to the establishment . . . . . I soon found out that every one at the Mission was Zealously disposed in Favour of the Indians, and anxious to prevent their being sent out of the country, a measure that would of course be followed by its suppression. Not knowing me, they considered it very possible that I sympathized with their oppressors; and, therefore, rather politely, but cooly enough, declined assisting me. It was evident that the people at the Mission had transferred all their natural sympathies for their own race to the persecuted Indians . . . . .

. . . . I turned my visit to the best advantage I could by entering into conversation with Mr. Butrick about the Cherokee language. Having been acquainted many years ago at Bethlehem and Nazareth, in Pennsylvania, with some of the leading Moravians there, I spoke of them and of the great

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[9] Red Clay, Georgia, southwest of Cleveland, Tennessee. The Cherokee Council had met at Red Clay July 23, 1832, where it would have elected a chief but for the penalty threatened by Georgia for its exercising the functions of the government. A resolution was passed to continue the chief in office. —Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1953), pp. 245, 248, 275.

[10] Brainerd Mission was named for David Brainerd, who worked among the Indians in the North and who died seventy years before the Moravian mission was established (1801) two miles north of the line which separates Georgia from Tennessee on a small river called Chick-a-mau-gah Creek. The writer was mistaken in saying that Brainerd Mission was a Moravian mission. It was established in 1817 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. —Robert Sparks Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees* (New York, 1931), p. 111; *History of the American Missions to the Heathen* (Worcester, Massachusetts, 1840), p. 334.

[11] Daniel Sabin Butrick, born at Windsor, Massachusetts August 25, 1789, arrived at Brainerd Mission from Boston on January 3, 1818. He had been ordained at the Park Street Church in Boston. "He labored with untiring zeal at Brainerd, Carmel, Willstown, Hightower and other missions among the Cherokees. He removed to Fairfield, Indian Territory, in the spring of 1839." —Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 43. "He was to play a minor but continuous role in their history, and to be permitted to share their cup of sorrow to its dregs . . . . ." —Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[12] Ainsworth Emery Blunt, a native of Amherst, New Hampshire, was born February 22, 1800. He reached Brainerd Mission April 12, 1822, where he labored as an expert farmer and mechanic until August 26, 1837, when he was sent to Candy's Creek, Bradley County, Tennessee. Because of illness he was released June 18, 1839. He had charge of the Brainerd property after the Cherokees were removed to Indian Territory. He died December 21, 1865, at Dalton, Georgia and was buried there (Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50).

services that Loskiel[13] Zeisberger,[14] and the excellent Heckewelder[15] had rendered the Aborigines.

This inspired him with more confidence in me . . . . . He told me that he had been twenty years with the Cherokees, and had paid much attention to their language. From his observations, I perceived that its structure closely resembled that of the Nacotahs and Howchungerahs . . . . .[16]

Mr. Butrick was a decided friend of the Indians, and considered the whites to have violated the most sacred of rights in dispossessing the Cherokee nation of their native country . . . . in the case of the Cherokees, not only treaties had been trampled upon, but every wrong had been heaped upon an unoffending Christian nation.

He said he knew the Cherokees well, and thought they would die on the spot rather than leave their country; but, if it came to that, the whites were the strongest and must prevail. "Nevertheless," added he, "God has his eye upon all that is passing, and at his own time the Cherokees will be avenged."

On July 28 Featherstonhaugh walked ten miles to a chalybeate spring where he found some of the principal half-breed Cherokees with their families in log huts. He remarked that these people had their watering places as well as the whites: "Being a rural shady place, I remained here a short time for the purpose of conversing with the Cherokees. All of them, including the women, spoke English, these last being well dressed and good looking."

After arriving on a highway where a village called Cleveland was located the writer passed several farms belonging to the principal Cherokees, containing fine patches of sweet potatoes (*Convolvulus Batata*), maize and pulse of various kinds. Some of the Indian women spoke English, but generally they were shy. He wrote further:

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[13] George Henry Loskiel, born in Courland, November 7, 1740. Became a Moravian missionary, and in 1802 was consecrated a bishop. Later he was pastor at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. He published a *History of the Mission to the Indians of North America.* Died February 23, 1814.

[14] David Zeisberger, a German missionary among the Indians, was born in Moravia in 1721. He was educated by the Society of the Moravians and then emigrated to Pennsylvania where he was one of the founders of the town of Bethlehem. He afterwards established missions in Ohio, Michigan and Canada. He published several works in the Delaware language. Died in 1808. —Joseph Thomas, *Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography* (Philadelphia, 1888), p. 2518).

[15] John Heckewelder, a Moravian missionary, was born in Bedford, England, in 1743. He was employed many years among the Delaware Indians. He was the author of "an interesting, but rather flattering, account of the *History Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations* in 1819. Died at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania January 21, 1823 (Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 1247).

[16] Nacotahs possibly Dacota. Howchungerahs is another name for the Winnebagos.

About 8 A. M., we passed a substantial-looking brick house belonging to a man named M'Nair,[17] who had an Indian wife and a progeny of half-breeds. Some miles further on we found him seated by the road-side with a waggon near him, his family around him preparing their meal. He was an old man and being struck with his strong resemblance to General Jackson, I stopped and spoke to him. He told me he had a dropsy, and was now on a journey of one hundred miles to consult a famous doctor.

Before noon we reached a settlement prettily situated, called Spring Place,[18] with the fine line of Cohuttie Mountains in view, . . . Red Clay, the place appointed for the Indian meeting, was only twenty-five miles distant . . . . . I should be in time for it in four or five days, the chiefs not yet having arrived . . . . .

The following day the visitor learned that a stage was departing for Gainsville, Georgia, a village distant about eighty miles, where he expected to pick up his mail, so he decided to go there and return in the same vehicle:

July 30.—At 4 A. M. I got into the stage . . . . and for a long time kept crossing beds of limestone . . . . . This continued to the Coosawaitie River, or Coosa Wahty, as the Indians call it (*Coosa* is the Indian name of the Creek Nation, and *Wahty* means old.) . . . . . We stoped at an Indian

[17] Captain David McNair, a prominent citizen of the Cherokee Nation, was a Scot by descent. He was born in 1744 and died August 15, 1836. His wife, Delilah Amelia Vann, was a daughter of the celebrated "Rich Joe Vann" and Elizabeth Vann. In 1820 McNair was the keeper of a stand and boat yard. He was the owner of the first brick house in Polk County, Tennessee. It was erected in 1827 or 1828 and was noted for the Indian carvings on the mantles. John Howard Payne found refuge in the McNair home after his imprisonment by the Georgia Guard at Spring Place. He was a trusted friend of the missionaries and gave some of them homes when they were driven away by the Georgians. Mrs. McNair died while awaiting a boat at Charleston on the Hiawassee River in Tennessee, and the United States officers permitted her body to be returned to her home for burial. The McNair home was eighteen miles above Spring Place. —Carolyn Thomas Foreman, manuscript in files of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City

[18] The Moravians who established a mission at Spring Place were descendants of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum who went to Georgia in 1735 to establish a mission and preach to the Indians. The settlement in Savannah, Georgia was abandoned because the Brethren did not wish to take arms in the war between the Georgia Province and the Spanish in Florida. In October, 1799 Abraham Steiner and Christian Frederic de Schweinitz left Salem for the Cherokee country. The difficult journey on horseback to Eastern Tennessee met with disappointment as the Cherokees had gone on a hunting expedition. The missionaries were treated with kindness by the agent, Colonel Butler at Tellico. A year later the same missionaries met the Upper Cherokee chiefs who gave leave for a mission to be established. Through the influence of Charles Hicks a location was selected on the east side of the Connesauga River where there were five springs. The first mission school was begun at Spring Place in the spring of 1802. —Muriel H. Wright, *Springplace Moravian Mission, Cherokee Nation* (Guthrie, 1940), pp. 39-41; Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-40; Cotterill, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

tavern kept by a half-breed Cherokee of the name of Bell,[19] one of the Indians opposed to John Ross and the majority of the nation . . . . .

Just before I started I learnt that from two to three hundred Creek Indians were hid away in the mountains, and were at this time suffering extremely for want of food. Their nation having been compelled to emigrate, these unfortunate beings had escaped and taken refuge in these hills.

A Creek interpreter, accompanied by an United States officer, rode up to acquire information respecting them, with the intention of bringing a party to surround them and force them away to Arkansas . . . . .

At 4 P. M. we reached a poor settlement, near a place called Carmel . . . .[20] we pursued our dreary journey . . . . occasionally enlivened by bands of Cherokees on horseback and on foot going with their women and children to Red Clay . . . . .

July 31.— . . . . I was informed that gold-dust was found near this place, and gold-veins worked a few miles off; so that, as I suspected from the prevalence of the talcose slate, I was now in the Gold Region.

We passed a tolerable good-looking house belonging to a half-breed name Robert Daniel . . . . .[21] [Having found his letters at Gainsville the author was glad to join Mr. M.....[Meigs?] of Georgetown in the District of Columbia, who being on his way to the Cherokee Council in the character of Special Agent from the United States Government . . . . proposed that I should join him . . . . .

Because of the intense heat, starts were made every morning long before day break. The travelers reached Spring Place in Georgia, at half-past 8 p. m. on August 3 where they spent the night in a small garret:

August 4.—This morning, . . . a company of Georgia Mounted Volunteers rode through the place on their way to the Cherokee Council. All

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[19] John Adair Bell, born January 1, 1805, was a son of John Bell, "whose father was Scotch-Irish and emigrated to this country during the persecution. John A. Bell was a leader of the treaty party, and one of the first signers of the document that afterwards doomed to death Elias Boudinot and the two Ridges." Bell emigrated to the western territory in 1837. He was frequently a delegate to Washington. He married Jane Martin, daughter of the Cherokee Judge John Martin of the supreme court. Bell died on his property in Texas in 1860. —H. F. & E. S. O'Beirn, *The Indian Territory* (Saint Louis, 1892), pp. 452-53; Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921), pp. 95, 98, 113, 137.

[20] Carmel was a mission established in 1819 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. It was first called "Taloney," and was located about sixty miles southeast of Brainerd, in Georgia. It continued in operation until 1839 (*American Missions to the Heathen*, p. 334). This authority gives 1836 as the date of closing (Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 69). Isaac Proctor was the missionary at Carmel in 1826. He had served at Brainerd in 1822; Hightower in 1823. He was born at Ipswich, Massachusetts, May 6, 1784. He was one of the missionaries seized by the Georgia guard March 12, 1831. (*Indian Removal*, p. 234.)

[21] Robert Buffington Daniel was the eldest son of Judge James Daniel. He was born in January, 1815. In 1847 he was a member of the Cherokee Senate from Delaware District; two years later he was clerk of the Senate. He served as a member of the Supreme Court and the following year he became chief justice. In August, 1871, he was elected second chief. He died January 16, 1872. (O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, p. 259; Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 264. 255, 273). O'Beirne spelled the name "Daniels."

had their coats off . . . Some of the men had straw hats, some of them white felt hats, others had old black hats with the rim torn off, and all of them were as unshaven and as dirty as they could well be. The officers were only distinguished by having Cherokee fringed hunting shirts on. Many of the men were stout young fellows, and they rode on, talking, and cursing and swearing, without any kind of discipline . . . . .

We left Spring Place at 8 A. M., passing for twenty-five miles through a wild country . . . . . We crossed the Connesawga, which is a beautiful mountain stream, and were frequently gratified with the sight of fine fat deer . . . I never saw heavier Indian corn than in two or three settlements that we passed, especially at one Young's, about fifteen miles from Spring Place.

Towards the close of our journey we called upon Colonel Lindsay, who commanded the United States troops in this district . . . . here for the purpose of preserving order . . . .. Advancing through the grove, we began to perceive symptoms of an assemblage of Indians. Straggling horses, booths, and log tenements were seen at a distance through the trees, young Indian boys began to appear running through the woods, and the noise of men and animals was heard in the distance.

Hearing that a half-breed Cherokee named Hicks,[22] whom I had formerly known, had put up some huts for the accommodation of strangers, we found him out, and he assigned us a hut . . . . the floor of which was strewed with nice dry pine leaves . . . . .

Having refreshed ourselves with a cup of tea, we walked out with General Smith, the Indian agent for the United States, to see the Council-house. Crossing the Cooayhallay, we soon found ourselves in an irregular sort of street consisting of huts, booths and stores hastily constructed from the trees of the forest, for the accommodation of Cherokee families, and for the cooking establishment necessary to the subsistence of several thousand Indians.

This street was at the foot of some hilly ground upon which the Council-room was built, which was a simple parallelogram formed of logs with open sides, and benches inside for the councillors. The situation was exceedingly well chosen . . . . for there was a copious limestone spring on

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[22] Charles Renatus Hicks, an outstanding man, was born December 23, 1767, at Thomaatly, on the Hiwassee River, the son of Nathan Hicks, a white trader, and his Cherokee wife, Anna Felicitas, a daughter of Chief Broom. He was one of the early converts to the Christian religion and received his middle name ("the Renewed") when baptized April 16, 1813 by a Moravian missionary. Hicks was described as a "man of integrity, temperance and intelligence." He was second chief from 1810 until shortly before his death on January 20, 1827, serving as Principal Chief for thirteen days after the death of Principal Chief Path Killer (January 7, 1827). The missionaries relied upon Hick's judgment and he would inform them whenever they transgressed Cherokee sensibilities. He urged education for the Indian children in book learning as well as husbandry, home-making and particularly in blacksmithing.

Hicks wrote an interesting letter to the Reverend Jedidiah Morse in 1819 in which he said that the "Cherokees had already with stimulus spirits, entered the manufacturing system in cotton clothing in 1800, which had taken rise in one Town in 1796 and 7, by the repeated recommendations of Silas Dinsmoore, Esq. which were given to the chiefs in Council." The venerable chiefs Path Killer and Charles Hicks were instrumental in having a medal voted for Sequoyah "as a token of respect & admiration for your ingenuity in the invention of the Cherokee alphabetical characters." —Wright, *op. cit.*, note 11: Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 26, 37, 113, 89, 63; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), pp. 352-3.

the bank of the stream, which gave out a delicious cool water in sufficient quantities for this great multitude . . . . the most impressive feature, . . . was an unceasing current of Cherokee Indians, men, women, youths, and children, moving about in every direction, and in the greatest order; and all, except the younger ones, preserving a grave and thoughtful demeanor imposed upon them by the singular position in which they were placed and by the trying alternative now presented to them of delivering up their native country to their oppressors, or perishing in a vain resistance.

An observer could not but sympathize deeply with them; they were not to be confounded with the wild savages of the West, being decently dressed after the manner of white people, with shirts, trousers, shoes and stockings, whilst the half-breeds and their descendants conformed in every thing to the custom of the whites, spoke as good English as them, and differed from them only in a browner complexion, and in being less vicious and more sober.

The pure bloods had red and blue cotton handkerchiefs folded on their heads in the manner of turbans, and some of these, who were mountaineers from the elevated district of North Carolina wore also deer-skin leggings and embroidered hunting shirts; whilst their turbans, their dark coarse, lank hair, their listless savage gait, and their swarthy Tartar countenances, reminded me of the Arabs from Barbary.

Many of these men were athletic and good-looking; but the women who had passed from the maidenly age, had, owing to the hard labor imposed upon them by Indian usages, lost as usual every feminine attraction . . . . .

In the course of the evening, I attended at the Council-house to hear some of their resolutions read by an English missionary, named Jones,[23] who adhered to the Cherokees; a man of talent, it was said, and of great activity, but who was detested by the Georgians. These were afterwards translated, *viva voce*, into Cherokee by Bushy-head,[24] one of the principal half-breed Cherokees.

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[23] Evan Jones was a Baptist missionary who was stationed in the Valley Towns of East Tennessee. He was born in Brecknockshire, Wales on May 14, 1788. He emigrated to the United States in 1821. He first joined the Methodist Church but soon became a member of the Great Valley Baptist Church and prepared to enter into a mission to the Cherokees. He was occupied as a teacher, but in 1825 he and his wife, Elizabeth Lanugan Jones, were the only members of the missionary band that remained with the Indians. Mrs. Jones died at Valley Town February 5, 1831, and Jones subsequently married Miss Pauline Cunningham. Evan Jones became pastor of Tinsawatti Church in 1825 and was received in the Hiwassee Association in Tennessee where he remained for several years. He was in charge of one of the emigrating parties when the Cherokees removed to Indian Territory. The Reverend Daniel Rogers, founder of the Baptist Church at Tahlequah, described Evan Jones in the following words: "The name of this devoted and faithful man of God is worthy of being held sacred in the history of the Cherokee people and no one has been instrumental in accomplishing for them greater benefits." In the Cherokee Treaty of 1866 provision was made for Jones in the sum of $3,000 as a slight testimony of his useful and arduous services as a missionary for forty years. —Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-56; Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 297; E. C. Routh, "Early Missionaries to the Cherokees, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (December, 1937), pp. 460-61; T. L. Ballenger, *First Baptist Church at Tahlequah* (Muskogee, 1946), p. 1.

[24] See *Appendix* for biographical sketch of the Reverend Jesse Bushyhead.

Featherstonhaugh told of hearing the Indians praying and singing hymns during the evening and he was awakened on the morning of August 5 by the Cherokees holding their morning worship:

I went to the Council-house. Great numbers of them were assembled, and Mr. Jones, the Missionary, read out verses in the English language from the New Testament, which Bushy-head, with a singularly stentorial voice and sonorous accent, immediately rendered to the people in the Cherokee tongue, emitting a deep grunting sound at the end of every verse, resembling the hard breathing of a man chopping trees down, the meaning of which I was given to understand was to call their attention to the proposition conveyed by the passage. This I was told is an universal practice also in Cherokee oratory.

When they sang, a line or two of a hymn printed in the Cherokee language was given out, each one having a hymn book in his hand, and I certainly never saw any congregation engaged more apparently in sincere devotion.

This spectacle insensibly led me into reflection upon the opinion which is so generally entertained of its being impossible to civilize the Indians in our sense of the word. Here is a remarkable instance which seems to furnish a conclusive answer . . . . . A whole Indian nation abandons the pagan practices of their ancestors, adopts the Christian religion, uses books printed in their own language, submits to the government of their elders, builds houses and temples of worship, relies upon agriculture for their support, and produces men of great ability to rule over them, and to whom they give a willing obedience. Are not these the great principles of civilization?

They were driven from their religious and social state then, not because they cannot be civilized, but because a pseudo set of civilized beings, who are too strong for them, want their possessions! . . . .

After breakfast I made myself acquainted with Mr. Jones, the Missionary, whom I found to be a man of sense and experience, and who must have received a tolerable education, for he was not even ignorant of Hebrew. He was exceedingly devoted to this nation, having resided a long time amongst them in North Carolina. The Georgians, and I found most of the other white settlers had a decided antipathy to him on account of the advice he gave to the Cherokees, which had frequently enabled them to baffle the machinations of the persons who were plotting to get their lands.

Conscious that he was watched by his enemies, he had become so suspicious of all white men, that from habit he had got a peculiar sinister look. We had a great deal of conversation together, and when he found I was an Englishman, and deeply interested for the welfare of the Indians, and extremely anxious to acquire the Cherokee language, he became less reserved, and I obtained a great deal of information from him. I also formed an acquaintance with several intelligent Cherokees and half-breeds, for the purpose of collecting vocabularies and acquiring the pronunciation of their language.[25]

About 10 A.M., a deputation, consisting of members of the Cherokee Council, and some aged persons, formerly chiefs of some celebrity, came

[25] It is evident that James Constantine Pilling did not learn of this work by Featherstonhaugh as he is not listed in Pilling's *Bibliography of the Iroquoian Languages*, published in Washington in 1888.

in procession, to our hut, to pay a visit of ceremony to my companion, the United States special agent; but he being at Colonel Lindsay's, I received them in his stead, gave them seats on our bedsteads, and immediately sent a messenger for him, who soon after arrived with Colonel Lindsay and a military escort.

An ancient chief named Innatahoollosah, or the Going Snake[26] addressed him, and complimented him upon his arrival. This old warrior had led a large body of his people in former times to assist General Jackson against the Creeks, and contributed much to the victory he obtained over them at the battle of the Horse Shoe,[27] where he received a wound in the arm. He was a fine old man, with a good deal of Indian dignity.

Nothing appears to have stung the Cherokees more deeply than the reflection, that after serving General Jackson so effectually, it should have been under his administration of the Government, from which they had so much right to expect protection, that their independence had been broken down, and their territories appropriated without their consent.

There was also another old chief remarkably cheerful and light of step, although seventy-six years old, called Nennenoh Oonaykay, or White Path.[28] After an interchange of compliments they retired.

This day we dined by invitation with Mrs. Walker, a fine old Cherokee lady, who spoke a little English; and met John Ross, the principal chief of the Cherokees. Our hostess received us in a very polite and friendly manner. The dinner was good, we had boiled beef, chicken and bacon, with excellent vegetables. Coffee was served with the dinner, and we retired as soon as it was over, according to the custom.

Large wooden bowls of *connahayny*, or Indian corn boiled almost to a *puree*, with a small quantity of lye in it, were placed on the table. This is a favorite dish with the Cherokees, and I observed the young people ate it with great avidity; indeed, when mixed up with the broth of the boiled beef, it makes a capital soup; something like pea-soup.

The expense of feeding this multitude, which was defrayed by the Council, was very great. Fifteen beeves were said to be killed every day, and a proportionate quantity of Indian corn was used. Twenty-four native families were employed in cooking the provisions and serving the tables which were set out three times a-day.

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[26] Going Snake (I'Hadu-na'l). A Cherokee chief who was prominent about 1825. Going Snake District in the Cherokee Nation was named for this Indian who was a noted orator and Speaker of the Council in 1828 (*Handbook*, Part I, p. 494; Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 109, 122, 275).

[27] Battle of the Horseshoe Bend was fought March 27, 1814.

[28] White Path was one of the signers, along with John Ross, Elijah Hicks, Edward and Samuel Gunter, Situwakee and Richard Taylor, to the letter sent to Major General Winfield Scott from Amohe District, Aquohee Camp, on July 23, 1838, in which it was stated that "In conformity . . . with the wishes of our people . . . in relation to emigration . . . we beg leave therefore, very respectfully to propose: "That the Cherokee nation will undertake the whole business of removing their people to the West of the Mississippi . . . . ." In October, 1838, near Hopkinsville, Kentucky, White Path became ill from the hardships of the forced travel, and died at the age of seventy-five. He was buried near the Nashville road and a wooden marker painted to resemble marble was set at his grave to mark the spot for his tribesmen who were following. —University of Wisconsin, Draper Collection, 26 cc 15; *Hopkinsville Gazette*, quoted in the *Jacksonville* (Alabama) *Republican*, November 22, 1838, p. 2, col. 4; Foreman, *Indian Removal*, p. 303.

The beef was cut up into small pieces of three or four inches square, and kept stewing for several hours in large pots. The broth of this mess, without the meat, was the first dish offered to us at the excellent Mrs. Walker's, but when it was offered to me I found it was nothing but a mass of melted fat, the surface of which was oscillating about like quicksilver, and I had to send it away at the risk of giving offence.

It was a most amusing scene to walk from table to table and see the Cherokees eat; every one was permitted to eat as much as he pleased, just as at the Bodas of Camacho; . . . .[29]

Upon making further inquiries, I learnt that Mr. John Ross was the sole director of every thing, that he paid about three hundred dollars a day to the persons who contracted to furnish the provisions, the beef being paid for at the rate of four cents a pound. The expense was ultimately to be carried to the Council fund. Mr. Ross invited us to dine with him at his house to-morrow.

In the evening the same scene of gormandizing was again exhibited, the woods gleaming with fires in every direction; several thousand Indians being scattered about in small groups, each with its fire, near to which a few sticks were set up, and a blanket or two laid over them to screen the women and children from the wind. The greatest tranquility prevailed, and I walked about among them to a late hour, observing them, and asking the men the names of things with a view to catch the pronunciation.

On August 6, the author arose early to go to the Council House to attend divine service where a Cherokee preacher delivered a long discourse:

After the sermon we had a psalm, led by Bushy-head, the whole congregation uniting in it. Mr. Jones then preached in English, and Bushy-head, with his stentorian voice, translated the passages as they came from the preacher, into Cherokee . . . . .

At noon Colonel Lindsay called at our hut with an escort of cavalry; he had been kind enough to provide a horse for myself and we proceeded to a place called Red Hill,[30] the residence of Mr. John Ross; here upon our arrival, we were shown into a room and remained there two hours

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[29] Bodas of Camacho: "Camacho, 'richest of men,' makes grand preperations for his wedding, with Quiteria, 'fairest of women,' but as the bridal party are on their way, Basilius cheats him of his bride, by pretending to kill himself. As it was supposed that Basilius was dying, Quiteria is married to him as a mere matter of form, to soothe his last moments; but when the service is over, up jumps Basilius, and shows that his 'mortal wounds' are a mere pretence." —Cervantes, an episode in *Don Quixote*, vol. II, p. 11, 4 (1615); E. Cobham Brewer, *The Reader's Handbook*, (Philadelphia, 1888), p. 153.

[30] Red Hill. "While absent on a mission to Washington, Ross was dispossessed. Upon his return home he found a stranger in his house and his wife [Quatie] and children driven away — where, he could only guess. As he stood meditating upon this newest calamity . . . . his vision wandered over his own beloved home . . . . until his eyes rested upon a little mound of earth beneath the spreading branches of a protecting tree. That little mound marked the grave of his child. But away from his home . . . . he must trudge, forsooth, the white man coveted his birthright" (Thomas Valentine Parker, *The Cherokee Indians* [New York, 1907], p. 42). "In early April, 1834, the estate was seized, peacocks and all, to say nothing of the ferry. . . . . Ross followed the missionaries over the Tennessee line . . . . roughed it in a cabin near Red Clay" (Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 217). Ross's Ferry across the Tennessee (Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 194).

before dinner was announced, when we were taken to a room, upon the table of which a very plentiful dinner, singularly ill-cooked, was placed.

Neither our host nor his wife sat down to eat with us, the dinner, according to Cherokee custom, being considered to be provided for the guests; a custom evidently derived from an old savage state. I was helped to some meat, but could not tell what it was . . . . . It was afterwards explained to me that it was pork, first boiled in a pot with some beef, and then baked by itself afterwards.

Mr. Lewis Ross,[31] brother of our host, presided, and Mr. Gunter,[32] a very intelligent and obliging half-breed, sat at the other end of the table. I sat on his right and obtained a great deal of information from him.

Being desirous of learning whether the Cherokees had any distinct name for the system of ridges which now goes by the name of Alleghany[33] or Appalachian[34] Mountains, to oblige me, he interrogated some very ancient Cherokees, but found that not one of them had ever heard of their having a distinct name.

The war-path, which their ancestors used in crossing them to fight the Mengwee, or five nations, had a particular name; but they knew of no other, neither did they know anything of the words Alleghany or Appalachy. After passing a very interesting day, and receiving the greatest attention and civility from them, we took our leave . . . . .

From this place, I rode over to the Rev. Dr. Butler's,[35] the head of the Cherokee Mission in this neighbourhood, who received me very

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[31] Lewis Ross, brother of Chief John Ross, was a signer of the Cherokee Constitution on October 31, 1829 and of the Act of Union July 12, 1839. After coming to the West he had a handsome home at Salina. After his death the place was bought for an orphanage for Cherokee children. At the commencement of the Civil War many Cherokee refugees from the southern part of the Nation were fed and cared for by Ross at his own expense (Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 121; Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 156).

[32] This must have been one of the sons of John Gunter who died August 28, 1835.

[33] Alleghany was the geographical name of a group of Delaware and Shawnee Indians who lived on the river of that name in the 18th century (*Handbook of American Indians*, Part I, p. 45).

[34] Appalachy. The spelling in the *Handbook* (Part I, p. 67) is "Apalachee," one of the principal native tribes of Florida. The chief towns were about the present Tallahassee and St. Marks. They were of Muskhogean stock, and linguistically more nearly related to the Choctaw than the Creeks. The name was believed by Albert S. Gatschet to be from the Choctaw *A'palachi*, meaning "allies" or "people on the other side" (of the river).

[35] Elizur Butler, a medical doctor, born at Norfolk, Connecticut, June 11, 1794, left his home at New Marboro, Massachusetts in October, 1820 and arrived at Brainerd Mission January 10, 1821. He later served at the missions of Creek Path (now Guntersville) and Haweis (near Rome, Georgia). He was arrested by the Georgia guard July 7, 1831 and sentenced to the penitentiary at Milledgeville, September 16, 1832. Dr. Butler was released by Governor Wilson Lumpkin January 14, 1833. He returned to Brainerd February 14, 1834 and visited the United States for the remainder of that year. He arrived in Red Clay September 16, 1835 and was ordained a minister at Kingston, Tennessee on April 14, 1838. When the Cherokees removed to the West, Dr. Butler accompanied them as a physician. In 1840 he was living at Park Hill and at Fairfield Mission in 1841, where he resided until selected as steward of the Female Seminary at Park Hill. He died in 1857. (*American Missions to the Heathen;* Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46; *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 409). "Rev. Mr. Schermerborn . . . . . was predisposed against the

politely, gave me a great deal of information, and presented me with some books and papers printed in the Cherokee language.[36] I was happy to learn from him that the Rev. Mr. Butrick, whom I have seen at Brainerd, was at Red Clay, and that he had taken great pains with the chiefs to prepossess them in my favour.

From hence I rode to Colonel Lindsay's quarters, and passed the evening with him, Major Payne, and some gentlemen of his family. On my return I went to the Council-house, and heard an excellent sermon delivered to the Cherokees in English, by the Rev. Mr. Butrick, which received great attention . . . being admirable both in matter and manner. The indefatigable Bushy-head translating this sermon, almost surpassed himself, rendered every passage into Cherokee with the most enthusiastic energy at the top of his noble voice, and marked every sentence with one of his deep-toned, sonorous *uh-hunhgs*, that came from him like the lowest notes from a bassoon.

On my return to our hut, I got into a conversation with our landlord, Mr. Hicks, one of the most intelligent of the Cherokees. He told me that he had once seen some China men at Philadelphia, and that, from the strong resemblance to them in their faces and eyes, he thought it probable the Cherokees were descended from that stock. The remark is, at least, founded in fact, for the Cherokees resemble the Tartars very strikingly, both in the general expression of their faces, and in the conformation of their eyes.

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After breakfast,[37] Foreman,[38] the interpreter, came to the hut, and Mr. Mason gave him the "Talk" to study; he appeared to be a very intelli-

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missionaries, and was particularly critical towards Rev. S. A. Worcester and Rev. Elizur Butler, who went to prison in Georgia rather than compromise the principles that governed their conduct in behalf of the Indians (Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* [Norman, 1933], p. 123; *Park Hill*, pp. 72, 80, 99, 154; *Missionary Herald*, Boston, Vol. XLIX, 1853, pp. 11, 310).

[36] In 1820 the Reverend Daniel Sabin Butrick, assisted by the Cherokee David Brown, had reduced the Cherokee language to writing in Roman characters, and a spelling book arranged by them had been printed. It was the appearance of the *Cherokee Phoenix* in the Sequoyah alphabet that caused the remarkable awakening of the Cherokee Nation. The newspaper was first issued February 21, 1828 and continued for about six years until suspended by the Georgia authorities. The *Cherokee Phoenix* was the first aboriginal paper published in the United States (*Oklahoma Imprints*, pp. xiv, xv; Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 94).

[37] August 7 was the day appointed for the "Talk" by Special Agent [John] Mason which had been anticipated with great anxiety by the Indians.

[38] Stephen Foreman, the son of Anthony Foreman a Scot and Elizabeth a full blood Cherokee, he was born near Rome, Georgia, October 22, 1807. He was partly educated by Doctor Samuel Austin Worcester; later attended Union Theological Seminary in Virginia and Princeton College in New Jersey. He was licensed to preach in October, 1833 and in 1839 he lead a party of his tribesmen to the West. He became the first public school superintendent in the Cherokee Nation. Upon the death of Elias Boudinot in 1839 Foreman became translator for Dr. Worcester. In this occupation he translated a part of Exodus. The *Cherokee Almanac* for 1845 was prepared by Worcester and Foreman. Foreman and his family were refugees during the Civil War. On their return to the Nation, Foreman became superintendent of the Cherokee Female Seminary at Park Hill. He died December 8, 1881. "Stephen Foreman was one of the most versatile men in the Cherokee Nation. With his fine classical education he was capable of performing many duties which added to the culture of his people." (*Oklahoma Imprints*, pp. 8, 4, 7, 12; *Park Hill*, pp. 25, 43, 53, 148, 168-69; Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 68; Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-14).

gent man, and perfectly well acquainted with the English language. He told us some amusing anecdotes of an agent, named Schermerhorn, who had been appointed by the United States Government a year or two ago, as a commissioner to negotiate with the Cherokees.

This man was a sort of loose Dutch Presbyterian Minister, and having taken up the calling of a political demagogue, had been awarded with this situation by the President, Mr. Van Buren, a Dutchman also by birth.

On coming amongst the Cherokees, instead of dealing fairly with them, and making an arrangement with the Council that could be sanctioned by a majority of the nation, he corrupted a few individuals to consent to emigrate, and deliver up the Cherokee territory; and reported it to the Government as if it had been a solemn contract entered into with the whole nation . . . . Not more than half-a-dozen in the whole nation would speak to him at all; and whenever the rest of them met him, they made a point of turning around and presenting their backs to him.

It is the custom of most of the Indian nations to give an Indian name to every white man who has any transactions with them of importance, or who has struck their fancy in any way . . . . For the Rev. Mr. Schermerhorn they had been so fortunate as to find a name that corresponded precisely to their estimate of him, and which was immediately adopted by the whole nation, especially the women and children, who were extremely tickled with it. It was Skaynooyaunah, or literally the 'devil's horn.' After I knew this story, I found it only necessary to ask the women if they knew Skaynooyanah to set them laughing."

Featherstonhaugh continued his account on August 7, by describing the wretched state of the people who had assembled for the council. Rain had fallen incessantly for thirty hours and as the cabins were roofed with nothing but pine branches there was little protection:

The Indians, at the numerous bivouacs were all wet through, and apprehensions were beginning to be entertained by the Council, that a serious sickness might fall upon them if they were detained twenty-four hours more in the uncomfortable state they were in. The chiefs, therefore, were desirous that Mr. Mason should deliver his "Talk" immediately; but that gentleman . . . . was gone to Colonel Lindsay's for shelter.

Mr. Ross therefore called upon me, and drew such a picture of the consequences that might ensue, that I wrote to Mr. Mason, and sent the note with a messenger . . . . . I related what Mr. Ross had said, and submitted to him, as the day had been appointed for the purpose, the propriety of being punctual, as want of punctuality would give the chiefs an opportunity of dismissing the nation and laying the blame upon him.

The messenger returned about 3 P.M. with the information to Mr. Ross that he might assemble the nation. Accordingly horns were blown and public criers went into the woods to summon all the males to the Council-house; but recommending to the women and children to remain at their fires. Every one was in motion, notwithstanding that the rain continued to fall in torrents.

At 4 P.M., Mr. Ross conducted Mr. Mason, Colonel Lindsay, Colonel Smith, [Gen. Nathaniel Smith ?] and myself, into a stand erected near the Council-house, open at the sides, and from whence we could view an assemblage of about two thousand male Cherokees standing in the rain awaiting the "Talk" that was to be delivered. The special agent now advanced to the front of the stand and read his address which was trans-

lated to them by the interpreter; after which Mr. Gunter addressed them, requesting them to remain until the Council had taken the "Talk" into consideration, and informing them that plenty of provisions would continue to be provided for them, upon which they gave him a heavy grunt and dispersed.

The scene was an imposing one; the Cherokees were attentive and behaved very well, but it was evident the "Talk" made no impression upon them. If the special agent had declared, in the name of the Government, that the Cherokee nation should continue to enjoy their native land, it would have been most enthusiastically received; but anything short of that was a proof to them that there was on hope left for justice from the whites; nor any resource for them but in the wisdom of their National Council.

The "Talk" itself was full of friendly professions towards the nation, and dwelt upon the advantage it would derive from a peaceful compliance with the policy of the Government; but there was a passage in it which showed that the United States Government were determined to enforce the treaty which the minority had made with the Government, and even insinuated that the resistance to it was factious. This gave offence, and even Mr. Ross objected to it.

The Government now could only carry its policy out by gaining the chiefs, or by military force. From what I observed, the chiefs, if not incorruptible, were determined not to come to terms without securing great advantages, whilst it was their intention not to precipitate things, but to gain time and make another appeal to Congress.

Many of them who had heard of me through Mr. Butrick, and who saw the interest I took in their affairs and in acquiring some knowledge of their language, spoke to me on the subject; but I invariably advised them to submit to the Government, for a successful resistance was impossible. I gave it also as my opinion that it was a very possible thing that if they procrastinated, a collision would soon take place betwixt them and the Georgians and Tennesseans, which would involve the destruction of the nation. These opinions, it was evident to me, were very unwelcome to them; and after the delivery of the "Talk," I declined saying anything on the subject.

The rain continued to pour down and on August 8 Featherstonhaugh had breakfast with Mr. Bushyhead and his family where he met some old chiefs of whom he asked "questions respecting some of their most authentic traditions, as well as to read over some of my vocabularies to them for the correction of the pronunciation."

Colonel Lindsay kindly sent a horse and dragoon for the writer who took his departure for Spring Place. While preparing to leave he wrote that he could not keep his eyes "off the many hundreds of poor Cherokee families cowering with their children under their little blanket tents, all wet through; the men protecting them from the weather as well as they could, and keeping their fires alive with great difficulty . . . . ."

APPENDIX B

The Reverend Jesse Bushyhead

The Reverend Jeses Bushyhead (*Unaduti*) one of the most distinguished and revered citizens of the Cherokee Nation, was born in East Tennessee in September, 1804. The Bushyhead home was in a small Cherokee settlement on Mouse Creek, about three miles north of the present town of Cleveland, Tennessee. He spoke English and Cherokee and was considered by the missionaries "A noble minded man." During the harrowing days when the Council was being held at Red Clay in July, 1837, religious services were held every morning by the Reverend Daniel S. Butrick and his sermons were interpreted by Jesse Bushyhead "an honored and respected native Cherokee preacher."

Bushyhead led one of the thirteen parties when the Indians were driven from their homes and on their arrival in the West he established his family near Breadtown. John Martin, the first chief justice of the nation was succeeded by "Jesse Bushyhead—a man of experience and sagacity. Judge Bushyhead, a member of the Ross party, was quite disinterested in the political contests and was probably the only official of importance who rode unarmed any place in the Nation during the troublesome period. His success doubtless can be attributed to his religious work since he was a 'circuit rider' and carried his Bible instead of a rifle."

In 1837 Bushyhead was one of the Cherokees selected to go to Florida to attempt to pacify the Seminoles.

Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock described the Cherokee in a letter from Tahlequah, December 21, 1841, as being between thirty-five and forty years of age: "He is universally respected and beloved. His mere opinion in the Nation has great weight and his persuasion upon almost any subject can win the people to his views. He is a fair-minded sensible man and if he can be satisfied the Nation ought to acquiesce. If he is not satisfied, it may suggest a doubt whether some concessions may not be proper."

William Gammell in his *History of American Baptist Missions* (Boston, 1849) described Bushyhead as "the ablest and most successful of the native preachers, and one of the most energetic men of the nation to which he belonged . . . . ."

He is said to have translated the book of *Genesis* and after his arrival in the West he held meetings to try to suppress the sale of liquor to the Cherokees. The Baptist Mission established by Bushyhead was a potent factor in the development of the Cherokee Nation and it was unfortunate that his noble work was cut short by fever which caused his death July 17, 1844.—Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Aunt Eliza of Tahlequah," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (March, 1931), pp. 43-47; Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 321; Wardell, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints*, (Norman, 1936), p. 141; *Handbook of American Indians*, Part 2, p. 867; Grant Foreman, *Indian Justice*, (Oklahoma City, 1934), pp. 60, (note 28), 66, 72, 88.

HISTORY OF THE CHEROKEES, 1830-1846

By Oliver Knight

Economic Readjustment During the Removal Period

Once the Cherokees had been great hunters and renowned warriors, but the white man came through the passes of the mountains and brought new ways that changed the people. By the eighteen-thirties their young men no longer painted for war, and they had become sedentary, agricultural people. Their population was approximately 13,536 Indians, 147 intermarried white men, 73 intermarried white women, and 1277 slaves,[1] concentrated in the southeastern United States.[2]

Even in 1832, after Georgia had extended hegemony over the Cherokees, there were few white persons, other than those who had inter-married, in the Cherokee country.[3] Industrious and thrifty, the Cherokees—perhaps from the teaching of New England missionaries—looked down upon idleness; their government was free from debt; they received twelve thousand dollars a year in annuities from the United States Government; and they had built a society in which agriculture was the keystone.[4]

As early as 1827, the Reverend Samuel A. Worcester, who had left his New England home to work among the Cherokees, said that agriculture was the mainstay of the Cherokees, and that he had never seen a single family that depended upon the chase for livelihood.[5] And it was but natural that he should find it so, for the United States Government, from the very first administration of President Washington, had encouraged agriculture among the Cherokees.

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[1] Charles C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," *Fifth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology*, 1883-84 (Washington, 1887), 240.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 289. Royce's figures, as given in citations 1 and 2 are at variance because they represent counts taken in 1825 and 1835, respectively.

The Cherokees were distributed by states in approximately this fashion:

State	Cherokees	Slaves	Intermarried Whites
Georgia	8946	776	68
North Carolina	3644	37	22
Tennessee	2528	480	79
Alabama	1424	299	32

[3] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932), p. 246.

[4] Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman, 1936), 76-77. *Annual Report from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs*, 1830, p. 169, included in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1829-37, a bound collection of reports in the Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma Library. Subsequent citation given as *Annual Report* and the year.

[5] Bass, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-01.

With annual gifts of hoes, plows, rakes, other farm implements, looms, cards, and spinning wheels, the Government had made it easier for the Cherokees to cultivate their land.[6]

By the 1830's the Cherokees were producing corn, tobacco, cotton, wheat, oats, indigo, potatoes, apples, peaches butter, cheese, and garden vegetables. Elias Boudinot found in a survey in 1825 that the Cherokees owned 22,531 black cattle; 7683 horses; 46,732 swine. 2566 sheep; 330 goats; 172 wagons; and 2843 plows.[7]

Nor did the Cherokees halt their adopting from the white man in the use of his tools and his crops. They adopted, too, the Southern slave system of agriculture, buying and selling Negroes, whom they regarded as an inferior race. Intermarriage with Negroes was forbidden.[8]

Also like their white neighbors, they sent their cotton to market at New Orleans, taking it down the Tennessee River in boats of their own construction. Communication within and across the Nation was facilitated by twenty public roads, two turnpikes, and eighteen ferries—most of them built by the United States under the treaty of 1816 which gave the government the right to construct roads and to navigate the rivers freely. Also in accord with that treaty, the Cherokees established and maintained public houses at frequent intervals along the roads. Mail passed through the Nation once a week.[9]

Industry was negligible, except for homecrafts and food processing, for there were few artisans or mechanics among the Cherokees. They were served by 762 looms, 2486 spinning wheels, ten sawmills, thirty-one gristmills, one powder mill, sixty-two blacksmith shops, eight cotton gins and two tanneries. Among the Cherokees who had been familiar with card and loom since 1800, the women made cotton and woolen cloth, blankets, coverlets, double-twilled cloth, and sheets for family use, from their own fields and flocks..[10]

To the Cherokees' wealth was added gold when the precious metal was discovered at Dahlonega, in 1828, but the rush for gold was not of consequence until after 1829. In that year, prospectors began the systematic tracing of gold belts southward from North Carolina, finding handsome deposits which, instead of enriching the Cherokees, stimulated Georgia to all sorts of harsh measures to

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[6] Royce, *op. cit.*, p. 202; W. R. L. Smith, *The Story of the Cherokees* (Cleveland, Tenn., 1928), p. 108.

[7] Bass, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), p. 356.

[8] Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109; Bass, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

[9] Royce, *op. cit.*, pp. 209, 240; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 132; Bass, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-7.

[10] *Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 352, 356. Bass, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

oust them from their land. Most of the gold was obtained from placer or alluvial deposits by digging or washing. Prospectors from North Carolina shared the gold on a twenty-five to fifty percent basis with the landowner. Gold dust was a common medium of circulation, and miners carried quills, filled with gold dust, which they measured with handscales, also carried on their person. The usual value of gold was 3½ grains for one pint of whisky.[11] There was another form of industrial wealth in the marble quarries, as mentioned by Chief John Ross in his frequent diatribes against the Jackson administration's efforts to make the Cherokees move,[12] but the extent of marble production in that period is not clear.

Trade was also important in the Cherokee country. Besides the regular river shipment of cotton to New Orleans, the Cherokees carried on trade with neighboring states, particularly in hides and livestock. Most of the merchants were Cherokees, and some were sufficiently enterprising to buy in New York for re-sale in villages and trading posts—a situation reminiscent of the ante-bellum factor in the southern states. After 1834 white traders were required to obtain licenses from the United States for trade in designated places, good for two years among the Eastern Cherokees and for three among the Western.[13] There was a further, and typically southern, form of trade in the river-boat stores, as described by Lt. J. W. Harris who escorted emigrants in 1834: "We already feel a serious annoyance in the trading boats, or 'floating doggeries' which now infest the river, & which coming from the upper Tennessee, the Holston & the Clinch with their loads of cakes, & pies, & fruit, and cider & applejack and whiskey, Shark it here for the annuity arrearages of the poor Indians. . . . ."[14]

The removal difficulties, constantly worsening and ultimately bringing a severe cleavage within the Cherokee Nation itself, naturally had distressing effects upon the Cherokee economy. For one thing, Governor Gilmer of Georgia issued a proclamation in 1830, in which he prohibited Indians from digging gold on their own lands, although white men were free to do so. Furthermore, certain Georgia laws made it virtually impossible for Cherokee planters to employ laborers. One law, enacted in 1833, forbade Indians to employ white men, the slaves of white men, or Negroes who were not descended from Cherokee slaves, as millers or millwrights on pain of forfeiture of improvements. Georgia's restriction also kept them from selling for cash, so they were denied a

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[11] James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1897-98 (Washington, 1900), p. 223.

[12] Ralph Henry Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot, Cherokee, and His America* (Norman, 1941), p. 161.

[13] *Annual Report*, 1837, pp. 599-605; M. L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation*, 1838-1907 (Norman, 1938), p. 4; Royce, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

[14] Foreman, *Indian Removal*, p. 253.

market that existed on their own doorsteps.[15] Grant Foreman summarized the conditions when he said:[16]

> The condition of the whole tribe was getting more and more desperate. In the summer of 1833, with the oppression of the intruders, venders of whisky, and other troubles from Georgia, on the one hand, and the vain hopes held out to them by Ross and other influential leaders on the other, they were thoroughly demoralized. Scant provision for the future was made, and few crops put in; the Indian agent reported in June that the full-bloods were in a state of wretchedness bordering on starvation, and of ten persons who had gone into the woods to dig roots for food, six died from eating a poisonous weed.

But in the west, conditions were considerably different. The western economy must be divided into two periods—prior to 1839 and after 1839. For the Old Settlers, joined by voluntary emigrants, built a sound economy before the main body of the tribe was removed, and then the economy of the entire Nation was reconstituted after removal.

In 1836, a government official reported that the western Cherokees raised corn, beef, pork and sheep and lived in good houses where visitors were made comfortable. "Many of them are engaged in trade with their own people; they are, however, not located advantageously for the cultivation of cotton. They have some mills erected amonst them; and with a wide extent of country, a portion of it finely watered, they bid fair, with frugality and temperance, to become a leading tribe."[17] The next year came the report that the Western Cherokees profited by selling surpluses of beef and corn to the government, to military garrisons, and to the new immigrants. "The greater portion of the Cherokees west are farmers and have good comfortable houses, and live, many of them, as well, and as genteel, and in a pecuniary point of view, will compare with the better class of farmers in the States."[18]

The agricultural base of the western economy came from one thousand to eleven hundred farms, producing corn, oats, potatoes, beans, peas, pumpkins, melons, horses, cattle, and hogs. There was also the independent operation of salt deposits by men like John Rogers, one of the Old Settler chiefs, who made eighty bushels of salt daily at the Grand Saline. With one such salt producer, a government subsistence officer made arrangements in 1834 for the Indians who were moving west to buy salt at a dollar a bushel.[19]

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[15] *Senate Document*, No. 298, 29 Cong., 1 Sess. (1846), pp. 50-1. John P. Brown, *Old Frontiers, The Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Date of their Removal to the West*, 1838 (Kingsport, Tenn., 1938), pp. 489-90.

[16] Foreman, *Indian Removal*, pp. 248-49.

[17] *Annual Report*, 1836, p. 391

[18] *Annual Report*, 1837, p. 545.

[19] *Annual Report*, 1834, pp. 263-64. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 358.

Trade was likewise important to the Western Cherokees. Although many of the voluntary Cherokee immigrants and other tribes were poverty-stricken on arrival between 1833 and 1837, some were more fortunate. Especially was this true of the Treaty Party whose members had their affairs in good order before coming west in 1837. Thus some of them arrived in a solvent condition, such as Major Ridge and his son John who were able to begin merchandising, farming, and livestock operations when they settled on Honey Creek. Too, Western Cherokees profited by filling government subsistence contracts for immigrants, amounting to sixty million dollars. As the Cherokee traders went beyond their own borders, some were guided by Kichai Indians to the forks of the Brazos River in Texas where they traded powder and lead for Comanche horses and mules, which must have made the Texas frontiersman happy.[20]

White traders also were involved in the economy of the Western Cherokees, especially with the large influx of immigrants in 1837 and later. Agent Montford Stokes issued many licenses in 1838, not only to Indians who wanted to invest their money in trade, but also to white men who saw a rare opportunity in the Cherokee trade at that time. Financially disabled by the panic of 1837, white traders were after the silver coin that the Cherokees received from the United States Government, at a time when the currency circulating in the states was of doubtful value. Some traders extended credit to the Indians, and a few Army sutlers also engaged in trade, resulting in "much injury" to the Indians:[21]

> Under the present system there can be little or no restraint imposed on traders; the consequences are, the Indian country is flooded with goods of every description, whether suitable or not, credits are allowed to any extent, competition for the sale of goods regards neither amount, nor ability to pay . . . . . Indians . . . . loaded with debt . . . . to different stores. Their annuities and whatever else they have of value, are pledged, and soon taken from them, and the consequences are destitution and want . . . . hang about stores and shops . . . . neglecting to plant and make crops.

After 1839, when the removal was completed, conditions remained much the same, but gradually became much better. Because wild game was from 150 to more than 200 miles distant, the Cherokees as usual were dependent upon agriculture. Despite the frequent disease of chills and fever, the Cherokees in the first few years raised an abundance of food for home consumption, but little for export, and were in need of a commercial flour mill, which Agent Pierce M. Butler thought would encourage the cultivation of wheat. Salines, which also gave employment to the poor, were leased for ten years to native Cherokees, with the Nation receiving rent of more than six thousand dollars for them each year. The removal treaty called for four blacksmith shops for a year to serve the eight districts, but

[20] *Annual Report*, 1837, p. 577. *Telegraph and Texas Register*, December 23, 1837, quoted in Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 358; *ibid.*, p. 284.

[21] *Annual Report*, 1837, p. 577; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 284.

to equalize the distribution Butler changed it to eight shops for six months, one in each district. However, the United States allotment of iron and steel was below the needs.[22]

The basic economic conditions after 1839 was described by Foreman:[23]

Many of these people who lived in comfortable circumstances in their old homes arrived in the West destitute of every convenience and comfort. Fortunate were those able to bring with them some of their cherished household possessions. Too often as they pursued their sad journey, the wagons that carried their little children and meager personal belongings were requisitioned by the conductors, and the loved spinning wheel, the mortar of their home life were thrown by the wayside to make room for the sick and pestle with which they prepared their corn for food and other essentials and dying who at times filled to overflowing every wagon.

These unhappy people were delivered here upon the raw virgin soil, destitute, possessed of little besides the primitive instinct to live and protect the lives of their helpless children. They were compelled to start life anew, many of them fortunate to possess an axe with which to construct wherewith to shelter them against the storm and sun.

One old woman who remembered that experience told the Author of her recollection: "Very few of the Indians," she said, "had been able to bring any of their household effects or kitchen utensils with them and the old people who knew how, made what they called dirt pots and dirt bowls. To make them they took clay and formed it in the shape desired and turned these bowls over the fire and smoked them and when they were done they would hold water and were very useful. We could cook in them and use them to hold our food. In the same way they made dishes to eat out of and then they made wooden spoons and for a number of years after we arrived we had to use these crude utensils. After awhile as we were able we gradually picked up glazed chinaware until we had enough to take the place of the substitutes. We had no shoes and those that wore anything wore mocassins made out of deer hide and the men wore leggins made of deer hide. Many of them went bare headed but when it was cold they made things out of coon skins and other kinds of hides to cover their heads."

"I learned to spin when I was a very little girl and I could make cloth and jeans for dresses and such other garments as we wore. We never any of us wore store clothes and manufactured cloth until after the Civil War. To color the cloth we used different kinds of dyes. We raised our indigo which we cut in the morning while the dew was still on it; then we put it in a tub and soaked it over night and the next day we foamed it up by beating it with a gourd; we let it stand over night again, and the next day rubbed tallow on our hands to kill the foam; afterwards we poured the water off and the sediment left in the bottom we would pour into a pitcher or crock to let it get dry, and then we would put it into a poke made of cloth and then when we wanted any of it to dye with we would take the dry indigo. We raised the indigo for many years and then when I moved away from Barren Fork I lost my seed and was never able to raise any more . . . . .

"If we wanted to dye cloth black we used walnut bark and when we wanted to dye purple we used maple bark and if mixed with hickory bark it made yellow. Hickory bark by itself made green dye. To make red we mixed madded and alum. We used to find alum in caves. We used sumac

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[22] *Annual Report*, 1844, pp. 463-69.
[23] Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 282.

berries to make red dye. When we wanted salt we drove to a salt lick on the west side of Grand River."

The newcomers had a hard time of it otherwise, too. The food rationed them by the government was poor, and could not be relied upon. Since they had been disarmed in Georgia, they had to rely upon traps, gigs, and the old bow and arrow for such fresh meat as they could find in the timber and streams. Without adequate tools, and without money to buy them, the Cherokees had to labor hard in clearing their fields. But they found the soil more productive than that they had left behind, and they raised better crops. Too, the lush grass of the flatlands fattened their livestock. But that was not true of all Cherokees. The harsh political differences kept them disturbed for several years, and many neglected their crops. Their population declined, due alike to fratricidal conflict and death from illness.[24]

But in time the Cherokees restored themselves through agriculture. The productive valleys of Eastern Oklahoma gave them wheat, corn, oats, and vegetables, as well as grass for their blooded horses, and other livestock. "The more prosperous Indians possessed neat looking farms and houses and exhibited signs of wealth and intelligence; some of them owned fine residences and even the poorer members of the tribe had comfortable houses."[25] They were, however, retarded by the floods of 1844 and the drouth of 1845. Appropriating relief money, the United States Government established depots where corn was issued to needy Indians. An upturn came in 1845 with the organization of the Agricultural Society of the Cherokee Nation to promote agriculture, domestic manufacturing, and the rearing of livestock. At the first meeting, Agent Butler awarded silver cups for the best homespun cloth, coverlets, belts, and socks.[26]

In the way of trade there were merchants at Fort Gibson, Park Hill, Tahlequah, and Flint, who exchanged goods for cash, beef, hides, tallow, deer skins, coon skins, fox skins, beeswax, wool and other produce. Manufacturing was limited to blacksmiths, wagon makers, and wheelwrights. It was common in the West, as in the East to see Cherokees attired in clothing of home manufacture. Under a United States contract an Indian named "Bullfrog" made half of the four hundred spinning wheels distributed annually among the Cherokees, but he had to keep after the government for years before he could collect the four dollars due for each wheel. The manufacture of salt, which had been a lucrative enterprise from the beginning, was unbalanced when the Council nationalized all salines in 1843, except for one that was granted for life to

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[24] Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-93. *Annual Report*, 1840, p. 312.
[25] Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 360.
[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 377, 381.

Sequoyah, the unlettered mixed-blood who had devised the Cherokee syllabary.[27]

Water transportation was important in the Cherokee economy. Regularly, steamboats came up the Arkansas River as far as Webbers Falls, in the vicinity of the present Muskogee, Oklahoma. The river was used as a route to bring in produce, and immigrant Cherokees too, as well as for the exportation of cotton from productive Cherokee plantations in later years. But water travel was slow. For example, Chief John Ross and John Howard Payne left Washington in the latter part of August 1840, proceeded to New Orleans which they reached in mid-September, and then came up the Mississippi and Arkansas to the Cherokee Nation, arriving at Park Hill in early October.[28]

In the West, the Cherokees as a nation had one significant source of income which they had lacked in such amount in the East—payments from the United States Government, although the disbursements were continually involved in dispute until the Treaty of 1846. From $759,899 invested in state bonds of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Maryland, Missouri and Michigan, the Cherokees received an annual interest of $38,691 which was deposited in the Bank of America in New York on call. Also, in 1838, the government fed eighteen thousand Cherokees at 9½ cents per ration for a total of $1710 daily. And in 1849 the government comptroller reported the United States had paid the Cherokees, as a result of the removal, $1,540,572 for improvements, $159,572 for ferries; $264,894 for spoliations; $2,952,196 for subsistence; $101,348 for debts and claims on the Cherokee Nation; $500,000 for the additional land ceded to the Nation; and $500,880 invested as the general fund of the Nation.[29]

Establishment of Order in the Cherokee Nation

Political turmoil of an intensity approaching anarchy characterized the Cherokee Nation between 1838 and 1846. The turbulence and violence of the period—beginning with the arrival of the Eastern Cherokees in what is now Oklahoma, and ending with the establishment of more stable government upon the intervention of the United States—was rooted in fierce resentments and personal hatreds that touched almost every Cherokee man.

If a man were forced to give up a home that he considered rightfully his, forced to march half-way across the North American continent to the wilderness of the plains, forced to watch his child die in agony in the cold bed of a drafty wagon, and forced

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 331, 361, 377; *Annual Report*, 1839, p. 467.
[28] Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 313.
[29] Royce, *op. cit.*, p. 306; *Annual Report*, 1838, pp. 470, 472.

to start live anew in a wilderness without money and without tools—he could be expected to nurture a strong man's hatred for those who had caused his tragedy. If he were a Cherokee, the member of a semi-civilized tribe which still held to the clan law of blood for blood and death for anyone selling the communal lands—he could be expected to place passion ahead of reason. If he met in the wilderness with tribesmen who had come before him, who had established their own government and their own laws, and who did not acknowlege the magisterial authority of the new group, who expected him to adjust to their laws and society—he might be expected to use violence.

Those were the conditions that existed in the Cherokee portion of the Indian Territory in 1838—seven million acres of land west of Arkansas, bounded on the south by the Arkansas River and on the north by Kansas, seven million acres of unmapped woodland, prairie, and watercourse, aside from the country west called the Cherokee Outlet.

The conditions that kept the Cherokee Nation in turmoil for eight frightful years were rooted in the first administration of Andrew Jackson who set his mind on moving all eastern Indians beyond the Mississippi. At first, the Cherokees as a body opposed his efforts and withstood the oppression of Georgia to move them from the southeastern United States. But as the years went by, a small group within the tribe came to feel the removal was the tribe's only hope of survival; they were known as the Treaty Party. In opposition to them was the Ross Party, led by Principal Chief John Ross whose Scottish ancestry gave him the brown hair and blue eyes which belied his Cherokee ancestry. As a minority group, the Treaty Party—led by the full-blood Major Ridge and John Ridge and Elias Boudinot—signed the Treaty of New Echota in 1835 under which the Cherokees ceded their eastern lands and agreed to move west to live with the Western Cherokees. The Treaty Party and followers, numbering about two thousand, moved voluntarily in 1837. Their move left approximately fourteen thousand Cherokees in the East and 7,900 in the West.[30]

Upon reaching the West, the Treaty Party went about making their homes peacefully with the Western Cherokees whose national existence had been recognized through separate treaties concluded with the United States. The Western Cherokees came to be known as the Old Settlers in the difficulties which followed. But John Ross and his followers refused to leave the East until General Winfield Scott came in with several regiments and made them embark upon the "Trail of Tears" on which four thousand died before the trek was completed in 1839.

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[30] *Annual Report*, 1837, pp. 592-95.

When the main body of the Cherokees migrated to the new land, the Ross Party expected that they would continue in control of national affairs just as they had in the East. But neither the Old Settlers nor the Treaty Party wanted to be governed by Ross and his lieutenants.[31] The Old Settlers had the support of General Matthew Arbuckle who commanded Army troops at Fort Gibson, where he addressed a communication on November 10, 1839, to the Old Settlers John Rogers, John Smith, and Dutch as chiefs of the Cherokee Nation, in which he said: "I have no hesitation in saying that the government the late emigrants found here is the only lawful government now in the Cherokee Nation."[32] John Ross based his position upon a resolution adopted in general council by the eastern Cherokees when they were seized and held in stockades for removal, in which the Cherokees said they were "emigrating in their national character, with all the attributes . . . . as a distinct community," and he subsequently held that it was "utterly inconceivable" that his government would be dissolved.[33] A contest by violence was almost inevitable.

The first violence was directed against the men who had been the leaders in signing the Treaty of New Echota—Major Ridge, John Ridge, Elias Boudinot, and Stand Watie. Major Ridge was a full-blood who had accepted the way of civilization and built up a competence while still in Georgia. His son John was educated as a lawyer in United States schools, and at one time aspired to Ross's position as chief of the Nation. Boudinot and Watie, both full-bloods, were brothers, nephews of Major Ridge. Boudinot had taken the name of a New Jersey benefactor upon going to Cornwall Mission in Connecticut, to school. They had signed the treaty in full cognizance of the tribal law which directed death for anyone deeding away the tribal land. And John Ridge had remarked prophetically in the East in April, 1839, that: "I may yet die some day by the hand of some poor infatuated Indian, deluded by the counsels of Ross and his minions; . . . I am resigned to my fate, whatever it may be . . . ."[34]

Ridge's fate came on Sunday morning, June 22, 1839, and it came likewise to his father and his cousin, Elias Boudinot. In a carefully planned operation, armed horsemen spread in bands through the new Cherokee country to strike their victims. They reached the home of John Ridge about daybreak, dragged him from a sickbed and stabbed him to death in his yard, before the eyes of his wife and children. Another group ambushed his father, who was travelling to Evansville, Arkansas, to visit a sick slave,

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[31] *Senate Document*, No. 298, 29 Cong., 1 Sess. (1846), p. 15.
[32] *Senate Document*, No. 347, 26 Cong., 1 Sess. (1840), p. 18.
[33] *Senate Document*, No. 298, pp. 19-29.
[34] Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation*, 1838-1907 (Norman, 1938), p. 18.

Major Ridge

John Ridge, son of Major Ridge

Elias Boudinot, a nephew of Major Ridge

Chief John Ross

and shot him to death about ten o' clock in the morning. Yet another group attacked Boudinot. Three men called him from a house he was building to get some medicine for them. He went with them, and was suddenly attacked by them with knives and tomahawks. His workmen rushed to his aid, but were held back by thirty to forty armed men who appeared from the brush. Another group was scheduled to slay Stand Watie, but he escaped them, and there was a later saying among the Cherokees that the weapon had not been invented which could kill Stand Watie.[35]

Suspicion naturally fell upon John Ross as the instigator of the crimes, but he himself asked General Arbuckle to investigate the murders, saying that Mrs. Boudinot had sent him a warning to leave home for safety because "Stand Watie was determined on raising a company of men . . . . to take my life."[36] However, Mrs. Boudinot emphatically denied Ross's story. Indeed, she told Captain William Armstrong, the Cherokee agent, that the story was "totally destitute of truth."[37]

The full truth of the murders was never fixed. A story is told that lots were drawn to decide who would kill whom and that Ross was to know nothing about it beforehand. John Bell of Tennessee, who interested himself in the matter during a Congresional investigation, said that Ross and other leaders "exerted themselves honestly and zealously to stay the hand of violence." Agent Montford Stokes, who spent his own money to find the answer, concluded; "It is my belief, from the best information I can obtain, that the murders were not ordered or santioned by the chiefs and principal men."[38]

But General Arbuckle, who was constantly at odds with Ross, felt sure "that the principal men of the late emigrants, with a few exceptions, excited their people against the treaty party in June last, and caused them to murder the Ridges and Boudinot." He was equally sure that proof sufficient for conviction could not be had. However, he was sufficiently sure of his ground to identify those suspected of the murders. He said John Ridge was killed by Daniel Colston, James Spear, Archibald Spear, Hunter, John Vann, and twenty or twenty-five others. Arbuckle said Colston and Spears were accused of taking John Ridge from his house and killing him. Arbuckle further identified the murderers of Major Ridge as James Foreman (who was later killed by Stand Watie), two Springtons, Bird Doublehead, Jefferson Hair, and James Hair. The Boudinot killers he identified as Soft-shell Turtle, Money Taker, Johnston, Car-soo-taw-dy, Joseph Beanstick, and Duck-wa.[39]

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[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17, 53.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[37] *Senate Document*, No. 347, 22.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 51; Wardell, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.
[39] *Senate Document*, No. 347, pp. 16, 50.

The United States government looked upon the slayings as "barbarous murders and outrages", which caused one Commissioner of Indian Affairs to ask: "Will the government suffer men to be thus hunted down for an act induced by itself, and by which many difficulties between the United States and Georgia were happily avoided?"[40]

Arbuckle took it upon himself to apprehend the murderers by sending out troop detachments accompanied by Cherokee guides. When reports came to him that the Cherokee guides had been threatened, he promptly informed Ross, on November 2, 1839, that the guides were under United States protection and "any violence offered to them in consequence of his employment would be an aggression against the United States."[41]

The independent and hard-headed John Ross replied on November 4, 1839: "To me it is of small moment what 'reports' are borne to you or any other person. I am not answerable for the slanderous fabrications of designing Cherokees or vicious white men. In duty to the Cherokee people, I am again impelled to protest against any further interference on your part in their political affairs."[42] Arbuckle reported to the Adjutant General a few weeks later that he would have arrested Ross for the insolent tone of his letter had the chief not been ready to go to Washington. As it was, Arbuckle gave up the search for the murderers in February, 1840, feeling that the troops served only to keep the Cherokees excited and that in any event witnesses would not feel secure to testify.[43]

As tension increased between the Old Settlers and the newcomers, with Arbuckle in the middle, the general feared a frontier uprising. Informing Washington that Ross had sent gifts to the Creeks and that a band of Seminole warriors were encamped in the Cherokee country,[44] Arbuckle readied his forces and alerted the governors of Arkansas and Missouri for a possible call on militia.

The murders were indicative of a deep unrest which manifested itself for the next few years in guerrilla activities and other murders. In 1839 Stand Watie formed his own armed force, as a counter to lighthorse military-police unit formed by the Ross government. Watie maintained his force at Beattie's Prairie, in the northeastern part of present Oklahoma, and at old Fort Wayne in the same vicinity.[45] His forces occupied the two positions from time to time, frequently under the command of some trusted lieutenant

[40] *Senate Document*, No. 298, p. 11.
[41] *Senate Document*, No. 347, p. 13.
[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23, 62.
[44] Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

when Watie was in Washington or otherwise out of the Nation. His force at Fort Wayne was referred to "..... a mongrel set of Cherokees, white men with Indian wives, citizens of the United States and one or two mulattoes ..... They smack of a rebellious spirit and show conclusively that the company have some latent object in view inimical to the peace of the country."[46]

Pierce M. Butler, the Cherokee agent under the Whig administration of President Tyler, disclosed another source of irritation—abuse of Cherokees by United States officers who took them to Arkansas for trial on charges of offenses against white men who were in the Cherokee country illegally. "(Complaints are made by) a plundering, predatory class, upon whose oath before a magistrate the Cherokees are hunted down by the military, and taken a distance of 200 miles to Little Rock, for trial; there lodged in jail, to await slow justice," Butler said. "These are evils of no small import, and of every day's occurrence, and which produce angry and embittered feelings."[47]

A United States commission in 1844 reported: "It cannot be denied that human life in the Cherokee country is in danger—great danger. But the danger lies in the frequent and stealthy incursions of a desperate gang of banditti—'halfbreeds' notorious in the nation as wanton murderers, house burners, and horse stealers, but whose fraternity is not of the dominant party. . . . . [48]

Probably the most notorious group during the period of Cherokee difficulties was the gang of the Starr boys who took the warpath when they believed their father, James, would be killed for his part in the removal treaty. They were blamed when the home of R. J. Meigs, Ross's son-in-law, was robbed and burned in 1845. A posse hunted them down, killing James Starr and Suel Rider. The killings gave rise to the alarm that the Ross government intended to levy reprisals against the Treaty Party, causing Stand Watie to assemble his men once more at Fort Wayne.

A worried General Arbuckle ordered Acting Chief Lowery to disband the government's light horsemen immediately and arrest the men who had killed Starr and Rider. Ordering a Dragoon company into the area of the disturbance, he hurried reenforcements from Fort Washita, placing them on the Arkansas border to prevent recruits from joining Watie.[49] Between November 1, 1845, and August 28, 1846, the Cherokee agent estimated thirty-three men had been murdered in the Cherokee Nation, most of them for political reasons.[50]

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[46] *Cherokee Advocate*, January 29, 1846, quoted in Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 341.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 325.
[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 331-34.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 341.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 347.

The political reasons had been germinated in the unrelenting contest among the three groups, none of whom could form a compromise government of stability and unity. The first effort toward equalizing the rival claims came in June 1839, barely three months after the exodus from Georgia was completed, when the general council at Ta-ka-to-ka had been called by the constituted authorities of the two rival powers—the Old Settler-Treaty Party and the Ross Party. The idea had been that differences could be settled and the Cherokees would unite in a government for the whole nation.

Approximately six thousand Cherokees had been present when the council was ready to make decisions by June 10. The Treaty Party leaders—the Ridges, Boudinot and Watie—had ridden in about June 14, but had left immediately because feeling against them was sufficiently strong that they might have been killed then and there. Thus, the contest had evolved into one between Ross and the Old Settler chiefs—John Brown, John Rogers, John Looney. They had ended in a deadlock on June 19, the Old Settlers proposing that the Nation wait until the regular election and fill all offices then, and Ross insisting that a convention be called for the drafting of a new constitution. The Old Settlers notified Agent Stokes that the National Council had been dismissed because Ross would not accept their proposals. Ross told him that he had called a new meeting for July 1 at the Illinois Camp Ground to estabish union and enact equal laws, because the action of the Western Cherokees would disrupt the community and injure the Nation.[51]

The Old Settlers refused to countenance Ross's meeting called for July 1, contending it was irregular. Under Arbuckle's influence, however, they agreed that they would meet an eastern delegation on July 25 at Fort Gibson, provided the convention would have the power to remodel the government, that no member of the Nation would suffer reprisal for former political acts or opinions, and that both parties be equally represented at the convention. Indicating there might be danger of civil war, they said that should there be a call to arms they would defend themselves and never surrender their rights. The letter was signed by Chiefs John Brown (who subsequently took a small band of Cherokees to Mexico to place himself beyond the reach of the Ross methods), John Looney, and John Smith. Ross replied on July 1, the day his convention opened, that the meeting was regular, that the Western Cherokees had agreed to it, and he could look upon Brown, Rogers, and Smith merely as private individuals, not as chiefs.[52]

As a statesman, John Ross may have been a crafty politician, and as a leader he may have been a Machiavellian despot, but he was a careful political tactician—one who had no intention of re-

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[51] Wardell, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16.
[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

linguishing his control over the Cherokee Nation nor even of sharing the prestige of leadership with rival chieftains. Few better examples of how a determined politician can manipulate a carefully-rigged convention are to be found than John Ross's convention at the Illinois Camp Ground. He called the meeting, he organized it, and with his legalistic bent gave it a character which would have been difficult to reverse in any judicial review.

The meeting at the Illinois Camp Ground lasted from July 1 to September 4, 1839. During that period—the hottest days of the year in the Southwest—he kept two thousand Cherokees there or on call to: (1) effectuate an Act of Union between the Eastern and Western Cherokees; (2) empower a Ross-picked convention to write a new Cherokee constitution; (3) depose the Old Settler chiefs who dared to defy John Ross; (4) outlaw Treaty Party men who had threatened retaliation for the June murders, but offer them amnesty under humiliating terms, which included their disqualification to hold office for a specified time; (5) absolve everyone involved in the Ridge-Boudinot murders.

Ross proceeded upon two basic assumptions. One was that his was a sovereign nation, of which he was the elected leader. With a constitutional government dating from 1825, the Cherokees had maintained they were an independent political unit. One reason Andrew Jackson had given for forcing their removal was that two sovereign states could not occupy the same territory. By removing itself—perforce under duress—from the territory of Georgia, the Cherokee Nation had re-established itself in a territory where there was no conflicting government, except the general supervision of the United States. The other assumption was that, even though Arbuckle and Stokes might be opposeed to his procedures, he could confront them with a *fait accompli* before they could receive new instructions from Washington.

He then organized his convention, moving along this line: (1) His friends, relatives and strong following of full-bloods assured him of control; (2) to give the convention at least a semblance of national unity, he made Sequoyah (George Guess) President of the Old Settlers at the convention, although Superintendent William Armstrong, who visited the convention, was certain there were not more than a dozen Old Settlers among the two thousand Cherokees present; (3) he split the absent Old Settler leadership by drawing Chief John Looney into his fold; (4) he had Looney, Guess, and Tobacco Will (who served as vice president of the Western Cherokees present) depose John Brown and John Rogers as chiefs of the Old Settlers for "unworthy and unlawful conduct."

John Ross was in absolute control of the convention, and through it, of the Cherokee Nation. Thus strengthened, he kept General Arbuckle informed of the proceedings. After the Act

of Union, which he looked upon as cementing the two major factions, Ross told Arbuckle: "If any of our people refuse to abide by the Cherokee laws, the world is large, they can leave us; but if they remain in our country, being part of our people, they must come under our laws." Ironically, that was precisely the attitude Georgia had taken, and against which John Ross had battled. Many of the Old Settlers and Treaty Party humbled themselves to receive amnesty, bestowed only upon a confession of threats against the immigrant leaders, and accepted disqualification from office in a government that held itself before the world as a democracy.

Wardell comments on Ross's statement about the freedom of the Cherokee to leave or stay:[53]

> This was stated to inform General Arbuckle that all decrees and acts thus far made would stand without regard to protest from anyone outside the constituted Cherokee authorities. Chief Ross evidently was working on the assumption that in no instance had either of the Cherokee governments—eastern or western—lapsed or ceased to function, and that the Act of Union of July 12 had only consolidated the two. They were now stronger than ever before and, having complied with the treaties of removal made with the United States—through maintaining the invalidity of the treaty of December 29, 1835—the Cherokee Nation was presumed to be a political body with sovereign powers. In the light of later events his assumption proved correct for all intents and purposes.

But John Ross still had a fight on his hands. The Treaty Party refused to submit to "the power or mobocracy of John Ross.[54] And some officers of the United States, even several years later, declared that the Act of Union could not be regarded as "valid or binding."[55]

While Ross's convention was going on, Arkansas settlers moved from their homes along the border in fear of an uprising, General Arbuckle told Ross he would not tolerate warfare among the Cherokees, and Stand Watie and John Bell said in an open letter in the *Arkansas Gazette* of August 21, 1839, that Ross was guarded by at least five hundred men. ". . . . Ross promises this guard at the rate of twenty-five dollars each per month, and gives his due bills to individuals, payable on the faith of the National Treasury. These due-bills are bought up by his son-in-law and brother with goods . . . . ."[56] On August 20, a group of the Treaty Party met at Price's Prairie, under the leadership of George W. Adair whose life had been attempted on June 22, and protested the actions of the Ross convention. They appealed to the United States for protection, for assistance in punishing the murderers, and they delegated Watie and Bell to proceed to Washington.[57] Too,

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[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 22-32.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Arbuckle protested vigorously against the proscription of the Treaty Party, and he was under advice from the Secretary of War to arrest Ross as an accessory to the murders if he considered it wise,[58] advice the General did not follow, however much he may have wanted to.

Outraged protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, Ross's party proceeded to realign the government. Led by his nephew, William Shorey Coodey, the constitutional convention adopted the new constitution at Tahlequah on September 6, 1839—just two days after Ross's general convention had adjourned. Officers were elected immediately—John Ross, principal chief.[59]

Beyond question, the Ross Party was in control of the Cherokee government. Coodey, who had once opposed his uncle and who had come west with the Treaty Party, was nontheless a very capable assistant, as was William P. Ross, another nephew, a Princeton graduate, and editor of the *Cherokee Advocate.* Ross's long-time tried followers composed the Executive Council. "It was impossible for the Treaty Party to break through this combination and they could hope for no position of importance. It was this fact, together with the idea of revenge, which led to civil strife, murders, and general disorder for several years."[60]

It also placed the United States government in a quandary: "Every effort at composing them has been ineffectual. Persuasion and reason, and the advancement of their interests have been addressed to the two parties in vain . . . . . Each side is tenacious of its ground."[61] Despite Ross's *fait accompli,* Agent Stokes was not sure what to do, either. On November 11, 1839, he decided to "ride two horses." He would recognize the Old Settlers as the only legal government, but he would hold himself neutral between the two governments.[62]

Supported by the Army and the Indian agent, the Old Settlers (with Treaty Party men prominent in the leadership) held out against the new government. Convening a National Council of their own at Takattokah on November 5, 1839, they nullified all actions of Ross, and directed that no national funds could be drawn from the United States government without their authority. In advising Watie and Bell, in Washington, of the actions Adair wrote: "Those white men who array themselves against the civil authorities of the country, and in favor of the proceedings of Ross, are to be expelled the nation. A law was also passed imposing a fine of five hundred dollars upon anyone who shall attempt to enforce the

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[58] Royce, *op. cit.,* pp. 294-5.
[59] Wardell, *op. cit.,* pp. 33-34.
[60] *Ibid.,* pp. 51-52.
[61] *Senate Document,* No. 347, p. 2.
[62] *Ibid.,* pp. 18-19.

laws of the Ross faction." Further he said that the murderers could be arrested only by sending out large military parties.[63]

Stokes made another attempt to bring the two groups together. Under instructions from Washington, he joined with Ross in calling all Cherokees to meet on January 15, 1840, to determine the will of the majority toward the Act of Union and the new constitution. But only a handful of Old Settlers and Treaty Party men attended the meeting which affirmed the Act of Union and the constitution, and which wisely revoked the oath required for amnesty and likewise revoked the office disqualification. But the Old Settler leadership would have none of it, refusing to attend the meeting, insisting upon their original proposal that an equal number of men from both sides meet to form an act of union, and declaring that Ross's conduct was "unfounded in justice, law or humanity," and further refusing to ever recognize his authority.[64]

In the end, it remained for the government at Washington to end discord among the Cherokees. For six years, from 1840 to 1846, the Cherokee question was a vexing gadfly to a government which had more important things to consider, such as the ever more deadly conflict over slavery, an approaching war with Mexico, and acquisition of the Great West. But the relationship between the Federal Government and Ross's Cherokees became something of a "Donnybrook Fair" before it was over.

The unpleasant relationship began in January 1840 when Ross and his delegation arrived in Washington to discuss tribal business. He was rebuffed at once by Secretary of War Joel Poinsett who handed the delegation a note saying he was instructed by President Van Buren to say "the Government will hold no communication with John Ross" until a full investigation be made of the Ridge-Boudinot murders. Ever facile with pen, Ross wrote back that he had read the note with "pain and astonishment." He called for the names of his accusers, saying he was "absolutely innocent" of the murders and was, furthermore, "entirely ignorant" of them at the time. Poinsett replied firmly that he would hold no communication with Ross, although he would receive the others. His words: "The evidence which has led this department to regard John Ross as the instigator and the abettor of those foul deeds of blood, as he is confessedly the defender of the murderers, shall be produced in the progress of the investigation which has been instituted."[65]

Aside from the Ross delegation, Poinsett was under advice from three different quarters. One was General Arbuckle who re-

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[63] *Ibid.*, p. 40.
[64] Wardell, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.
[65] *Senate Document*, No, 347, pp. 37-39.

ported the results of the January 15, 1840 convention which confirmed the Act of Union and the new constitution. He reported:[66]

> This change will no doubt be severely felt by the old settlers generally, who, in their kindness, invited the late emigrants to enjoy with them the lands they have secured for themselves and who have, in less than one year after their arrival, formed a new government for the Nation, in which the old settlers are not represented by a single individual of their own choice . . . . unless something is done to satisfy the old settlers at an early period, frequent violence and murders may be anticipated in the Cherokee Nation.

Later, the general recommended to Poinsett that both governments be dissolved and each be given a fair representation in a new government.[67] In substance, that was the very thing the Old Settlers had been insisting upon from the beginning.

From Superintendent Armstrong, Poinsett received slightly different word:[68]

> The old settlers did not attend (the January 15 meeting), as they were doubtless well aware that they were in the minority . . . . a matter of no importance to the Government who rules, provided the obligations of the United States are not violated. I have earnestly pressed the majority to rule with great forbearance: they have promised to avoid everything calculated to excite the other party; and if things keep quiet for a few days, all will be harmony. Should this desirable object be obtained, the wants of the Cherokees are so great, that I would recommend the money due for abandoned improvements be paid them.

It is clear that Arbuckle, with his practical soldier's mind, had a more realistic knowledge of the Cherokees character than did the Indian Office's representative.

The third source of advice came from the Treaty Party delegation in Washington, composed of Watie, Bell and William Rogers. They told the Secretary it was impossible for the two groups to live together under the same laws and the same government. Consequently, they suggested two settlements: (1) That the United States divide the Cherokee country between the Treaty Party-Old Settlers, and the Ross Party, each to be self-governing. (2) That the government divide the annuities between the two. Their first objective, if the separation were granted, would be to promote peace and friendship with the United States; the second, to further education through public schools and colleges.[69]

Poinsett liked the Treaty Party suggestion best. Following this preference, he directed Arbuckle and Armstrong on January 30 to devise means for effectuating the Rogers-Bell-Watie suggestion, giving consideration to both parties.[70] But later consideration

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[66] Arbuckle to Poinsett, January 22, 1840, *ibid.*, pp. 50-51.
[67] *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.
[68] Armstrong to Poinsett, *ibid.*, pp. 51-2.
[69] Rogers, Bell and Watie to Poinsett, January 22, 1840, *ibid.*, pp. 40-1.
[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 41-2.

—including Arbuckle's advice that "I am now satisfied that the Old Settlers will not peaceably surrender what they regard their rights"[71]—led Poinsett to decide on summary action. Peremptorily he told Stokes to suspend his civil functions, and he placed entire authority for settling the Cherokee question in the hands of the military.

Announcing his decision in a letter to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on March 6, 1840, Poinsett said: "Finding . . . . the tyrannical and opressive conduct of the emigrating party toward the Old Settlers are not yet adjusted, I think it proper to confide their settlement altogether to the military authorities in that section."[72]

The next day, he dispatched instructions to Arbuckle: "The case contemplated by the 6th article of the Treaty of New Echota appears to have occurred, and the period to have arrived when the active interference of the Government has become necessary 'to protect the Cherokee Nation from domestic strife' . . . . ." Arbuckle was further instructed to see to the adoption of a Cherokee constitution securing to every individual his rights, annulling such "barbarous laws" as those which led to the execution of Boudinot and the Ridges and the penalty of outlawry on innocent men . . . . You are instructed to insist that the old settlers shall be represented in the government to be created under the provisions of the Constitution . . . . one-third of the chiefs from the western and two-thirds from the eastern Cherokees."

Poinsett appended an additional, and most important, instruction. John Ross was considered "*particeps criminis*":[73]

> He must be regarded as conniving at those acts; or, viewing his conduct in the most favorable light, as unable to protect the Indians under his charge, and unwilling to punish the assassins. Under these circumstances he is to be excluded from all participation in the government; as is likewise William Shorey Coodey, who, in conversation with me, in my office, persisted in considering the murders . . . . of Boudinot and the Ridges as justifiable. Men who entertain such opinions are unfit to be intrusted with power. . . . .

A significant addendum came from Crawford, indorsed by Poinsett as the War Department view. It was an interpretation that could vastly alter the status of the Cherokee Nation. It was to the effect that the Western Cherokees were not sovereign, being under United States control just as all other Indians; that emigrants were to be absorbed into one community under each accession; and that the Western Cherokees were "only contingently a separate community."[74]

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[71] Arbuckle to Poinsett, *ibid.*, p. 55.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 52.
[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 53-4.
[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 58-62.

Arbuckle received his instructions on April 8, a month after they were written. With Ross out of the Nation, the way was clear to push through a settlement of his own design. To that end, he had each party send fifteen or twenty men to Fort Gibson where on April 20, 1840, he informed them of the Secretary of War's instructions. Softening the dictum with reference to Ross and Coodey, he said they could not be among the first officers chosen, not necessarily to be restricted permanently. Arbuckle thought the constitution of September 6, 1839, was good in most respects, but required modification. In the long negotiations he encountered stubbornness on the part of the Treaty Party and astute delaying tactics from Joseph Vann, acting as Principal Chief in Ross's absence. Finally, in June, 1840, he persuaded the Old Settlers to accept the constitution without acknowledging its legality.

The constitution thus adopted remained as the fundamental law of the Cherokees until their government was dissolved just prior to Oklahoma's Statehood in 1907. Arbuckle also succeeded in having a new Act of Union signed on June 26, 1840. All claims on eastern lands were to be shared by all Cherokees; the Western Cherokees were to have a just proportion of officers in the first election, although they were to take their chances in succeeding elections.[75]

Conditions, however, were not as bright as might be supposed. Congress decided that the War Department had possibly interfered too much in Cherokee affairs, and the House Committee on Indian Affairs made an exhaustive report which concluded that the department had enflamed rancor among the Cherokees. When the House refused to let the report be filed, John Bell of Tennessee gave it to the press on July 27, 1840. Of "Bell's Suppressed Report" and attendant circumstances, Grant Foreman says:[76]

> At one stage the report said that the department had announced that majority rule should control, but when the factions had finally united so that four-fifths of the tribe had committed themselves in favor of a fair way to produce the peace so much desired, at the instance of the remaining one-fifth and General Arbuckle who was moved by bitter animosity against Ross, the department reversed its position, and issued an order purporting to nullify the action of the nation in adopting and putting in operation the constitution and put the whole Cherokee Nation under the military control of General Arbuckle. This for reasons assigned, that reports had been received that the majority had been guilty of tyrannical and oppressive acts from the constituted representatives of the government on the ground, Suprintendent Armstrong and Governor Stokes, that the great majority of the tribe had adopted the new constitution and that peace at last was in sight.
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> Instead of the arrival of the period which called for the active interference of the Government to protect the Cherokee from "domestic strife," the committee recognize in the order of the Secretary of War of the 6th of

[75] Wardell, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-42.
[76] Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 311-12.

March, a revival of the practice of government interference in the internal affairs of the Cherokees which had rcently been suspended; and, instead of an interference of the Government for the prevention of domestic strife, the order of the 6th of March ushered in a period of unrest, dissension and anarchy, by the undisguised attempt to control a majority of four-fifths of the Cherokee Nation, and compel them to yield obedience to a government dictated by the wishes and interests of the remaining one-fifth.

However, the Van Buren administration did not have the opportunity to pursue its ends, nor did Arbuckle's efforts reach full maturity. On April 4, 1841, John Tyler became President, and after long years of waiting the Ross Party Cherokees had a friend in the Chief Executive. All during the Jackson and Van Buren administrations they had looked to the Whigs for friendship and defense, and at last the Whigs were in position to help where it counted most. Arbuckle was promptly removed from the Indian Country and re-assigned to a smaller command at Baton Rouge, to his indignation and that of his friends, because of the political enmity between him and Ross.[77]

And President Tyler himself told the Cherokees in September 1841:[78]

I still propose at a future day, to negotiate with you a new treaty; you may assure your people that, so far as I have any power or influence to effect such results, not justice merely shall be done them, but that a liberal and generous course of policy shall be adopted towards them. Upon the ratification of the treaty contemplated, which shall give to the Cherokee nation full indemnity for all wrongs which they may have suffered, establish upon a permanent base the political relations between them and the people of the United States, guaranty their lands in absolute fee simple, and prescribe specific rules in reference to subjects of the most interesting character, a new sun will have dawned upon them . . . . .

President Tyler tried to carry out his promise, even sending a commission to Fort Gibson to investigate conditions, but the commission produced no practical result. Nor could Tyler in his brief presidency bring about a treaty because the demands of John Ross "were so unreasonable as to be wholly inadmissible."[79]

After the election of 1844, Arbuckle was sent back to the Indian Country where he continued to be at odds with Ross. When the showdown finally came in 1846, forcing John Ross's hand, the principal chief moved with alacrity, and he made concessions, leading to fairly amicable relations with the Cherokee Nation, which he could have made in 1838.

This action was forced by President Polk who, in 1846, took decisive steps to end the deadlock. First he recommended to Congress that the Cherokee Nation be divided into two parts with each group going its own way. Secondly, to justify his position, he sent

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 318.
[78] *Senate Document*, No. 298, pp. 13-14.
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 15; Royce, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-301.

to Congress a report of 224 pages which review the many, subtle shiftings in United States-Cherokee relations, especially since the removal.[80]

Speaking frankly, Polk said the Cherokee Nation was yet beset by internal feuds, unprovoked murders, and other opressions against the weaker party. He felt United States intervention was needed to stop the feuding, that legislation was needed to adjust the difficulties which forced members of the weaker party to flee the Nation for asylum, that United States courts should try the murderers who were allowed to escape under Cherokee laws. "The Cherokees have been regarded as the most enlightened of the Indian tribes; but experience has proved that they have not yet advanced to such a state of civilization as to dispense with the guardian care and control of the Government of the United States."[81]

The President's view was bolstered by W. Medill, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who upheld the Western Cherokee claims to separation and sovereignty, thus reversing earlier views of the War Department[82] As for the Ross Party, which still complained about their sufferings during the removal, Medill said frankly, and with much truth:[83]

> They (the Ross group) opposed every effort for their comfortable removal till the last moment, when it bacame requisite to use force; and they were compelled to leave their homes under circumstances of haste and want of preparation; that no doubt subjected them to some sacrifices and personal sufferings, which Mr. Ross and his co-delegates have taken every occasion to magnify to the utmost of their power. But, even under these circumstances—the treaty requiring their removal at the end of two years, and the States urgently pressing the United States to a prompt execution of that stipulation; and the time having expired—the government on the application of the Cherokees extended the period, so as to give them an opportunity to make all necessary arrangements for their comfortable removal; and to render that removal the more satisfactory to them, they were allowed to manage it entirely themselves. Whatever losses or sufferings they may have undergone in being compelled, somewhat abruptly, to leave their homes is justly attributable to their having blindly followed the advice and instructions of Mr. Ross; and for them, they should hold him responsible, and not the United States. Had they, as did their brethren of the treaty party, gone to work and prepared for removal during the two years allowed them by the treaty for that purpose, they would have been comfortably removed, without sacrifice or suffering of any description. Their course, since their removal west, has destroyed much of any claim to the liberal or magnanimous considerations of the government.

But the most important thing said was Polk's assertion that the Cherokees should be separated and live as "distinct tribes."[84]

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[80] *Ibid.*, (April, 1846).
[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3.
[82] Medill to Secretary of War W. L. Marcy, March 31, 1846, *ibid.*, pp. 3-19.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[84] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3.

With that, John Ross moved quickly, and compromised his sternly-held position with ease. He persuaded the President to consent to a treaty which would hold the Nation together and at the same time settle outstanding differences. Conceding, Polk appointed on July 6 a commission composed of Albion Parris, second Comptroller of the Treasury; Edmund Burke, Commissioner of the Patent Office; and Major William Armstrong, Superintendent of the Western District of the Office of Indian Affairs. The commission worked throughout a hot Washington July, hearing each of the three delegations. For the first time, the Ross Party acknowledged the validity of the New Echota treaty. The new treaty was completed before the end of the month, and was ratified by the United States Senate early in August. All three Cherokee parties came together in a Government office to approve the treaty. Coming together was one concession. That Watie and Ross shook hands was a greater concession.[85]

Under this treaty the United States was to issue a patent for the land to the entire Nation; all factional difficulties were to be considered settled; a general amnesty was to be granted all offenders; all fugitives were to be allowed to return; laws were to be passed giving equal protection to all; all armed police and military organizations were to be disbanded; all laws were to be executed by civil process; every Cherokee was to be guaranteed a trial by jury; the United States was to reimburse for all sums unjustly deducted from the five million dollars paid for the eastern lands; Old Settlers were to receive one-third of what was left out of the five million dollars reparations of $115,000 were to be granted the Treaty Party, including $5,000 each to the heirs of the Ridges and Boudinot; plus other monetary settlements between the Cherokees and the United States.

After sixteen years the Cherokee dissension was healed. After eight bloody years, the horror of ambush and midnight murder were removed from the minds of the Cherokees. After untold deaths and sufferings because of murders, the Cherokees finally were welded together as one people again.

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[85] Wardell, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-73.

THE DELAWARE BIG HOUSE

*By H. L. McCracken**

Preface

At the time of white settlement on the East Coast, the Lenape or Delaware Indians formed the most important confederacy of the Algonquin-speaking tribe. They occupied a large area in Delaware, Eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and southern New York. Their great chief, Tamenend, from whom the Tammany Society takes its name, made the first Delaware Treaty with William Penn in 1682.

In the 1700's the Delawares started their movement westward because of encroachment of the advancing whites, with the hope of preserving their way of life. By 1751 they had formed settlements in eastern Ohio where they remained until forced into Indiana in about 1770. In 1789 they moved to Missouri and later to Arkansas. By the year 1835 most of the tribe had been gathered on a reservation on the Kaw River in Kansas; they migrated in 1867 to Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. The great majority of the remaining members of the tribe are now in Oklahoma, mainly in Washington, Nowata, and Craig counties.

Throughout all the recorded history of the Delawares, great emphasis is placed upon their religion and particularly their annual ceremony in the "Big House" where they gathered for revival of their spiritual life and to pay homage to a higher being.

It has been said that the Delaware Big House ceremony, of all the Indian beliefs, was the nearest approach to christianity. It stressed humility of spirit and conduct, dependence upon the benevolence of spirit forces and gratitude for blessings they bestow, supplication for the continuance of blessings, the exemplariness of "clean", sincere behavior toward man and spirit, altruism, consideration for the aged and the afflicted, the injunction against violence and war, the value of concentrated spiritual unity in worship, the assumed dignity and barbaric grandeur of rites. In particular, the Big House ceremony endeavored to insure and promote human health and welfare, regardless of tribe or race.

The Delawares' unfailing belief and faith in a higher spiritual force and their continued devotion, culminating in the annual Big House ceremony, no doubt sustained them throughout their many

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years of suffering and hardship in their forced moves westward. In their last move, which was to Indian Territory, one of their first tribal acts was to erect a place of worship, the Big House.

Description of the Big House and the Ceremonial

Twenty-nine years have passed since that last October the Delaware Indians gathered for their religious ceremonies at the Big House near the Caney River, west of Copan, Washington County, Oklahoma. The building, which was used only for the annual twelve-day meeting, fell into ruins in the late 1920's and early thirties. No evidence of it remains today. The old logs decomposed and were burned by present owner of the land, Ardell Large, several years ago. The carvings were saved and a small piece of the center post has been retained.

Most of the elder Indians who understood the mysteries and rules of the ritual are gone. Their children and grandchildren became so involved, so well integrated in the ways of modern living, that all that remains of the Big House are many memories and a few relics. Even the memories sometimes prove illusive for those who crowd memory's door grow older every hour. Yet, the things held in memory's grasp are changeless. A memory from childhood remains a child's impression. An adult's memory of the same incident is from a mature point of view. Not many events of Delaware history have been recorded but have been passed orally from generation to generation.[1]

The Big House was constructed of rough logs in stockade fashion, "Ten logs high" in one description (John Falleaf's). The original roof was of bark. In 1913 the building was remodeled and handsplit shingles were used.[1a] There are varying reports on exact

[1] The late Frank G. Speck, of the University of Pennsylvania, made a study of the Delaware Indian ceremonies published in two volumes: *A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony* (Pennsylvania Historical Commission, Harrisburg, 1931); and *Oklahoma Delaware Ceremonies, Feasts and Dances* (The American Philisophical Society, Philadelphia, 1937). These books are available to researchers in the Oklahoma Historical Society. M. R. Harrington, now of the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles, California, is the author of *Lenape Religion and Ceremonies* (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York, 1921). A history of the Delaware tribe with the Big House receiving mention is in *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* by Muriel H. Wright (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1951).

[1a] The Delaware Big House stood about six miles east of Lawrence, Kansas, during the reservation days in that state (1830-67). Soon after the Delawares purchased land among the Cherokees and settled in what is now Oklahoma, they erected the Big House on the Little Caney River. At the time of allotment of lands in severalty (1904), the Dawes Commission set aside an acre several hundred yards from the original site, and the building was moved to this location. The 1913 repairs were made on the old building at this site. A sectional map of this location sent to the Editorial Department through the kind interest of Mr. Paul Endacott, of Bartlesville, shows the site about 300 feet southwest of the center of Sec. 18, T. 18 N., R. 12 E. in Washington County, Oklahoma. This is on the west side of Little Caney River, about two miles northwest of Copan, north of Dewey—Ed.

size of the structure. One source reports the building as being 40 feet long, running east and west, and 24½ feet wide. Another says it was 27 feet by 52 feet. At the eaves the building was about six feet high; at the ridgepole about 14 feet high.

There were doors at both the east and west ends of the building. The west door was used only when the sacred fire was carried from the building. Two large chimney holes in the roof were the only other openings.

Large carvings of the human face were the only decorative features of the ceremonial building. On the huge central post which supported the ridgepole one face was turned to the east, the other to the west. One half of each face was painted red and the other black. Smaller faces adorned the six posts supporting the walls of the house and the four door posts. One of the original large carved faces is now on display in Woolaroc Museum, Bartlesville.[2]

The faces represented the great spirit and were not worshiped themselves. Pat Patterson, director of the Woolaroc Museum, quotes a Delaware as saying, "You have the figure there in sight, but the unseen spirit is back of it."

Mrs. C. O. Davis, Dewey, attended Big House ceremonies with her grandparents when she was a little girl. Her father, Sam Anderson, was a singer for the ceremony. Children did not take part in the ceremonies but were allowed to go in the House if they kept absolutely quiet. "I remember walking into the Big House", mused Mrs. Davis. "The faces seemed to be looking right at me from a great height. My grandmother explained that they stood for the one great spirit who sees all. When praying, we did not bow our heads but looked up to the great spirit."

Some authorities on Indian history theorize that the red right side of the face symbolized living beings and the black left side the dead. However, Freddie Washington, Copan, one of the appointed attendants at the last Big House meeting in 1927 says that the red side stood for good and the black side for strength.[3] Mr. Washington's father, the late Joe Washington, was a priest of the traditional Delaware rites in Oklahoma. Frank Wilson led the last ceremony in 1927.

John Falleaf of Caney, Kansas, has mentioned a Delaware belief which might follow along with the idea that the black (left) side of the carved face symbolized strength. He said if a man was left-

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[2] Another of the carved faces from the Delaware Big House was presented to the Philbrook Museum, Tulsa.—Ed.

[3] Face painting, one half red and one half black, was employed by the leader in some ritualistic practices of the Southeastern tribes, especially the "conjuror" in the ball game (Choctaw, Cherokee), and has been interpreted to indicate "time" —day (red) and night (black), primitive symbols of the clock.—Ed.

handed, he was believed to be powerful because the left side was the heart side.

Mrs. Dennis Frenchman, Copan, who is the daughter of the late Chief Elkhair, has a number of the ceremonial pieces which were used in the Big House services. Chief Elkhair was one of the principle leaders in these annual Big House ceremonies.

In the Delaware mind the Big House was more than four walls and a roof. Big House was representative of the whole world. The floor was the earth, its four walls the four quarters, its vault the sky. The center post was believed to link the great spirit or creator with his people. The term Big House also refers to the ceremony performed in the temple. If the Indians carried on their services properly, they believed there would be a good spring, good summer, good fall, good winter and no earthquakes.

According to a Delaware legend related to Mr. Falleaf by his grandfather, "Many, many long years ago the Delawares quit their church completely. After a bit, an earthquake started. The earth trembled and shook for days. Finally, a spirit appeared to the people telling them to return to the Big House or else, - -! The Delawares did rebuild their Big House, again held their annual services, and the earthquake ceased."[4]

The spirit which appeared was called "*Misi'ng.*" His face was half red and half black and he was clothed in bearskin. The carved faces on the House posts were supposedly replicas of this spirit's face.

The man responsible for the annual ceremony which lasted twelve days was referred to as the leader. His position, held in high honor and esteem, was more or less hereditary. The leader for each generation passed his knowledge to a son, nephew or younger cousin so that someone would be ready to take over when he was no longer able to "bring in" the meeting.

That phrase "bringing in" seems to be a general term referring to making all meeting arrangements, appointing three men and three women as the special attendants for the twelve nights of services, inviting people to attend, and the actual leading and conducting of the ceremonies. Naturally, the leader had to be a man inspired to his task. According to Delaware tradition he was in communication with the supernatural world because of a vision of power in his youth.

It was an honor to be appointed an attendant by the leader, but there was hard work attached to the honor. The leader always called

[4] This tale, in slight variation, is also included by Speck in *A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony.*

(From Harrington's Monograph, Heye Foundation, 1921)

John Anderson and Mrs. Elkair in Delaware (Lenape) costume for the Big House Ceremonial near Copan, Oklahoma.

for a meeting in mid-October after the crops were in and fall planting taken care of. Several days before opening ceremonies the six attendants came to the Big House. They pitched their tents on the north and south sides of the small open square just east of the temple. Women lived on one side and the men on the other. Mrs. Davis says she remembers the area just in front of the Big House's east door as being completely bare, hardpacked and neat as a pin. If a chosen woman attendant had small children, friends and relatives were glad to care for them while she fulfilled her task.

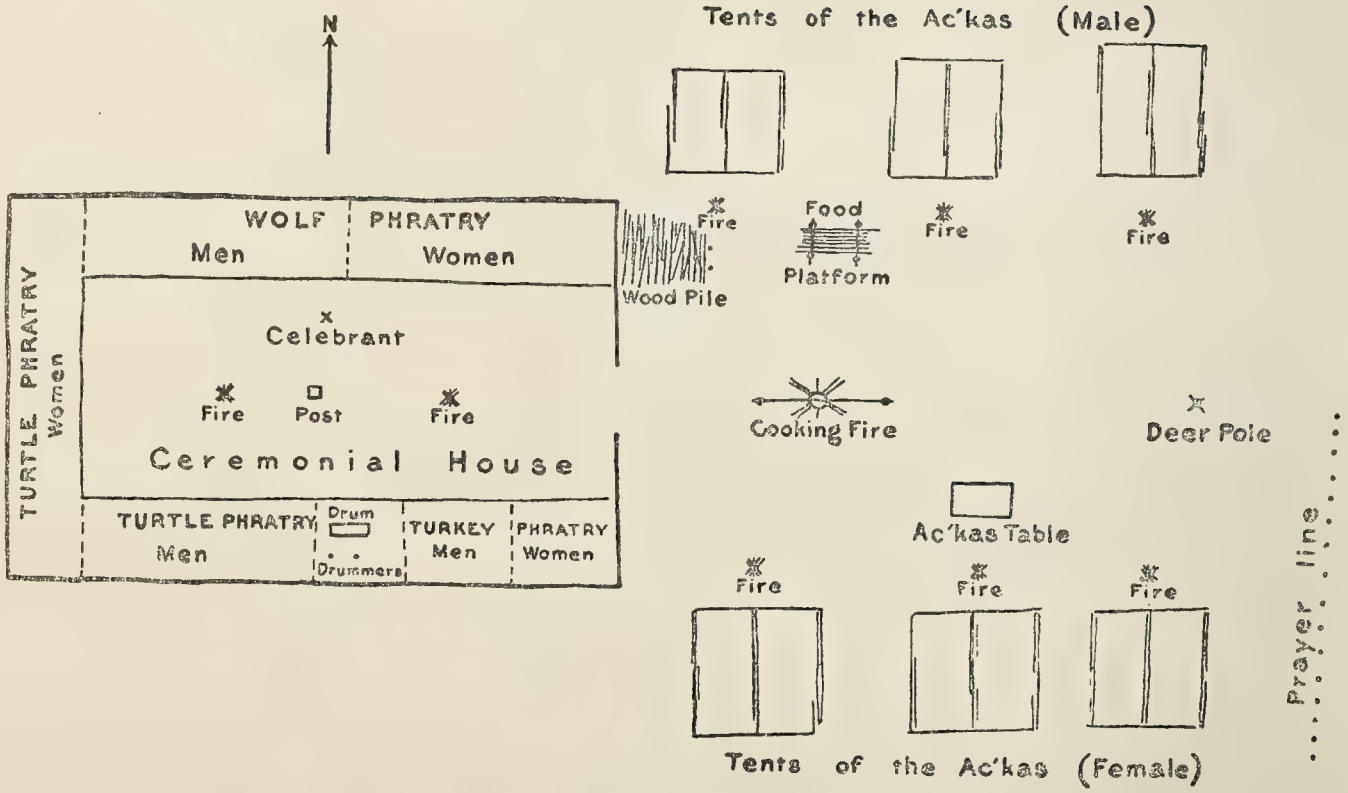
First duties of the attendants were to prepare the building for use after its year of vacancy. Old style mud mortar was put in cracks between the logs. Some distance in front of the Big House a support of saplings was erected for the twenty-gallon kettle in which the women attendants cooked the blue corn hominy which was served in conclusion of each night's meeting. Wood had to be gathered and chopped for both the sacred fires inside the building and the cook fire outside. Inside, the packed earth floor was swept with turkey wings for brooms until the floor was perfectly smooth.

Some of the former attendants for Big House ceremonies included Freddie Washington, his mother Mrs. Joe Washington, Frank Wilson, John Falleaf; of course, there are many others. Arnold Jackson, Charlie Elkhair, Joe Washington and Frank Wilson all served as leaders or speakers. In addition to the leader, attendants and singers, there were also the drummers. M. R. Harrington states in his writings there were only two drummers. Some of the Indians who attended meetings when children thought they remembered four or six. Jim Jackson, Dewey, has recorded some of the songs which were sung only at the annual ceremony in order that they may be preserved.

The fires inside the Big House were considered sacred. They were ignited by a primitive fire-drill rather than white men's matches. Elm wood only was burned. The fire-drill was operated with a pumplike motion which required some skill. According to Delaware belief, a man had to be living right in order to strike fire quickly. If he was deceitful, he might work all day without success.

The two fires were kept burning constantly until the ninth day of the meeting. Then the ashes were carried out the west door (used only for this purpose). A new fire was then started symbolizing a fresh start in all affairs of life. Also, on the ninth night, carved drumsticks and prayer sticks and individually owned turtle shell rattles were brought into use during the ceremony.

When the attendants had all in readiness for the meetings to commence, the Delawares and their families came to the camp ground



PLAN OF LENAPE CEREMONIAL HOUSE AND GROUNDS NEAR DEWEY, OKLAHOMA

which lay a bit beyond the attendants tents and the open square.[5] As the people pitched their white tents (not tepee), unloaded provisions, greeted friends and relatives, the encampment took on a picnic air. Meals were cooked over open fires in front of each family tent. Many families had special equipment which they kept for Big House camp.

The children ran and played in the wooded area around the tents. If they strayed too far away or became too wild and rollicking, a sort of "bogie man" would come running suddenly from a wooded slope shaking a gourd in frightening fashion. The children would scuttle for their tents as this creature wearing a bearskin jumper and mask, half red and half black, approached. The creature was called the "*Misi'ng,*" and one can see his direct relation to the spirit of the legend and the carved faces on the Big House posts. Parents gave the children plug tobacco which they handed to the *Misi'ng* to placate him. This took considerable nerve on the part of a child. Most boys and girls were twelve or fourteen years old before they realized that the *Misi'ng* was a man of their own tribe masquerading as the spirit. He served the purpose nicely in keeping the children close to camp on their good behavior.

Tribal costumes were not required for the ceremonies. Those Indian families who had preserved Indian apparel, however, did wear it with great pride. Men and women attending the meeting were seated according to the clan; Turkey, Turtle or Wolf. Men and women sat separately in the space allotted their particular clan. A child always took the clan of his father. Married women retained their original clan designation. Other tribes were welcome to come to the Big House, also. They did not have the same clan names, of course, but were seated with the Delaware clan most nearly corresponding to their own. For example, members of a Bear clan would be seated with the Delaware Wolf clan.

Each night the leader gave a speech or sermon. First, he stated the rules of the meeting. He reminded the people that they had gathered to pray to "*Gicelemec 'kaong,*" worship him, and give thanks for good health and the good things put in the world for their use. Sometimes he spoke of the life beyond this world.[6] Each evening the speaker's talk followed a similar line; sometimes he

[5] Speck has this to say with reference to the Attendants in the Big House ceremony (*ibid.*, p. 60): "The Attendants at the Big House ceremony are highly honored with their position as workers whose services, as they are observed by the Great Spirit and the lesser deities, are bringing deep blessing not only to themselves but to the whole of mankind. . . . . [Their duties included] "sweeping the 'White Path' in the Big House after each circuit of the dance, the kindling of the sacred fire with the fire drill, keeping the worshippers from falling asleep, driving dogs away from the premises and other labors, constant but blessed."—Ed.

[6] In Harrington's *Lenape Religion and Ceremonies* portions of a sermon by Charlie Elkhair are given which included all these subjects. Speck also quotes from Big House talks in his books.

had more to say than at others, naturally. Always, however, he tried to tell his story as his father and grandfather had told it.

After the speech the leader started a rattle made of turtle shell around the room. If a man had a vision which he wished to tell, he took the shell. He recited his vision in sing-song style. The ceremonial singers and drummers picked up his words and rhythm. Then the teller or celebrant started dancing and those in the audience who wished, followed him. When the dance was finished, the turtle shell was passed to the next man who had been blessed with a vision, and desired to tell his story. The ceremony dances were not giddy things, but were solemn for the purpose of giving thanks, petitioning forgiveness. Between the singing and dancing of each vision was a short intermission. During this period it was proper for people to enter or leave the Big House.

Those who desired, smoked during the intermission, also. A mixture of sumac leaves and tobacco was available inside the Big House. The individual could smoke his own pipe or one provided along with the sumac-tobacco.

The night's meeting was not over until the turtle shell rattle had made the rounds back to the man who recited first. Sometimes there were so many wishing to tell of visions that the ceremony went on until past daybreak. In later years, however, as interest in the Big House waned and attending crowds dwindled, the meeting was usually over shortly after midnight. At the conclusion of the meeting the hominy or corn mush prepared by women attendants was served. The group cried the prayer word, "Ho-o-o!" twelve times and then were dismissed until the next night. Incidentally, the number twelve had great religious significance because it was believed it took twelve years to reach heaven after death.

One Delaware woman, who attended the Big House when she was a small girl, says she remembers being put to bed in their tent because she grew so sleepy while the rest of her family attended the meeting. When her folks returned to the tent, they would awaken her to give her some of the good warm mush which had been served.

In the daytime the camp was comparatively quiet until noon while the adults rested from the previous night's ceremonies. After the noon meal some of the men chopped wood, and women stacked it for the family campfires. October nights were cold, and the fires provided warmth as well as cooking facilities.

Practice singing sessions were held during the day. In this way music was handed from old to young. Some families who lived fairly close went home for short periods during the day to attend to farm chores. There were, no doubt, much visiting and recounting of the year's happenings among the campers, too.

An aura of mystery surrounds the Delaware vision just as the answering of a Christian's prayer often defies description. In Delaware vernacular a vision was in no sense a dream since the one experiencing such had to be wideawake at the time. Generally these visions appeared in one's youth and by reason of this vision the individual throughout his life was filled with hope and inspiration and power. No longer did his rough life hurt. He had a vision to sustain him and it was during the Big House ceremonies that he told others of his experience.

It is felt by students of Delaware tradition that many parents "pushed around" the children just to encourage them to experience a vision. In reality, the parents were deeply interested in their children's welfare.

On the fourth morning of Big House a deer hunting party was formed. Chief hunter was appointed by the Big House leader. He paid the chief hunter a yard of wampum. This wampum was small, tublar, polished beads made of a hard sea shell. It was the medium of exchange used during the twelve days meeting. Singers, drummers, attendants all were given wampum by the leader. Wampum had low monetary value, but great spiritual significance. When passed between parties it served as a pledge of sincerity and spirit and purity of purpose.

The chief hunter selected as many assistants as he wanted to go along on the expedition. At noon the hunting party was served a special meal of hominy or mush in the Big House. The women attendants also prepared sacks of food to be taken on the trek. After eating, the hunters formed a row and a blessing was asked by the meeting leader that they might have luck in killing the deer.

The hunters left on horseback to be gone three days. If a deer was shot the first day out, it was immediately sent back to camp so that the people could be happy over the good fortune. Any other deer shot were not brought in until the party returned to camp. A game-pole waited in readiness on the east side of the Big House.

The game-pole was a tree completely stripped of bark and leaves. The deer carcasses were hung on the upper branches. One Delaware woman said that the first time she saw a gumdrop tree used in contemporary Christmas decorations, she was reminded of the game-pole she saw when a child at the Big House.

In early days when game was plentiful along the Caney River, hunting parties brought in nine or ten deer. When this happened, the hunters returned shooting their guns and raising a happy hullabaloo. If luck was not so good, the groups came back to camp very quietly. In later years deer hunting became very difficult. John Falleaf recalls that one year when he was chief hunter, not a single deer was found, much to his embarrassment. The deer meat

was cooked by the attendants and served at the meeting feasts each night for the rest of the ceremony. The deerskins were presented to needy older people of the tribe. In the unfortunate years when no deer were shot, beef was eaten.

On the twelfth night when the women of the tribe related their visions, another rite was observed, also. First, cedar leaves were burned in the Big House fires because cedar smoke was believed purifying. Then two women were each given a small bark dish. One dish contained tallow and the other a red paint made from a weed and rocks. Each person in the Big House received a daub of red paint on his left cheek and a bit of tallow or grease at the hairline. Two men attendants then painted and greased the carved faces, drumsticks, deerskin drums, prayer sticks and the turtle shells.

On the last morning the fires were carried from the Big House after a concluding ceremony which lasted until nearly noon. All men, women and children filed out the east door and formed a row, north and south, facing east. All cried together the prayer word "Ho-o-o!" or "Ha-a-a!" six times standing and six times kneeling. The twelve-day meeting was then finished and the Big House closed for another year.

The only semblance left of Big House religion is the Peyote or Native American Church.[7] Its members have also adopted some of the Catholic ideas to their own religion. In this northeastern Oklahoma vicinity the American Native Church conducts an annual tent meeting on the farm of Freddie Washington and his mother.

[7] Speck, *Oklahoma Delaware Indian Ceremonies, Feasts and Dances*, p. 6. The "Native American Church" has a charter from the State of Oklahoma, and counts its members principally among the Indian tribes in Western Oklahoma who use peyote as a part of the sacrament in their religious practices. The charter for the incorporation of this church was given by the State on October 18, 1918. The central church of the organization was established at El Reno, Oklahoma.—Ed.

(From Harrington's Monograph, Heye Foundation, 1921)

The close of the Delaware (Lenape) Big House Ceremonial near Copan, Oklahoma. From original painting by Ernest Spybuck, Shawnee artist.

EARLY MINING CAMPS IN NORTHEASTERN OKLAHOMA

*By A. M. Gibson**

Few states have surpassed Oklahoma as a supplier of national and international mineral needs. Her coal and oil industries especially have received considerable literary recognition. Another significant Oklahoma mineral contribution has been made by Ottawa County's lead and zinc mining enterprises. This northeastern Oklahoma county, as a rich segment of the fabulous Tri-State District, has produced over a billion dollars worth of these minerals. Yet, this industry and its region have drawn the attention of very few writers and scholars. The Tri-State Lead and Zinc District extends through Jasper and Newton counties in Southwestern Missouri; Cherokee County in Southeastern Kansas, and Ottawa County in Northeastern Oklahoma. Tri-State mineral riches were first exploited commercially in the Missouri section in 1848. Prospecting the deposits through the years, the miners were led westward into Cherokee County, Kansas, in 1876. Oklahoma's portion of the Tri-State District was opened in 1891.[1] From 1880 to 1950 the Tri-State District was the world's leading producer of lead and zinc, and for the last thirty-three years of this production epoch, Oklahoma mines made the greatest contribution.[2]

Each district discovery was rated as the richest in the world. Statistics show, however, that Oklahoma's section of the district was the most extensive and heavily mineralized of all. Because of this, Ottawa County has been the scene of the deepest mines in the district, in some cases extending down to 450 feet. Many of the early Missouri and Kansas workings seldom ran below a depth of fifty feet. In the Missouri-Kansas section of the field, three to six percent mineral extracted out of each ton of dirt and rock raised from the mine workings was considered profitable. It was not uncommon, however, for Ottawa County mines to produce from ten to thirty percent mineral for each ton of material hoisted to the surface. In spite of the relative richness of Oklahoma deposits compared with

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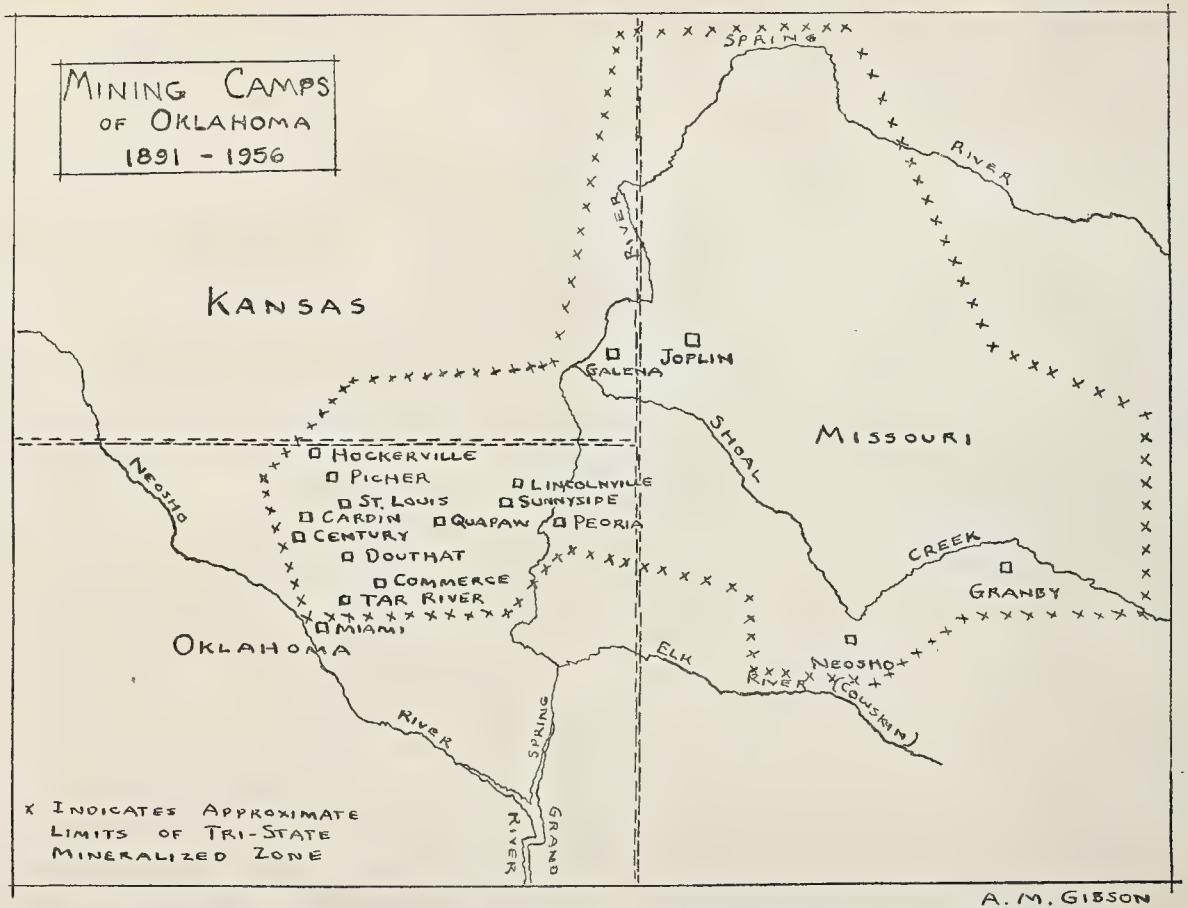
[1] Luther C. Snider, *Preliminary Report on the Lead and Zinc of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma Geological Survey Bulletin No. 9 (Guthrie, 1912), pp. 61-65.

[2] See A. J. Martin, *Summarized Statistics of Production of Lead and Zinc in the Tri-State Mining District*, U. S. Bureau of Mines Information Circular No. 7383 (Washington, 1946), pp. 46-64.



Tri-State Mining Region—Ottawa County, Oklahoma and adjoining states.

other district fields, several factors at first compromised this advantage. One was the presence of an iron sulphide or pyrite material in the ore. It was difficult to extract this in the milling or refining process, and it made Oklahoma mineral sell for up to $15.00 per ton less on the Joplin ore market.[3]

Abundant ground water also was a problem, and heavy pumping costs made Oklahoma mining more expensive. If the mines were not constantly pumped out, the workings filled with water, equipment and timbering rusted and rotted, and mine shafts became in a sense little more than deep wells. Oklahoma lead and zinc ores, except for those at Peoria, were imbedded in solid rock which made it necessary to use more drilling and explosives to loosen and break the underground ore face.[4] An advantage of the rock overburden was that cave-ins were less frequent than in the Missouri-Kansas section of the district. A unique problem in the Commerce-Tar River mines of Oklahoma was the presence of hydrogen sulphide gas. Men could stay underground only two to four hours at a time since temporary blindness followed longer exposures.[5] Also, in the Com--merce-Tar River area the upper level ores were coated with a black, sticky substance called asphaltum. This increased the problem of ore processing since the oily material clung to the ore after milling.[6] As mining extended deeper, these hazards generally disappeared.

Exactly when the lead and zinc ores of the Tri-State District were first tapped is not known.[7] Henry R. Schoolcraft, a pioneer Missouri geologist, visited the Tri-State District several times between 1818 and 1821 looking for lead ore. Judging from his descriptions of local geography he might well have followed Spring River out of Missouri into Ottawa County. His reports indicate that he found lead ore throughout the region from the grass roots down.[8]

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[3] Otto Ruhl, "Miami Lead and Zinc District in Oklahoma," *Engineering and Mining Journal*, LXXXVI (November 7, 1908), p. 910.

[4] "History of Eagle Picher," *Engineering and Mining Journal*, CXLIV (November, 1943), pp. 68-79.

[5] L. C. Snider, "Oklahoma Lead and Zinc Fields," *Engineering and Mining Journal*, XCII (December 23, 1911), p. 1229.

[6] Jesse A. Zook, "Joplin District in 1913," *Engineering and Mining Journal*, XCVII (January 10, 1914), pp. 74-77. Also see "Oklahoma's New Lead Zinc District," *Engineering and Mining Journal*, LXXXVII (March 6, 1909), p. 496.

[7] District ores occur together. Local mineral specimens indicate both lead and zinc insinuated throughout pieces of flint and limestone rock. Vertically, however, lead predominates surfaceward while the percentage of zinc increases downward until at the present level of workings around 400 feet, zinc occurs in the ratio of six to one of lead. That lead was found literally at the grass roots is indicated by the fact that even today in freshly plowed fields, one can often pick up cubes of raw lead.

[8] See Henry R. Schoolcraft, *A View of the Lead Mines in Missouri, including some Observations on the Mineralogy, Geology, Geography, Antiquities, Soil, Climate, Population and Productions of Missouri and Arkansas, and Other Sections of the Western Country* (New York, 1819); in addition consult his works titled

John R. Holibaugh has left an account of how trappers and traders collected and smelted local lead ores for shot as early as 1838. According to him, the availablity of lead ore with little or no mining made the district a periodic collecting center for traders, trappers, and Indians. Much as they would cluster around salt licks and springs, these early occupants collected the accessible ore, melted it over chip fires, and moulded the metal into shot.[9] The fact that the lead was usable with such crude processing is a tribute to its innate purity. Erasmus Haworth, a district geologist, has described Tri-State lead ore as the purest in the world.[10]

By 1848 commercial mining was well underway in the Missouri section of the district. Exploitation of the Oklahoma field, however, was to wait for nearly half a century. In view of the many explorations through and on the fringe of this portion of Indian Territory before 1850, it is difficult to account for the general lack of data concerning its mineral resources. Danial Dana, the Methodist observer, voyaged up the Grand, Neosho, Spring, and Cowskin rivers into future Ottawa County in 1844, but he made no mention of lead mining and smelting or even of the presence of lead ore. Constant reference is made before and after 1850 to salt deposits and springs along the Grand River, principal drainage stream of the district, by various observers, but no mention is made of lead.[11]

Ottawa County did furnish a valuable service during the early years of district development in that its rivers served as a mineral highway for the Missouri mines. Until 1870 there was no railroad connection for the district. Lead ore was smelted into pigs (moulds of seventy to eighty pounds), loaded on flat boats, and floated down

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Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas, from Potosi, or Mine a Burton, in Missouri Territory, in a Southwest Direction toward the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1818 *and* 1819 (London, 1821), and *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas, which Were First Traversed by DeSota in* 1541 (Philadelphia, 1853).

[9] J. R. Holibaugh, "Early Mining in the Joplin District," *Engineering and Mining Journal,* LVIII (December 1, 1894), p. 508.

[10] Erasmus Haworth, *Annual Bulletin on Mineral Resources of Kansas for* 1897, University Geological Survey of Kansas (Lawrence, 1898), p. 20. Tri-State lead is peculiarly pure and nonargentiferous, containing practically no silver. In other lead producing areas of the world this metal contains traces of silver, arsenic, antimony, and similar impurities. See Wallace H. Witcombe, *All About Mining* (New York, 1937), p. 147.

[11] Daniel Dana, *Journal of a Tour in the Indian Territory,* 1844 (New York, 1844), pp. 25-29. No mention would be made of zinc before 1870 largely because this mineral had only a slight commercial use prior to this time. Zinc in the early Missouri mines of the district was considered a detriment to processing the lead ore and was thrown outside the mine workings on the debris pile. At Granby, Missouri huge pieces of zinc were used to construct a fortress to protect miners' families during Civil War raids. See George C. Swallow, *Geological Report of the Country along the Line of the Southwestern Branch of the Pacific Railroad, State of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1859), p. 37, and *Granby News Herald, Centennial Edition,* June 1, 1950.

the Spring and Elk rivers to the Neosho, thence on the Grand, Arkansas, and Mississippi to New Orleans.[12] A local miner at Neosho, Missouri, G. W. Moseley, showed considerable interest in the Indian Territory section of the district during 1850 by his letter to the editors of the *Western Journal*:[13]

> The only obstacle to the rapid development of the mineral resources of southwest Missouri is remoteness from navigation. You are aware that South Grand River flows entirely through the Indian country, emptying into the Arkansas about five miles below Fort Gibson. If that small wedge of land belonging to the Senecas, Seneca-Shawnees, and Quapaw Indians lying west of Newton County was attached to the state it would add greatly to the growth of that part of our state, and rapidly increase the growth and development of one of the finest sections of southwest Missouri. A fine flourishing border town would grow up; steamboat navigation of the Grand would take the place of road wagons; and thousands of acres, now lying waste, would soon yield up their hidden treasures . . . . . It is the intention of the different mining companies in Newton County to charter a steamer to come up the mouth of Cowskin (In the Seneca country) next spring and carry off their lead.

Moseley's reference to "hidden treasures" in this northeastern portion of Indian Territory infers some early knowledge of the existence of mineral there. H. A. Andrews, incumbent agent in charge of the Quapaw Agency at Miami, avers that oral reports indicate Ottawa County lead ores were processed for shot by Indians and hunters around 1870.[14] Mine operators from the district's Joplin field showed considerable interest in Ottawa County as a future mining field shortly after the Civil War. One exploratory expedition from Missouri went into the region in 1878.[15] The fact that knowledge of lead ore in Indian Territory existed before 1891 makes it difficult to account for the slowness in exploitation.[16] While there was private knowledge of its existence, yet no official notice of its presence was taken until 1883 when the Quapaw Agency official reported that lead had been found at the surface near Peoria on the east side of Spring River.[17]

Three factors might help to explain the slowness in developing Ottawa County ores. First, until 1890, operations in the parent

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[12] That Tri-State District rivers were used quite early for transporting local products to market is indicated by Muriel Wright, "Early Navigation and Commerce Along the Arkansas and Red Rivers in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VIII (March, 1930), pp. 63-88. Holibaugh describes the use of district streams specifically for lead transportation in "Early Mining," p. 508.

[13] "Mineral Wealth of Missouri," *Western Journal and Civilian*, VI (1853), pp. 229-234.

[14] H. A. Andrews Interview, August 24, 1953, Miami, Oklahoma. Also see Irene G. Stone, "The Lead and Zinc Field of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, VII (1902), pp. 243-260.

[15] F. A. North, *The History of Jasper County, Missouri* (Des Moines, 1883), p. 253.

[16] Haworth, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[17] United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report for* 1883 (Washington, 1884), p. 80.

portion of the district were small and scattered. The Missouri-Kansas resources were extensive enough to absorb the capital and know-how of the district. Around 1890, eastern capital entered the district in considerable quantities making greater sums available for mining development. Also, the pattern of operations changed from the predominance of small independent operators and partnerships to more highly capitalized operations, with large crews working for a single employer. The most significant deterrent to early mining in this portion of Oklahoma was the fact that the minerals in Ottawa County were situated on Indian lands under the jurisdiction of the Quapaw Agency. This undoubtedly held up exploitation until leasing arrangements could be worked out. The uncertainty of lease tenure, largely because of the hostility of Indian agents toward non-Indian leaseholders[18] is another reason that might help explain the lack of earlier mining exploitation in Indian Territory.

The fact remains that Tri-State operations were encroaching all around the northeast fringe of Indian Territory in a gradual, absorptive fashion throughout the 1870's and 1880's. By 1873 several lead mines were in operation astride the Missouri-Indian Territory border some four miles south of Seneca.[19] This would place Tri-State operations hardly a stone's throw from Peoria, the first district camp in Oklahoma. Add to this the acknowledgment by the Quapaw Agency report of 1883 noting the official discovery of lead ore at Peoria,[20] and one has the inevitable augury for this portion of Indian Territory.

Ottawa County's first mining camp was a town of sorts before the rush of 1891. In 1882, a postoffice had been established,[21] and shortly it possessed a general store and school. Following the pattern of operations in the parent Missouri-Kansas field, a New Jersey corporation, the Peoria Mining, Construction, and Land Company negotiated the first lease on mineral lands around the town at three to five percent royalty for the Indian freeholders.[22] Subsequently the mineralized area was laid out in mining plots of

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[18] United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report for* 1895 (Washington, 1895), p. 147.

[19] Garland C. Broadhead, *Report of the Geological Survey of the State of Missouri,* 1873-1874, Missouri Bureau of Geology and Mines (Jefferson City, 1874), p. 441.

[20] Indian Affairs, *Annual Report for* 1883, p. 80.

[21] This Post Office was "Fourmile," established August 23, 1882, in the Quapaw Nation, Indian Territory, with John Markey as postmaster. It did not operate from December 10, 1884, to February, 1885; and was finally discontinued effective October 15, 1892, mail to Melrose, Kansas. —George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 203.

[22] Charles N. Gould, et al., *Preliminary Report on the Mineral Resources of Oklahoma,* Oklahoma Geological Survey Bulletin No. 1 (Norman, 1908), p. 40.

200 feet square or larger, and subleased to actual mining compaines for a production royalty of fifteen to thirty percent.[23]

Peoria mushroomed into a typical mining camp within a month following the negotiation of the Peoria Company lease. In 1891 there were 1,500 whites in Ottawa County. More than half of these were estimated to be engaged in mining.[24] Judging from this, it would appear that Peoria camp had a population of around 800. Three business establishments, a hotel, blacksmith shop, postoffice, and a cluster of crude dwellings grouped about the mines comprised Peoria. The community's schoolhouse survived the rush. Since the camp was small compared to Joplin or Galena, Peoria operators found it difficult to hold an adequate labor supply. The labor situation became so critical that women and children were employed to pick up and clean the ore for market.[25] Another disadvantage facing the Peoria camp was the lack of transportation facilities. The local ore produced had to be hauled by wagon to Galena or Joplin.[26]

District promoters, noting the narrow limits of the Peoria field, believed ore production there would never justify extending a railroad to the camp. Peoria's limited ore reserves caused the camp to decline about as rapidly as it had developed. The population of 800 in 1891 had declined to 205 in 1896,[27] and only the scars of mining, ugly mill refuse heaps and gaping slashes in the earth still testify to its short-lived economic preeminence. Between 1891 and 1945 Peoria produced 2,698 tons of lead valued at $133,754 and 3,420 tons of zinc valued at $91,695.[28]

Most district mining men agreed that Peoria was the southernmost extension of the Tri-State District. Their estimate appeared to be corroborated when no new strikes were made within a five mile radius of Peoria.[29] Then in 1897 an accidental discovery occurred that completely shifted the district's mining equilibrium. In that year a farmer digging a shallow well struck rich lead ore on a tract four miles north of Miami, Indian Territory.[30] This discovery

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[23] For an extended discussion of leasing and royalty problems, see Arrell Morgan Gibson, "A History of the Lead and Zinc Industry of the Tri-State District," Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1954.

[24] United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report for* 1891 (Washington, 1892), p. 244.

[25] Snider, *Preliminary Report*, 61-63. This is notable since the Oklahoma Constitution adopted subsequent to the Peoria strike, forbids the employment of women and children under 16 in mining.

[26] John S. Redfield, *Mineral Resources in Oklahoma*, Oklahoma Geological Survey Bulletin No. 42 (Norman, 1927), p. 95.

[27] United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report for* 1896 (Washington, 1896), pp. 149.

[28] Martin, *Summarized Statistics*, p. 64.

[29] Mineral deposits had been quite continuous and contiguous throughout the Missouri-Kansas portion of the field. The mineralized zone at Peoria appeared to be a sort of ore-bearing island.

[30] *Daily Oklahoman*, 22 August, 1897.

in a sense opened up the last frontier for the Tri-State District. Repeated strikes west of this one resulted in the emergence of twelve new mining camps.

In these new Oklahoma mining camps, a single rule was applied: Follow the ore. Before the interurban trolley or good roads and automobiles connected the new field with larger district population centers such as Galena or Joplin, miners coming to the Oklahoma camps simply built shacks or erected tents right on the mineral lease close to the mine opening. If the discovery proved to be sufficiently extensive, more miners and camp followers arrived, and the collection of tents and shacks mushroomed into a camp. At least thirteen mining camps in Oklahoma can be identified. In addition to Peoria, there were Tar River, Commerce, Hattonville, Douthat, St. Louis, Hockerville, Picher, Cardin, Quapaw, Sunnyside, Lincolnville, and Century. The camps followed the ore deposits, and new discoveries extended the limits of each camp.

Quapaw, Lincolnville, and Sunnyside each following the ore deposits of its sector coalesced finally into Quapaw, and collectively were listed as such in the official reports. Tar River and Hattonville eventually met over an ore seam and came to be designated as Commerce, a camp that enjoyed a sustained mining existence. Douthat, St. Louis, Hockerville, Century, Cardin, and Picher were situated in the same general mineralized area and eventually were extinguished by depletion of mineral and the encroachments of Picher and Cardin.

Miami is listed as a mining camp in the Bureau of Mines reports. Actually, Miami is situated at least four to five miles south of the Tri-State mineralized zone. This town has been important as a mine supply and marketing center and today houses a large number of miners who commute to the county mines and mills. Yet, it cannot qualify as a mining camp. Of the thirteen camps that are distinguishable, only five enjoyed a sustained existence sufficent to receive listing in state and national geological mining reports. These were Picher, Cardin, Quapaw, Commerce, and Peoria.

Camp population often rose and fell so rapidly that official census returns could not be taken. Between the decennial censuses of 1900 and 1910, Lincolnville boasted a population of 1,200 in 1903, but this had diminished to 200 by 1907.[31] The *United States Census Reports* indicate the rapid rise and decline of the

[31] Redfield, *Mineral Resources*, p. 95.

leading Oklahoma mining camps in response to the available mineral supply.[32]

In each of the camps, a wild restless atmosphere prevailed much like one would find in any western mining region. Each camp furnished an abundance of ribald entertainment. Several Oklahoma mines cost between $50,000 and $100,000 to develop. This investment was often liquidated in less than two months.[33] Such an easy environment of wealth encouraged a speculative, restless pattern of living. Skilled miners were scarce and wages were high. By 1916 underground shovelers were earning as high as $8.00 per day.[34] Few economic regions in the entire United States could boast of comparable wages. If wages were high and easy to come by, it was just as easy to be separated from one's earnings.

The last and most exciting camp in the district was Picher, and a detailed description of its evolution will indicate what life must have been like in the other camps. The Picher Lead Company of Joplin, while drilling prospect holes in an isolated farming area northeast of Commerce in 1914, made a rich strike. Over the new mineralized zone a camp named Picher grew up overnight.[35] A *Daily Oklahoman* correspondent has left a vivid description of Picher—the last bonanza of the Tri-State District. It is fitting that the district's colorful mining history should have such a climactic ending:[36]

> This is the story of gold. Fifty square miles of gold. That is what the . . . . Oklahoma zinc and lead mining district is today. It will be a good deal bigger a year from today—how much bigger, nobody can say. The golden area is growing constantly, swiftly . . . . . Drill derricks are sprouting up multitudinously. You see them everywhere. They punctuate the prairie now . . . . . They fairly leap at you from the midst of corn fields. You see the derrick's ugly shape breaking the verdure of timber land. There are hundreds of these drills chugging the incessant chorus of their search for ore. And they are finding ore with astonishing electrifying regularity . . . . . The town of Picher has sprung up from the prairie. Its forced growth has necessarily been of the shack character. There it sprawls on the open plain, a gangling, awkward disheveled characreature,

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[32] Data for Table I extracted from United States Bureau of the Census, *Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth,* and *Seventeenth* Censuses of the United States, 1890-1950 (Washington, 1891-1952):

Table I

Camp	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950
Peoria	149	144	135	166	189	227	201
Quapaw		1,319	2,033	1,394	1,340	1,054	938
Picher				9,676	7,773	5,848	3,941
Cardin				2,640	437		
Commerce			1,889	2,555	2,608	2,422	2,442

[33] *Daily Oklahoman,* 12 August 1917.

[34] For a study on district wages see Gibson, "History of the Tri-State," p. 283. Shovelers often earned nearly twice as much as other types of mine labor, due largely to the fact that they were paid on a piecework basis.

[35] *Joplin Globe,* 31 January 1943.

[36] *Daily Oklahoman,* 12 August 1917.

hot as an inferno under its noon sun, and treeless as a desert. Up and down its main street the traffic of the district swings ceaselessly; taxis sweating in from Miami and Joplin or returning; motor trucks creaking under their loads of machinery; ore wagons lumbering slowly past; and clouds of dust swirling forever. Sanitary conditions are of course elementary. There is no public utility service. The water supply, for example comes from a deep well. It is pure, wholesome water when delivered, but its method of storage is the primitive barrel which stands in the front yard. Mostly these barrels are covered, but occasionally you can see one with its top off, willingly receptive to whatever wandering germ or strolling bacillus comes that way. Yet here and there through the ugliness the instinct of beauty asserts itself, and what might have been a shack is raised to the dignity of a cottage with flower beds and vines, and the neatness and sanctity of homemaking. Such is the town of Picher, and such are all the other mining towns in the field.

Concerning government and law enforcement problems attendant to a mining camp, the same writer observed that the Eagle Picher Company, having leased the mineralized lands from the Quapaw Indians, maintained a sort of "feudal organization" over the community.[37]

The company employs a deputy sheriff who has authority to enforce regulations where needed. The social organization of these mining communities is rather feudal in character . . . . Mr. A. E. Bendelari as the company's representative, is a sort of overlord, a court from whose judgment there is no appeal. He administers the law of the land. Community differences which inevitably arise are brought to him for adjudication when the litigants are unable to effect a settlement themselves. The company control of the land vests its representatives with the power to make his judgments binding. Anyone who refuses to accept the court's findings can be dispossessed of his home. Rarely is this extreme penalty imposed. Chief offense against which there is no compromise is the infraction of the bone dry law. Eviction is promptly decreed against the resident who is caught bootlegging. The consequence is that booze has practically been eradicated from the camp. When the town was real young it had a gambling den called the "Red Apple"—Roulette and Faro were part of all camps and Picher was no exception. But prospectors and single men were gradually displaced by family men and the "Red Apple" has gone, and not even the core is left.

Mining camps are completely at the mercy of nature. Their life blood is the mineral ore which nature has concentrated in a particular area. Oklahoma's mining camps are no exception. As indicated, some communities had a short existence, others a longer lease on life. Regardless of the camp, as the minerals were dissipated, the *raison d'etre* passed and the camp faded. Today, even in the extant camps of Commerce, Picher, and Quapaw mining of lead and zinc has declined drastically, largely due to the diminution of area ore deposits. The remaining ore reserves of the Tri-State District are classified as marginal, and this makes local operators extremely sensitive to national metal prices. When prices are high, the camps are revived. When national metal prices are low, the Ottawa County mining camps take on a desolated ghost-like appearance.

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[37] *Ibid.*

JOHN HOMER SEGER: THE PRACTICAL INDIAN EDUCATOR

*By Jack T. Rairdon**

The one destined to be known as the "feared, loved and respected 'Johnny Smoker' " of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians: The one of whom it could truthfully be said, "No other white man ever lived who had the confidence as well as the good will of the Indians of the Plains,"[1] or as another has said, "He had the confidence of the philanthropists of the East and the practical men of the forests and prairies of West"[2]—John Homer Seger was born in Geauga County Ohio, February 23, 1846.

The Indians' friend came of stern colonial stock. His great grandfather English was a captain in the American Revolution. In his unpublished autobiography Seger reminisces, "Captain English my grandfather was teaching school when the Battle of Bunker Hill was fought and when the hearld (*sic*) came riding past the school house giving news of the battle Captain English dismissed his school at once and went out to organize a company of men for the war."[3]

He further relates:

> "I also remember the method resorted by Capt. English to keep order in his school. The school house was of logs and the floor was of rough punchons split out from logs. There was a loose punchon in the floor behind the teacher's desk and when the school became too noisy the teacher would rattle this loose punchon and say in a deep base (*sic*) voice, "The British are coming, the British are coming" and then every scholar would become quiet at once."[4]

Originally from Massachusetts, Seger's mother's father settled in Ohio. He, too, was a pioneer school teacher and a very energetic farmer. In many respects one might say he was not only a farmer and teacher but was also versatile in every art and craft as was later the case of his illustrious grandson.

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[1] Dan W. Peery, "The Indians' Friend John H. Seger," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 3 (September, 1932), p. 353.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 4 (December, 1932), p. 572.

[3] *Autobiography of John H. Seger*, Section F, Case 5 in Division of Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, 1, hereafter cited as Indian Archives, *O. H. S.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 1.

In the true spirit of the pioneers, Seger's ancestors moved west as the country became more thickly settled. His paternal ancestors were of Dutch extraction coming from New York to Ohio. When his mother and father were married they moved to a heavily wooded area five miles from neighbors. It was in this secluded spot in a house built of logs that marks the birthplace of John Homer Seger.

Strangely enough Seger says he began going to school when but three years of age. He states:[5]

> I well remember the teachers taking me upon her lap and showing me the alphabet and trying to get me to repeat them after her. But I preferred to stare up into her face and fixed my wondering admiration upon her very large nose[5a] which was the shape of an eagle's bill. I have never remembered my teacher's name but always remembered the shape of her nose.

At the age of six, Seger moved with his family from Ohio to Illinois. His industrious father purchased a small tavern in the little village of Dover. It was here that the youngster would sneak under the desk or tables and listen to the early hours of the morning to the weird tales of the Indians as told by his father's traveling customers. Little did he realize, at that early age that one day he would personally encounter the strong warlike, uncivilized red men of the Plains.

After two years in business, Seger's father traded his tavern for a farm some twenty miles away. Some three years later the family returned to the little city of Dover for the expressed purpose of giving the children of the family a better opportunity for obtaining an education at the newly constructed Dover Academy.

It was in this little Illinois community, at the age of eleven, that as Seger points out in his autobiography, "Here I first got a taste of reading." He was employed to stay with a family at night "for company and to go for the doctor if any were to take sick during the night," while the man of the house, Taylor by name, followed the business of establishing libraries over the country. He received twenty-five cents a week for his labors. A greater compensation was the access to Mr. Taylor's library, Seger recalls:[6]

> I read the life of Washington and Webster as well as all the revolutionary heroes. I then took up the history of the men who figured in the rise and fall of Rome and from that to the history of England and her first rulers. Then after two years of this kind of reading my world had widened out far beyond the rush bordered swamps of green river and had not only crossed the ocean but had sailed with Columbus on his voyage of discovery and had been with Cortez in Conquest of Mexico. I rolled aside centuries, had entered Athens

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[5] *Ibid.*, 3.

[5a] It is a note of interest that the name given to John H. Seger by the Cheyennes —Meokany or Woohkinih means big nose or Roman nose.—John H. Seger, edited by Stanley Vestal, *Early Days Among the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians* (Norman, 1934), p. 72.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

John Homer Seger

with the wooden horse, had even seen the city of seven hills when it was first outlined with a furrow which was plowed with a bull and heifer yoked together to a forked stick.

Incidentally Seger always felt that his acquaintance with "the people of those barbarous days" made it easier for him to understand more readily the Indians with whom he later worked.

While it was expected that Seger would receive his education from the Dover Academy, he points out that "I had not yet gotten to point where I could attend school more than three months in a year and it took half of that time to learn to study and to get as far in my studies as I had been the year before."[7]

During this period of adolesence and youth Seger was "learning a lot about work." In 1860, he hired out to a farmer by the name of Warren Poole. Young John is high in his praise as he describes his employer, "Besides being a good thorough farmer he was a man with a high sense of honor and he was a patriotic Christian gentleman. And as I worked in the field with him most of the time his example and precept did much toward shaping my character."[8]

As the War Between the States developed, the Seger family was against the slavery issue and cast their lot with the Union. They were for "Honest Abe" Lincoln. At the first call of troops his two older brothers enlisted but John was too young, and besides he was needed at home.

In an interesting fashion Seger relates his activities in the early days of the war, "I joined a boy company of boy guards. This company paraded the streets dressed in a pair of blue overalls with a red flannel stripe on the outside seam and with a cap on. We called ourselves the Dover Tigers. A young man who had returned from three months service was chosen to be our captain, and we drilled at night on the common."[9]

In the fall of 1863 Lincoln issued a call for three hundred thousand soldiers. It would appear that in the Dover, Illinois, area the young men were a bit reluctant to enlist. For in a description of a war meeting held in the local Methodist Church Seger says:

> Speeches were made songs were sung but it seemed as if no one would inlist. When it seemed as if the meeting would be fruitless my father a man then forty-nine years of age past the age subject to draft arose and stepped forward and said, "If the young men will not inlist the old men will have to. He then walked up and put down his name . . . After this the young men rose up in a body and pushed forward until 100 names were enrolled. The pastor of the Church added his name to the roll and was elected Captain.[10]

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Leaving young John in charge of the family, the elder Seger marched off to defend the Union cause. After serving eight months in which "he percipitated in the battle of Fort Henry", Seger's father was discharged on account of disabilities. For several months it was very doubtful as to whether he would regain his health.

Dan W. Peery suggests that in 1864 John H. Seger enlisted in the Union army and served under General Sherman. Apparently he was with Sherman on his march to the sea. By this time Peery says, "He (Seger) was a fully developed man; vigorous and robust—a perfect specimen of young manhood. He had indomitable energy and a pleasing personality. He had no false pride and was not afraid of work."[11]

The Reconstruction period was a new era of prosperity for the young returnee. There were many improvements to be made. Houses and barns had to be repaired or built. Employment was on the increase. There was work for every one who wanted to work. By his early practical training he could turn his hand to any work required. In his evaluation Peery says, "John H. Seger was skilled in many crafts and trades. He knew how to mould brick and to build a brick kiln and burn the brick and to build them into a wall. He was a stone mason and plasterer and could also do blacksmith and carpenter work."[13]

It was while engaged in logging and saw mill work in the lumber regions of Wisconsin that Seger was employed as a mason in the United States Indian Service. Alvin Rucker asserts, "It was his proficiency in those vocations (timber worker, stone mason, brick maker and lime burner) that caused the government to employ him and locate him at the Darlington Cheyenne-Arapaho Indian Agency which had been authorized by President Grant only three years before as an aftermath of the battle of the Washita, November 27, 1868."[13]

In a letter to John D. Miles, the Indian Agent for the Cheyenne and Arapahoes, written November 20, 1872 from Muscotah, Kansas, Seger pens, "I shall start for the Indian Territory by the 15th of December if nothing happens to prevent. If you can give me any recommend or advice that will be of service to me in getting from Wichita it will be thankfully received."[14] He arrived at the agency, or Darlington, located one and one half miles northeast of Fort Reno on Christmas Eve. This was, what might well be called, the historic beginning of nearly sixty years of labor among the Indians of the Plains. The earnestness, skill and industry in doing well every task assigned him attracted the attention of the Indian agents as well as

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[11] Peery, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 353.

[13] Alvin Rucker, "Johnny Smoker Stories" *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma) January 7, 1934.

[14] John H. Seger to John D. Miles, November 20, 1872, Indian Archives, *O. H. S.*

every other representative of the government. One has said, "Mr. Seger's record stands the highest in Washington, D. C., for his actual service to the Indians."[15]

Often it was difficult to secure a superintendent for the school work of the Indian agencies on account of the war like demonstrations of the Indians. Roy Temple House relates that on one occasion "the Indians' raid frightened the superintendent of the school work at Darlington so thoroughly that he packed his belongings and fled north never to return."[16]

Faced with the problem of filling the vacancy left by the departed or scared school man, the Indian Agent Miles listened very wisely to his wife who had been observing the plasterer's pleasant relations with the Indians and the excellent influence he exerted over them. She said to her husband, "Why not appoint Mr. Seger superintendent?"[17]

From the viewpoint of formal education this would have been a most unwise choice. As Rucker suggests, "Seger's scholastic education was not above what would today be called the end of the eighth grade."[18] One glance at his correspondence reveals "the weirdest sort" of spelling and punctuation. He has been accused of never spelling a word twice alike. There were those in high places of the Department of Indian Affairs who considered him "woefully ignorant" and threatened to drop him from government service because of it. On one occasion a civil service clerk states jovially "Well, Mr. Seger is not a good speller but if you don't think he is running this whole business just stay around a few days."[19]

While the monthly school report reveals that the text books used were the McGuffey Series, it would appear from Seger's report that he made little use of the "blue back speller." For he writes in long illegible style:[20]

To the Hon. Commissioner of Indian Afares I would like to say that the school at the present time is in a varey flourishing condition the children are verey helthy attend to thear classes promptly and regular doe all thare work chearfully the primarey classes are making varey rappid improvements in mastering the rudaments and they are learning to speak the English language varey rappidly Since the past month we can sea a varey marked improvement in every bransh that is taught. The boyes ar instructed in evrey bransh of farm work also wood choping fense building taking care of stock driving nales and sawing. The girls are instructed in

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[15] As quoted in *Indian Pioneer History*, Vol. 94, p. 101.

[16] Roy Temple House, "Captain Seger and Early Oklahoma," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, V (February, 1908), p. 48.

[17] Peery, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

[18] Rucker, "Johnny Smoker Stories."

[19] Peery, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

[20] Monthly School Report for Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Manual Labor and Boarding School, February, 1876, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

every bransh of house work together with neadel work nitting brading mats etc.

It is quite evident that in the next month's report Seger made use of a secretary. For both the spelling, punctuation and penmanship is much improved. He reports:

I have to report a continued prosperity of the school during month just past. We have added 28 additional scholars to our family making a total of 95 scholars in school and an average for the month of 82½ scholars. Each month shows an improvement over the preceding one in every branch taught. The parents of the children appear to take a great pride in not only the improvement of the children but in everything pertaining to the school and are continually urging the children to obey the rules ad learn as fast as they can.[21]

While there were marked gains in the enrollment figures, as late as 1881 John D. Miles accuses, "At present not 25% of the children of school age are in school which is no fault of the Indians, but that of the Government which has given them this pledge and as a matter of fact and history the Indians must necessarily become sufferers and the Government be compelled to bear the consequences of its neglect of duty in not providing for the education of every child on the reservation."[22]

It is evident that Agent Miles was justly proud of his appointee as he reports to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Lawrence, Kansas two years following the appointment:[23]

Friend Seger's persistent efforts, untiring energy and unbounded faith in the ultimate success of his undertaking backed up with an efficient corps of assistants and co-workers has brought about cheering and happy results in the one hundred and twelve children entrusted to his care. His great object has been to incorporate in the system of this school, not only letters but all of the industrial pursuits that was possible.

Something of his sacrificial spirit is expressed in a letter from the Indian Agent Miles to William Nicholson in July, 1876:[24]

When Seger pays all his help and his bills for extra subsistance etc he will come out about even—minus his own salary or very nearly so. He has never yet received one dollar from the government on his contract and has been forced to borrow money to pay some needy of his help and to purchase necessary supplies at great disadvantage for want of funds. Yet he has suffered nothing to operate against the welfare of the school. Can he not now receive his full pay ($3000.00)[24a] without delay?

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[21] *Ibid.*, (March 31, 1876).

[22] John D. Miles to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Tenth Annual Report, September 1, 1881 in Cheyenne-Arapaho Documents, p. 111, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

[23] John D. Miles to William Nicholson, Fifth Annual Report, August 31, 1876 in Cheyenne-Arapaho Documents I, p. 679, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

[24] John D. Miles to William Nicholson, July 1, 1876 in Cheyenne-Arapaho Documents 1, p. 515, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

[24a] For services rendered in educating, boarding, washing clothes and otherwise caring for at $6.50 per student per month. Based on voucher signed by John D. Miles April 1, 1876 to be found in Cheyenne-Arapaho Documents, I, p. 188, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

S. A. Gilpin, Chief Clerk of the Office of Indian Affairs, was certain in his approval of the Miles' appointment. For he says, "The affairs of this agency have run on so smoothly for the past two years that the main object of interest was the school, which is run under a contract with Mr. John H. Seger, this being the second year of his management. It is the largest and in many respects the best Indian school I have found."[25]

While he was a man of scanty schooling, he learned the tongue spoken by the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, and was also a master of the Indian sign language. He had the very firm conviction that the only way to civilize the red man was through his children. He was confident that so long as the Indians regarded the white man as their natural enemy nothing could be done. It is not difficult to see that he worked to develop his red brothers into Christians and American citizens.

"He did not assume an arrogant superiority in the council of his Indian friends," says Dan W. Peery, "But was tolerant to their views however erroneous they might seem."[26] Peery further suggests, "He taught them that the Golden Rule and not the spirit of revenge was the correct principle to apply in their relations with other people; that it was more honorable to make a friend than to take a scalp."[27]

While he was not an ordained minister of the Gospel and did not come among the Indians to preach, he did read and interpret the Scriptures to them. Joe Creeping Bear, an Arapaho Indian, testifies, "We had old time slates and pencils to do our writing with and the picture of Jesus was the first one I had ever seen and I had never heard of Jesus until I came to Colony."[28]

In 1904, Francis E. Leupp, who was Commissioner of Indian Affairs at the Mohonk Conference says, "John Seger was not only the best educator but the best missionary[28a] among the Indians."[29]

Throughout his tenure of office, Seger was desirous of establishing a school on the basis that it would eventually be almost self supporting and at the same time furnish his students a "start" in the world upon the completion of their course. He was a firm ad-

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[25] Peery, *op. cit.*, Vol. X, No. 3 (September, 1932), p. 363.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 353.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 353.
[28] *Indian Pioneer History*, Vol. 100, p. 385.
[28a] When Grant was a candidate for the presidency, the Quakers secured from him a promise that if he were elected he would put civilians in charge of the frontier posts and allow the churches to control the Indian agencies. So it came about that Darlington agency was for several years in charge of the Quakers. House, "Captain Seger and Early Oklahoma," p. 45. However Seger was identified with the Dutch Reformed Church according to the necrology to be found in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VI (March, 1928), p. 96.
[29] Peery, *op. cit.*, Vol. X, No. 3 (September, 1932), p. 354.

vocate of the philosophy—learn to do by doing. He expected the students of the school to live at the institution just as they were expected to live when they returned to their respective homes. As one authority puts it, "The whole idea of this school was to make self supporting useful citizens out of these children whose home life had been that of the tepee of the untutored Plains Indians."[30]

On one occasion Seger states:[31]

> The way the pupils are advancing in civilization is a source of much gratification to us and to me for I have always had a pride in these schools. The most noticeable progress is seen in the younger ones. Indians of the ages of five to seven years are most susceptible to training; frequently they are able to speak English after the first six months. The older Indians take pride in the accomplishments of the children and now instead of retarding our work they give us every assistance.

This becomes even a greater achievement when one remembers that while the Arapahoes were friendly, the Cheyennes were proud and less inclined to mingle with the whites.[31a] Seger says of the latter, "They were a stronger, more war like people. They had fought their way for a thousand miles to this country and were not disposed to bow the neck."[32] But bow their neck they did. For as Grace Lawton points out, "Mr. Seger worked with a band of reckless Indians who had only thirty ponies but now are among the wealthiest and most influential of the Cheyenne Tribe. This is a striking example of what a practical teacher can do with the red man."[33]

He was a practical teacher, Washeen Robinson, a former student of Seger School intimates, "J. H. Seger used to come to the campus to play with us children . . . . I think that was his way to train us not to be afraid of him."[34] The *Cheyenne Transporter* reports through its "Local Items" column, February 10, 1881, "J. H. Seger returned from Atchison Saturday and resumed charge of the Arapahoe school. While at that city he purchased a number of games for the Arapahoe children under his charge. Now those youngsters have big times learning and playing the said games."[35]

Joe Creeping Bear further emphasizes, "Mr. Seger would not stay in his office, he would get out and work. He would plow with a walking plow and have a crowd of us Indians dropping corn in the furrows. We have made such good corn that we have had to fill our barns full and pile the rest of the corn in ricks on the ground."[36]

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[30] *Ibid.*, p. 352.

[31] *The El Reno News* (El Reno, Indian Territory), September 7, 1899.

[31a] To call a Cheyenne a white man was considered one of the worst insults that could be offered him. —Seger, *Early Days Among the Cheyenne-Arapaho Indians* (Norman, 1934), p. 48.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[33] *Indian Pioneer History*, Vol. 61, p. 130.

[34] *Indian Pioneer History*, Vol. 42, p. 231.

[35] *Cheyenne Transporter* (Darlington, Indian Territory), February 10, 1881.

[36] *Indian Pioneer History*, Vol. 100, p. 387.

"I have interested myself in their domestic affairs," writes Seger to his Indian agent, "and when at work with them either in the brick yard, the field or wherever our labor called us, I have conversed with them about their future hopes and prospects."[37]

Repeatedly "the little man with the big red nose", as Seger was affectionately known among his Indian friends, would endeavor to show them the folly of their "hand-to-mouth" way of doing things. It was not an uncommon thing for the Indians, before Seger's time, to spend their money about as fast as they earned it—too often on things of no real value to them. However, after the wise counsel of the "genuine Washington Chief," the monicker that others attached to Seger, it was not unusual to see the Indians investing the greater part of their earnings in mules and large horses with which they engaged successfully in agriculture and freighting. Others bought chickens, bedsteads, stoves, tables, chairs and many other articles in use among civilized people.

In an evaluation of his experiment Seger says, "Indians are like children. They need as much advice as to how to spend their money as to the manner of getting it. When they see the advantages of investing in something that will help them to earn more money they will improve very rapidly in domestic economy."[38]

A further testimonial of the practicality of Seger can be found in an article appearing in the *Wichita Eagle* by an authority on Indian education, Charles F. Meserve, Superintendent of the Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kansas in 1889. He states:[39]

> It is patent to a casual observer that the Indians thoroughly believe in Superintendent Seger. This is because he has been with them so long, and has always been true and faithful to their interests. He is well known throughout Oklahoma by the white people as well as the Indians and there is no one respected more highly by the most intelligent and influential white men of the Territory. They recognize him as a man of sound sense and solid character who has acquired a vast amount of practical knowledge in the broad but severe school of every day experience.

John D. Miles in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in September, 1881 continues to be high in his praise, in saying:[40]

> The practical knowledge possessed by these gentlemen [W. J. Hadley and John H. Seger] in the management of such important factors in Indian civilization supported by a corps of teachers and other workers worthy of the positions occupied by each has brought about results quite satisfactory. The progress of the children in their studies has been excellent and their knowledge of many industrial pursuits has kept pace with their literary training. The deportment of the children has been better than ever before.

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[37] John H. Seger to John D. Miles, March 31, 1882, Indian Archives, O. H. S.
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] Peery, *op. cit,*. p. 570.
[40] John D. Miles to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Tenth Annual Report*, September 1, 1881, Cheyenne-Arapaho Documents, p. 111, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

Speaking of deportment, Roy Temple House points out, "Captain Seger[41a] took charge of the school and instituted some salutory reforms in the line of the more rigid discipline."[41] However, though a strict disciplinarian it is said of Seger by one of his "boys"—Joe Creeping Bear, "Mr. Seger was always kind to the Indians and when we did mean things, he would say, 'Boys I hate to punish you but I have to."[42] In this connection Peery avers, "He had not only physical courage, but the shrewdness of logic that would even conquer the savage pride of the red man."[43]

In summing up the secret of Seger's success Alvin Rucker exclaims, "His sudden promotion or transition from artisan to school superintendent was due to his executive ability and his understanding of how to get along with Indian children only six years removed from the nomadic life of the plains, the buffalo chase and the war path."[44]

The year 1875 proved to be an eventful one for John Homer Seger. In addition to his appointment as school superintendent, he also made a trip to Atchison, Kansas where on October 6 he was married to Mary Esther Nicklas of Manlius, Illinois, who became and remained his help meet for nearly fifty-five years. In high tribute Dan W. Peery says, "No true story can be told of the work of Mr. Seger among the Indians that does not pay tribute of praise to his wife, Mrs. John H. Seger. She was indeed 'a pioneer woman.'" He continues, "With a bond of sympathy for humanity, even as exemplified by the untutored Indian, proved herself to be a real help mate in the work of educating and civilizing these people."[45]

Mrs. Seger was the first white woman with her family in Washita County, and made her home in the first house built in the County. Eight children were born into the Seger home. Their son James served as the Seminole postmaster; Jud was a Washita County Commissioner; Neatha was a newspaper editor in Geary.[45a] Other members of the family include Bessie, Lena, Harry and John.

[40a] John H. Seger was always spoken of as Captain Seger. The regular army officers never liked to hear a civilian called by a military title. Dan W. Peery remembers upon one occasion Captain Woodson almost rebuked him for speaking of Mr. Seger as Captain Seger. He said "Captain Seger! Captain Seger! When did John Seger become a captain?" However, the civilian Indian agents were always called major. —Peery, "The Indians' Friend John H. Seger," p. 360.

[41] House, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[42] *Indian Pioneer History*, Vol. 100, p. 389.

[43] Peery, *op. cit.*, p. 572.

[44] Rucker, *op. cit.*

[45] Peery, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (June, 1933), p. 845.

[45a] Mr. and Mrs. Neatha H. Seger were the parents of James Lloyd and Genevieve Seger who is a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Her brother, James Lloyd Seger, was a casualty of World War II. A waist gunner on a B-24 Liberator, he was killed in action over Germany on February 3, 1945.—Ed.

While stress, to this point, has been placed upon the modest, unassuming friend of the Indian as an educator, as a man of great benevolence and love for his fellowmen, one must not overlook the fact that he was also one of the leading colonizers of the Indian territory. In October, 1885, the Acting Agent J. M. Lee writes to the Indian Commissioner, "I know of no better plan than to colonize them [Indians] as follows: 150 families 50 miles southwest of Agency on Washita River under J. H. Seger."[46]

The following February Lee pens:

> Twenty-five Indians under employ J. H. Seger left Agency February 28 to build and reconstruct wire fences for prospective Indian Colony on the Washita River. This is the beginning of what may with proper management and aid be the turning point in the civilzing of Indians who may be induced to locate there and can be made almost self supporting within ten years. The work for next month will be devoted to plowing, fence building and seed sewing. To say nothing of the work in shops, store house and office. Many farms will be laid out and numbers of Indians will from necessity begin work for the first time.

In April, 1886 Lee again writes, "Mr. Seger's special fitness for this work [to take charge of the Indian Colony now established on what was known as the Washita Lease], his long experience with Indians and their implicit confidence in him renders him almost indispensable for success in this great work of Indian industry."[48]

In his monthly report dated May 31, 1886 Lee discloses:[49]

> One hundred Indians under the leadership of J. H. Seger are now established as the nucleus of this colony on Washita River—50 miles southwest of Agency. The Colony is a bee hive of industry; laying out new farms, plowing and planting, and cutting logs for houses. The dry weather has retarded the plowing, but enough will be done to make a good start this season. The future progress of the Colony will mainly depend on the retention of Mr. Seger.

It would seem that due to Seger's special qualifications for this work and his thorough knowledge of the Indian character, that there would be little question as to his retention. However for several years his position was not altogether secure. Thoburn and Wright relate that Seger remained in active control of the Colony for twenty years until "The jealousy of younger and better educated men in the Indian service and the resentment of politicians and speculators in Indian land (whose efforts to spoliate the incompetent Indians he

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[46] J. M. Lee to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 26, 1885, Cheyenne-Arapaho Documents, Vol. IX, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

[47] J. M. Lee to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 28, 1886, Cheyenne-Arapaho Documents, Vol. XI, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

[48] J. M. Lee to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 21, 1886, Cheyenne-Arapaho Documents, Vol. XI, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

[49] J. M. Lee to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 31, 1886, Cheyenne-Arapaho Documents, Vol. XV, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

had successfully thwarted) resulted in his reduction in rank to that of District Indian Farm Supervisor."[50]

This appointment which he held until 1915 actually came about as the result of a seventy-six epileptic being named to a position that Acting Agent Lee had been saving for Seger. Rather than have his colonizing plans wrecked Lee fired a telegram to Washington "Would ask Department to allow me to name farmer at seventy-five dollars per month. Can procure J. H. Seger who is in every way desirable and can do twice the work with Indians than any other man I ever saw at an Indian agency."[51]

Seger's success not only as an Indian educator but as a colonizer is verified in an address to the Lake Mohonk Indian Conference in October, 1902, in which Charles Francis Meserve says:[52]

> Much of the success of the allotment of lands in severalty among the Indians of the Seger Colony has been due to his very wise, practical and judicious management. I have studied him and his work for a number of years and I have convinced myself that he is the wisest worker among the reservation Indians in the entire country and has done more towards solving the real problems of the Indians and in adjusting him to his environment than any man living.

As Seger reached his allotted three score years and ten and beyond, there was a note of pathos in his life. There were those in places of authority in governmental service who definitely felt that since he had given the best years of his life to Indian service that some provision for his well being should be made. Jesse W. Smith in writing to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs says of Seger, "He yet has apparently several years of usefulness before him, and while he has passed the seventieth milestone on the road to life eternal, he is active, full of vigor and capable of rendering much good service."[53]

In reply to Smith's passionate plea and recommendation that some provision be made for Seger to re-enter the service, E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs says, "In view of Mr. Seger's long and faithful service among the Indians, the Office regrets that there appears to be no way in which he can be taken care of, unless you can utilize his service to advantage in Seger in some suitable capacity and carry him on the rolls as a laborer."[54]

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[50] Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel Wright, Oklahoma: *A History of the State and Its People*, Vol. II (New York, 1929), p. 872.

[51] J. M. Lee to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 3, 1886, Cheyenne-Arapaho Documents, Vol. XI, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

[52] Charles Francis Meserve, "The First Allotment of Lands in Severalty Among the Oklahoma Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 4 (December, 1933), p. 1041.

[53] Jesse W. Smith to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 26, 1919, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

[54] E. B. Meritt to Jesse W. Smith, December 9, 1919, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

Both Senator Robert L. Owens and Representative James McClintic were appealed to by Smith in his desire for Seger's reinstatement. In writing to the Congressmen, Smith avers, "I have never known any one more thoroughly imbued with a real desire to benefit the Indians than has Mr. Seger."[55] Evidently Smith's constant prodding was bearing fruit. For the day after Christmas of 1919 the Indian Commissioner writes McClintic, "In view of Mr. Seger's former long and faithful service among the Indians, I am giving this matter my careful consideration in the hope that suitable arrangements may be made whereby he may again be employed in the Indian Service."[56]

Not to be denied, Smith made further appeals to both Senator Owens and Commissioner Sells urging them to invoke an executive order that Seger might be assigned to a position of farmer in the Indian Service. The Oklahoma Senator replies, "Executive orders, as I understand it, are rarely issued restoring persons to a Civil Service status and it might be that it would be more expeditious for Captain Seger to avail himself of the usual method and re-enter the service through a Civil Service examination."[57] In his reply Commissioner Sells states:[58]

> It will be impractical to take favorable action on your suggestion. I note, however, that Mr. Seger lives but a comparatively short distance away from the school. I therefore see no reason why he should not be appointed as laborer at the Seger Agency. If, however, for reasons not fully understood from your recent letter, Mr. Seger should not be appointed to such a place unless living quarters are also provided, I am not averse to transferring one of your Agency farmers to a similar position elsewhere in the service in order that the desired opening may be made for Mr. Seger.

It is difficult to determine which was the more jubilant over the reinstatement—Smith or Seger. For in writing to Representative McClintic, Smith remarks, ". . . . am glad to state that Mr. Seger is at this school in the position of school farmer and I have never seen a happier old man in many a year as [he] was. It was possible to permit him to move into the first house that was built for him here. He certainly feels much at home and I believe he will render several years of good service."[59]

The following June, Seger received his notice of separation from service. The Indian Agent Fred E. Perkins explains to Seger, "This comes by reason of the fact that you have reached the age of 70 years

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[55] Jesse W. Smith to James McClintic, December 16, 1919, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

[56] Cato Sells to James McClintic, December 26, 1919, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

[57] Robert L. Owens to Jesse W. Smith, December 20, 1919, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

[58] Cato Sells to Jesse W. Smith, December 26, 1919, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

[59] Jesse W. Smith to James McClintic, January 3, 1920, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

and have served not less than fifteen years[59a] and you are, therefore, entitled to an annuity under the provisions of the Civil Service Pension Law."[60]

Desirious of resigning as soon as his claim for the Civil Service pension was approved, Seger writes the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on August 18, 1920, "I hereby tender my resignation as laborer at the Seger Indian School, Oklahoma at $740 per annum to take effect at the close of business August 20, 1920. This action is due to the fact I have been retired by reason of the Civil Service Pension Act approved May 22, 1920 and since I will draw a pension under said Act, I desire to resign from the Service to attend to personal matters."[61]

After attending to personal matters for nearly eight years, death claimed the eighty-two year old friend of the red men of the Plains on February 6, 1928 at Seger Colony, Washita County, Oklahoma. Joe Creeping Bear acting as a spokesman says, "I wish that Mr. Seger was still living but he is gone. He gave me my schooling and all the rest of the Indians here wish for Mr. Seger."[62] Then in fitting tribute, Creeping Bear pens:[63]

I now write a poem that lingers in all of our hearts here in Colony. It may not be appreciated by the one that it may fall in contact with.

Dear Mr. Seger is gone, his darling form, no more on earth is seen. He is gone to live o'er the sea on a shore that is ever green.

How sadly he will now be missed by us at Colony

His place is sad and vacant for he will never return

Mr. Seger, darling, is happy with angel's plumage on, but our hearts are sad and lonely to think that he is gone.

Good Master, Thou hast taken our loved one to the skies, but at the resurrection we know that he will arise.

Farewell, our darling Mr. Seger, our darling, darling dear, the hearts of your loved ones are lonely because you are not here.

[59a] Mr. Seger has reached the age of 74 years, and has been in the Service for approximately forty years. Superintendent of Seger Indian Agency to Commissionery of Pensions, June 23, 1920, in Division of Indian Archives, O. H. S.

[60] Fred E. Perkins to John Seger, June 22, 1920, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

[61] John S. Seger to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 18, 1920, Indian Archives, O. H. S.

[62] *Indian Pioneer History*, Vol. 100, p. 387.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 391.

REMINISCENCES OF AN '89ER OF OKLAHOMA CITY

By J. M. Owen

These reminiscences of one of Oklahoma City's pioneer builders have been contributed to The Chronicles with affection and esteem by Mrs. Lulu Vaughn Owen in memory of her husband, the late James McKee Owen, best known in the early annals of this city as "Mac Owen." Mrs. Owen supplied some additional notes used editorially in this contribution and the typescript from the original manuscript which was written by Mr. Owen at the request of his friends on April 22, 1913. At the time of his death in Oklahoma City, on October 26, 1952, Mr. Owen was President of the Oklahoma City Federal Savings and Loan Association. A young man of twenty-four years, who had worked at farming and day labor in Kansas, he had come to Oklahoma City at the time of the Opening on April 22, 1889, in company with a brother and three other young men, with a yoke of oxen, a team of horses, a farm wagon and a spring wagon. He entered the real estate business with one hundred dollars cash in his pocket, and from that time was active in the development and promotion of Oklahoma City for a period of sixty-three years. It was with pride that he watched the new building of the Federal Savings and Loan Association being erected at the corner of First and Harvey streets, from the basement up but he did not live to see it occupied. One large hall on the second floor is named the "Mac Owen Room," and a large oil portrait of his likeness hangs on the wall. Mr. Owen had five living grandchildren at the time of his death. Another grandson who had been reared in his home was killed at the close of World War II while ferrying a plane on a mission for the Government.

—The Editor

I, James McKee Owen, was born on a farm about three miles west of Ames, Monroe County, Illinois, February 14, 1865. When about four years of age my parents moved to Red Bud, Illinois with their large family, my father being a tenant farmer. I, the eldest son, later having to assist in helping to keep the family, could not attend school regularly. I was anxious to learn and as soon as my brother, Fernando, was large enough to help father, I began to realize there seemed no chance to rise above a hired hand or tenant.

In the spring of 1884, after my nineteenth birthday, I became imbued with the idea of going west, and tried to get father to strike out, too. He did not seem interested, so I made up my mind to go, and persuaded my cousin, Adrien Owen, to go with me. I had collected my wages for work with the threshing crew, an accumulated amount of $18.50. It was a grave moment, as my parents had lived a simple life. I had never been away from home, and they felt that I was lost to them forever. At Clifton and Vining, Kansas I went to work immediately with a threshing machine; then in the fall and winter shucked corn.

A terrible blizzard commenced January 1, 1886, that lasted three days, which put me out of a job. I had saved $175.00, so concluded I would go and get the folks. When I persuaded them

to return with me, the move took all my savings. Brother Fernando and I drove through with a team and covered wagon. During the hard trip, bad roads and winter weather, we slept in the wagon and cooked meals in camp. We left February 17, 1886, reaching Vining, Kansas March 14. The folks came later by rail, arriving April 1. In the fall of 1886 in company with Sherman Shaffer and George Fairchild in a covered wagon (belonging to Shaffer) we went west to take some government land.

We went to Wakeeney, Kansas, but they returned in a short time without taking any land. I filed on a "tree claim" and pre-empted another quarter section in Ness County. I worked at odd jobs—"sniping" on the railroad at $1.10 per day, in a lumber yard for some time, then back to my claim before my six months was up to build a shack early in 1887. At Kanopolis which was a new town, I got work in a brick yard for awhile. By the fall of 1887, with winter was coming on, I had become interested in Oklahoma, as the opening of this country to settlement was being agitated by the "Boomers" and measures were before Congress for its opening.

Back on my claims again, I found everybody deserting that country for no crops had been raised for two years, so I struck out to get in touch with the "Boomers." At Coffeyville, Kansas, I soon found a job in a stone quarry, starting in as a day laborer, but soon became a good driller. I returned to my claims in 1888, and during the summer hired some land broke, and worked on the Santa Fe Railroad section gang again. In September when nearly everybody had deserted their claims, I left mine discouraged and downcast for they had cost me all my hard-earned savings for two years. After Oklahoma opened, I sold my rights on these two claims for $25.00.

At Arkansas City, Kansas, I determined to wait for Oklahoma to open as everyone expected the Oklahoma bill to pass during the session of Congress, and I was enxious to try another new country. The first job I could find was with a construction gang on the Santa Fe, laying new steel rails between Arkansas City and Mulvane, at $1.25 per day. Board cost me $4.50 per week.

D. L. Means who was running a stone quarry down in the "Cherokee Strip" near Chilocco wanted quarrymen. I went to work for him at $1.75 per day, October, 1888, and made good. He had men that had been with him for years, and when his foreman had one of his eyes knocked out in December, 1888, Means put me in charge as foreman. I held this job at $2.50 per day until April 1, 1889.

In company with my brother and two other young men, we left Arkansas City for the Oklahoma Country April 11, 1889. We had an ox team and farm wagon, and a team of horses and spring wagon,

James McKee Owen

one tent and camp outfit. It was great trip: There were no bridges, and streams were swollen. We had to build a raft to take our feed, chuck, bedding and utensils across the Salt Fork of the Arkansas, just south of the Otoe and Missouri Indian Agency; then swam our stock across the stream. We crossed the Cimarron at "the Turkey Foot Ranch Crossing," not far from where Ripley is now. This river was up but we attempted to drive our ox team across, hitched to the loaded wagon. They stuck in midstream just before reaching the deepest part or main channel, making it necessary to carry all our flour, feed, bedding and supplies across on our heads and shoulders. We all had to make several trips each, except one of the boys who was so short he could scarcely wade across and keep his nose above water. The water was cold and dirty red, but we waded with our clothes on, then all walked to keep warm and let our clothes dry on us. Not one of us took cold.

We reached the border of Oklahoma on the evening of April 19, and camped on the ridge in the Kickapoo Indian Reservation between the North Canadian and Deep Fork in Township 13 N, Range 1 East of the Indian Meridian. The Campers were thick all along the border, in fact the people completely encircled the country to be opened, comprising about 2,000,000 acres. The opening day was fine as well as preceeding days and there were fine moonlight nights and we could hear people and see camp fires all hours of the night. We camped near the Kickapoo Village. The Indians beat tom toms and chanted all night, for there had been a death in the tribe. All sorts of people in all sorts of conveyances were to be seen, all campers. One could not tell a preacher or a banker from a farmer or laborer, all were "rough necks."

We camped first night, April 22, 1889, on what is now Oak Park Addition, Oklahoma City. The next morning early we drove to a vacant spot, squatted and pitched our tent, or camp, on what is now Lots 17 to 25 in Block 7, in South Oklahoma Addition, corner of Noble and Harvey streets. All my party, including my brother, left sooner or later. I do not know where any of them are today, except brother Ferd; he is near Artesia, New Mexico on land in which I own one-half interest.

I went through all this and never owned or carried a gun or revolver, something unusual at that time, but was never molested or had any trouble. I felt from the day I landed in this would be my future home and have never felt different to this minute, yet I have been in almost every state and territory, as well as Canada, and have been in almost all of the cities of this country, both north, south, east and west, having traveled a great deal for the past twelve years. I have taken my family with me north, east or west for the summer, for several years; and have been on business trips to Washington, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago.

When first landing in Oklahoma City, I searched my pockets and took inventory, disclosing the fact that I had $100.10. I decided, "This is good enough, and I will spend the balance of my days here." I went into the real estate business at once, handicapped for I did not know how to make out a deed or conveyance of any kind but was determined to make a go of the business. I soon formed the acquaintance of many people, among them Major L. L. Bell, an old Union soldier, past fifty years of age, who was in the business. I got in with him and through him soon learned "the game," at least all he knew from his many years of experience in Ohio and Kansas. I made money while learning. I soon met Effie M. Vance at her parents' boarding house, or hotel in South Oklahoma Addition. I boarded there, fell in love with Effie, and we were married April 22, 1890. We became the parents of three children, Myrtle, Earl Rusk and Faye. [1] When Major Bell returned to Winfield, Kansas, I formed a partnership with James M. Vance, engaging in the abstract, as well as the real estate business.

Since the Organic Act did not pass Congress until May 14, 1890, there was no county or city government for more than a year, during which we in Oklahoma City adopted a charter and proceeded under that form without any law for so doing. We had our abstract books bought before the County had any. I took off the first instrument that went on record in this City or County before the ink on the record dried.

When Vance died in November, 1893, A. L. Welsh bought the widow's half interest in the business in December, 1893. We sold the abstract end of our business in 1906, for $20,000. We continued in the real estate and loan business. I was elected Register of Deeds and served from January 1, 1897 to January 1, 1899, but kept my business going. From the first I took an active and earnest interest in all public matters, in "boosting" the city, in promoting its growth. I assisted in organizing the first Commercial Club and have always been a member; served on the Board of Directors several years, and always on important committees.

The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad was the only railroad in Oklahoma at the opening of Oklahoma. The others here at this time were induced to build here by local organizations offering cash bonuses, right-of-way. I served as one in charge of such matters, first in procuring the Choctaw, Oklahoma and Gulf Railroad (now the"Rock Island Railroad"). The Organic Act had prohibited the voting of bonds to aid in railroad building. We wanted the "Choctaw" built from McAlester to this city. The company asked assistance, so we held an election and voted $40,000 bonds (contrary to law). We then got an act through Congress legalizing our bonds, which met with a veto by President Benjamin Harrison. We then raised the money by private subscription, which was a task

for there was not a person in the City at that time worth over $50,000, hence subscriptions were small. Our trials were numerous.

W. J. Gault, was Mayor of the City at the time. Through him and the City Council (after many public meetings), we evolved the following plan of raising the money from public spirited citizens and making the non-progressive and non-residents stand their just proportion: Under laws existing at that time, the saloons paid city license. The city authorities, at our request, passed an ordinance allowing the saloons to pay one-half their license in "Choctaw Script" at the same time authorizing the issuing to all subscribers to this donation to the railroad "Choctaw Script" to the amount of each subscription. This whole proceeding was without warrant of law but it made a market for the scrip and every dollar of it was absorbed in that way. Suit to enjoin was threatened but never instituted for public sentiment strongly supported us.

We then went after the extension of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad from its terminus at Sapulpa. We built this road under a local chartered organization of which I was a charter member and director; the other charter members were S. A. Stewart, Henry Overholser,[1] T. M. Richardson, Henry Will, Sidney Clarke, F. M. Riley, F. L. Dobbin, and C. G. Jones. Under existing laws we had to obtain the right and permission from Congress to construct the road through the Indian Territory. The first bill we got through President Grover Cleveland vetoed. We got another through two years later. It took about five years from the time we organized to get the road under construction to this city. Again, in addition to all our time, cost and trouble, we had to raise another bonus of $50,000 for this road, and turned it over to the "Frisco." Soon after we raised $25,000 more to get them to extend the line on to Quanah, Texas. Our commercial importance dates from the securing of the "Frisco." Guthrie, the capital city, was a strong competitor for this road, and it is recognized to this day that it would have been the City of this State had it not been for our energy, foresight and untiring efforts and boosting spirit in getting this road.

The Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway was next induced to build here from Parsons, Kansas. After years of dickering we got that company interested. I was one of the committee of twenty men that signed a guarantee to them that we would furnish free railroad terminals in the city and a right-of-way through the county. We raised what we could by subscription which was about $42,000 which fell far short of being sufficient, so it cost each individual member of the Committee more than his proportion in cash in addition to all sorts of time and trouble. Here again our strong com-

[1] Mr. J. M. Owen assisted Mr. Henry Overholser in securing money for several Oklahoma City projects, among them the building of the Overholser Opera House, now Warner Brothers Theatre on Grand Ave.

petitor for the railroad was Guthrie, and its citizens succeeded in getting a branch line from Fallis.

The Act of Congress opening Oklahoma to settlement located the Territorial Capital and the United States Land Office at Guthrie. People there started out much larger than Oklahoma City, and had all the advantages of administration influence. We at once went after everything in sight. The Capital was coveted. I was an active member of a committee which induced our first, Territorial Legislature to vote it to this city twice; but failed to get it first through the veto of Governor Steele, who had been appointed Governor; and the second time, by withholding his approval at the end of the session, which had the same effect as vetoing it.

I have taken an active interest in all campaigns for the capitol building from that time to the present (1913) spending time and money. It has been up or needed looking after each and every session of the Legislature since, including the one now in extra session, which we earnestly hope and believe will pass a bill (now pending) appropriating money to commence the construction of the capitol. We also want one built that can be used and not be ashamed of. The capitol has been located here four times by the Legislature, and twice, by popular vote of the qualified voters. Many of my co-workers have passed away. I expect to see the building under construction soon, and its final completion in three years hence.

I am at present a director of The Industrial Company that is handling the bonus scription of $300,000 which induced the Morris and Company Packing Plant to locate here in 1910, also director in the Packing House Development Company which induced the Sulzberger and Sons Company Packing Plant to locate here in 1911; we gave them a bonus of $300,000 also. These two propositions require time and attention at present for the bonuses are not fully paid and each company has acreage they have platted and are selling out to assist in raising the money to pay its obligations. The Board and Officers serve without salary or compensation. I am also one of the directors in the State Fair Association and one of the Executive Board, serving without pay.[2] I was a director in the Oklahoma City Street Railway Company for nine years from its inception to two years ago.

I am Vice-President and Director in the Oklahoma City Building and Loan Association; helped organize the company (1898) which is now in its fourteenth year. I have been chairman of the Appraising Board since its organization, and have served without pay for it is to encourage the small investor to save money or help

[2] Subsequently, Mr. J. M. Owen served three terms as President of the State Fair Association.

pay for a home instead of renting. It also provided a place for the salaried person to invest and save a portion of his earnings. It has accomplished a great deal. I am a Director in a Cotton Mill Company just lately organized for the purpose of building or assisting in building cotton mills here. I am a stockholder and director in the American National Bank, and have been for years. I have been a director in numerous companies to promote industries in the past. I have taken an active part in all civic improvements, being an enthusiast for public parks and boulevards. At this time we are censured by many hundreds of our good citizens for having expended $400,000 for the Grand Boulevard and the four parks. I am confident that in a few years the people will praise us "boosters" for our foresight in pushing through a bond issue for above named amount, and buying the land and providing for its future use. It is a pleasure to me and my family now to drive around that twenty-eight mile boulevard, now over a dirt driveway.

The two public problems now being agitated and soon to be solved: First, voting bonds to the amount of at least $2,000,000.00 to provide for impounding sufficient water for the City for the next 25 or 30 years, a city of 200,000 population at least. The City as it is, with its present population of 65,000 is too large to have to rely on the flow of the river during the dry season. We are expecting advocating storage for six months supply for a city of the above named population. Deep wells and shallow well point systems are advocated by many, which I with many others think expensive in operation and unreliable and would not give confidence to the prospective investor.

Second, the proposition of elevating the tracks of all steam railroads in the business section of the city. These questions have been up for consideration for the past two years. The Waterworks bonds for $1,500,000 have been once defeated but we have worked out another plan along the same general lines which seems probable we can carry at an early election (in July we hope).

I have never sought office but the one time as Register of Deeds. I served two terms on the Board of Education, and have been importuned to accept the nomination from my party [Democrat] for mayor, city councilman, commissioner and others but have always declined, preferring to work in the ranks. I am an ardent supporter of our present President Woodrow Wilson and believe he will go down in history as one of our greatest presidents, alongside of Washington and Lincoln. I have never voted against a bond issue for I have been one of the instigators in every instance.

Wichita Reservation: I was primarily responsible for this being reserved by the Government as a National Park [near Fort Sill]. It occurred to me while the bill opening the Comanche Indian Reservation to settlement was pending in Congress that it

would be best to have this mountain country reserved for park purposes. I introduced a resolution in our directors meeting of the Chamber of Commerce asking our Delegate in Congress (Dennis T. Flynn) to insert such a provision in the bill. He did so. Congress passed it. It became a law and I predict it will become quite a resort in the future.

For years our sidewalks made of lumber on all 100 foot streets in the business section, of Oklahoma City, were 12 feet wide. I had been to Dallas, Texas on business where their walks were narrow, and soon after I had to go to Ft. Smith, Arkansas, where I noticed the contrast in the width of the sidewalks; on Garrison Avenue in the latter city, the walks were 20 feet. We were just ready here to commence paving our streets and alleys. I took the matter up as soon as I returned circulated a petition among property owners, presented it to the City Council asking the members to pass an ordinance extending the streets to 16 feet. It entailed considerable expense and trouble to rearrange telegraph and telephone poles and water and fire hydrants, but it has proven a wise and proper thing. We still have these poles of which I speak; in your time there will be no such thing.

I was endowed with a good constitution, was energetic and ambitious, raised under adversity, and as a tenant, I was imbued with an unconquerable desire to own land and real property. My first investments all proved failures. First, I bought two lots in Vining, Kansas, paid $50.00 for them. I afterwards traded them for a worthless pony and gave it to father. I finally lost practically all I put in western Kansas lands. I bought two lots in Kanopolis, Kansas, made a small payment on them, and lost it all. The tide turned for me here. My investments here in Oklahoma City have invariably proven good and made money. I believed from the start that a city would be built here and I looked forward to the time when I would own some inside office building and business houses. Through going in debt and many trying ordeals, I have in a measure succeeded, never losing faith. In addition to my other holdings, I now own one-half interest in a seven story and basement modern office building, which I built on Lot one in Block Fifty, under a ninety-nine year lease on the lot, the first one made in the City. I also own one-half interest in a three story and basement modern Mercantile building which I built, (50 x 136 feet) on Lots 6 and 7 in Block 50. I also constructed and was part owner of the Security Building on the southeast corner of Main and Harvey streets.

In addition to devoting much time and energy to public matters, there have been many trying situations to live through and overcome in my own affairs. All of which comes to anyone who starts with nothing and attains any degree of success. For the first ten or twelve years here I worked almost day and night but did not fee it was a drudgery. Mr. Vance (my partner) was a tubercular

1889-91

Oklahoma City: Site of present Huckins Hotel, with Owen and Welch office to left.

Jury in Oklahoma Territory, 1891.

Front row, left to right: J. M. Owen, J. V. Smith, George Albright, W. M. McCarty, Jno. Roller, Peter Huntemon. Back row, left to right: T. P. Hamilton, Jno. Fritz, H. V. Cockrell, Chas. E. Noffsin, C. R. Boyington, L. A. Hoover (not shown?), John Casey, J. C. Williams, bailiff. (Perjury case: man said not in Okla. Ty. at time of opening; proven he was in Ty.)

invalid for almost two years prior to his death in November 1893, which made it hard on me. My wife, Effie, died May 11, 1900, after an illness of two years or more, of tuberculosis, which entailed much anxiety and expense. I was left with three small children. My dear sister Emma was with me at the time of my wife's death, she took the duties of housekeeper for me. I sent for sister Rena, and got her a position in the public schools. She lived with us, and was company for Emma. This condition continued for over five years. In the face of all these adversities I made progress financially. I never took a vacation from the opening of the country until a summer in the late 1890's when I took eight weeks off; went to Chicago, Detroit, Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Montreal, Quebec, (going down the St. Lawrence River in boat) then to Portland, Maine, Boston, New York City, then up the Hudson River, over to Philadelphia and Washington, also visiting every bathing beach and summer resort from Portland to Washington along the Atlantic Coast.

During these busy years I met and married Maud Blanche Calhoun whose brother, Professor Ernest Calhoun, taught music in Oklahoma City. She herself taught in the schools here. Her home was in Indianola, Iowa. There were two children by this marriage: Gertrude and Nelson.[4]

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[4] After the death of his second wife, Mr. Owen married Mrs. Lulu Vaughn Hickam on November 21, 1922, who mothered his two young children and grandson. She is the daughter of another '89er and Oklahoma pioneer, Thomas Arthur Vaughn who made the run on April 22, 1889, riding the family horse, "Prince," and securing a claim where he later made his home, a mile and half south of Kingfisher. Thomas A. Vaughn, born on March 10, 1854, in Andrew County, Missouri, was the son of Thomas Vaughn, a native of Kentucky, and Hanna Brown Vaughn, a native of New York State. The son, Thomas A., was educated in Stewartville Seminary, Missouri, and taught school in that state for seven years. He was married in 1881 to Miss Lucy Saunders, born October 24, 1858, in Nodaway County, Missouri, a daughter of William Saunders, a native of Kentucky, and Ellen Simms Saunders, a native of Georgia. Mr. and Mrs. Vaughn were the parents of three children, Blanche (deceased); Lulu (Mrs. J. M. Owen of Oklahoma City); and Byron, a cattleman who lives at Pauls Valley, Oklahoma.

Thomas A Vaughn had engaged in the mercantile business in Kansas from 1886, and moved his general mercantile store from Liberal in that state to Kingfisher in 1889, continuing this business there for nearly ten years. In the meantime, he was successful in his farming operations and the raising of cattle. His first home for his family on his Oklahoma claim was a two-room frame house; in 1894, he built here a commodious and comfortable house, considered by many the finest farmhouse in the Territory. At his home place, he had an orchard of 1,000 fruit trees, besides 1,000 grape vines and other small fruits in proportion. He farmed 500 acres (his homestead and leased lands) devoted to the growing of wheat, corn and forage. The barns and other buildings were all modern and up-to-date. He also leased large tracts in Dewey County where he grazed his cattle in the spring and summer.

In 1900, he moved to Oklahoma City where he was a member of the firm of Kerfoot-Miller-Vaughn Wholesale Dry Goods business, the first wholesale dry goods house established in this territory, which later built a five-story structure on Second Street, between Harvey and Robinson. From 1905, he engaged in banking and the hardware business at different times at Pauls Valley, Maysville and Lindsay,

I have been an optimist all my life and have enjoyed good health, loved out door sports and especially trout fishing where I had a summer home at Grand Lake, Colorado.

When young, I was requested to and attended Sunday School and church regularly. I am a believer but have never united with any church, and have no fixed convictions for any creed. I never took much to secret orders yet am not adverse to them. Have been sought as a member of most every order here.

I have had a faculty of making friends, and have them in all walks of life. My enemies are few. I am not an abstainer. Take a drink occasionally, but guardedly for I have always realized the danger of acquiring a desire for strong drink and attending results. I do not believe in prohibition by attempting to force it on the individual by law. People should be educated on the ground of self preservation and the evil effects of liquor.

In conclusion—I have to say from experience, that the most thorough, self satisfying, genuine and comforting pleasure obtains with anyone from having done his duty. In striving industriously to accomplish something. In consistently and unswaveringly working to some definite fixed purpose, no obstacle seems too great to overcome and the task seems lighter. One thing is certain with that spirit uppermost in mind, there is no room or place there for pessimism; it cannot exist. I would not have the incidents of my early day experiences in this country blotted from my memory for anything. Everything about then was new and novel; never anything like it before, never since, and I believe can never be again. I love this City and feel I am a part of it. I have grown up with it and feel I am a part of it. Have grown up with it, and am wedded to it as only one of its founders and constant supporters can be.

Oklahoma. He was a Mason (32nd degree), a Shriner and a Knight Templar. The members of his family belonged to and attended the First Christian Church of Oklahoma City. Thomas A. Vaughn died in this City on February 8, 1923.—Ed.

[3] The first Building and Loan Company later became "The Oklahoma City Federal Savings and Loan Association," which celebrated its 40th Anniversary on December 8, 1938. Mr. J. M. Owen was elected President of the Association after the death of Anton H. Classen in 1922.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

IMPORTANT NOTICE

Change of address contemplated by a member of the Historical Society or subscriber to *The Chronicles* should be sent immediately to the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma. Copies of the magazine are not forwarded to the new address by the postmaster but are returned to the Oklahoma Historical Society at our expense. The co-operation of anyone on our mailing list in the matter of change of address will save unnecessary delay in receiving the quarterly magazine as well as save the Historical Society the payment of postage three times on a single copy.

Mistaken Identity Corrected

A paragraph of two sentences should be deleted from my article, "The Founding of El Reno," the *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1956), p. 80. In speaking of John A. Foreman, a dozen years before El Reno was founded, I confused him with John Anthony Foreman who in 1876 was elected steward of the Cherokee Asylum for the Insane, Deaf, Dumb, and Blind, near Tahlequah.

For an excellent sketch of the life of John Anthony Foreman see Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma,* Vol. III, pp. 1264-1266. He was a Cherokee, a sergeant in the Confederate army, and the name of his second wife was Amanda. John A. Foreman (no middle name) was a white man, a major in the Union army, and the name of his first wife was Armanda. Thoburn included both Foremans in one index citation.

This error in mistaken identity has been brought to my attention, and in order that others may avoid the pitfall, the following citations concerning John Anthony Foreman are here listed as found in the Oklahoma Historical Society: Indian Archives, Cherokee, Vol. 680, pp. 1, 14, 35, 46; The Authenticated Rolls of Cooweescoowee District, Cherokee Nation, 1880; The Census of Cooweescoowee District, 1890; Indian Pioneer History, Vol. 81, p. 21; and Minta Ross Foreman, "Reverend Stephen Foreman, Cherokee Missionary," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. 18, No. 3 (Sept., 1940), pp. 229-242.

—B. B. Chapman

Pens Used in Signing the Constitution of Oklahoma

Former Governor Henry S. Johnston recently presented to a history class at Oklahoma A. & M. College the half dozen pens he used July 16, 1907, in signing the Constitution of Oklahoma, when he represented District 17 in the Convention at Guthrie. The pens are to be held in trust for history students in the college, and in the University of Oklahoma. They will be preserved jointly by the archival divisions of the college and university libraries. When Johnston signed the Constitution he wrote the following notation on his letterhead as a Perry attorney:

"Pens used by me in signing the Constitution. They are labeled: Parchment, Johnston; Parchment, Johnston; Paper 1, Paper 2, Paper 3, Paper 4, Paper 5, Paper 6; Legislative. Under rules as they existed when the 1st adjournment was had and the Constitution signed to wit April 19, 1907, there were to be seven originals. These seven were signed, six on paper and one on parchment. As I signed each I used a different pen.

"I numbered each signature and numbered the pen to correspond on the paper enrollments. The parchment I signed with two pens. 'Henry S.' with one and the surname 'Johnston' with the other. 'Henry S.' was given to Dr. Fred C. Seids, Perry, Okla.; the one labeled 'Legislative' I received on vote of the Convention in honor of my services to that department and more especially for the Initiative and Referendum. This is the pen which was used in signing the same by Mr. Murray. The pen labeled 'Parchment, July 16,' is the one with which I signed the now official sheepskin.—Henry S. Johnston."

Johnston wrapped the pens in an envelope bearing the printed address, "Constitutional Convention, State of Oklahoma, Guthrie, Oklahoma." This he inserted in a large substantial envelope and labeled it, "Do not open." After nearly fifty years, in a classroom filled to overflow with Aggies, he drew out the pens and formally presented them to Roberta Elliott of Perry, who received them on behalf of her classmates. Johnston authored fifty-one sections of the Constitution, and was chairman of the Democratic caucus in the convention.

Oklahoma history students look forward annually to the visit of Governor and Mrs. Johnston to the campus. There is no day in our college course that gives students a more realistic understanding of the making of the Constitution, or of the political activities of the roaring twenties, than "Johnston Day."

An account of the presentation of the pens and a photo of the transfer is in the *The Perry Daily Journal,* May 13, 1956.

—B. B. Chapman

Ex-Gov. Henry S. Johnston, with Mrs. Johnston to his right, presenting the pens that he used in signing the Constitution of the State of Oklahoma on July 16, 1907. Presentation was made to history students of Oklahoma A. and M. College on May 13, 1956.

Restoration of Noted Cherokee Historic Sites in Georgia

Public spirited citizens and civic leaders, especially of Calhoun, who have worked for the restoration of New Echota, the old Cherokee capital near that City in Georgia, have the full co-operation of the Georgia Historical Commission in this great project. The plan is to restore the original buildings on their locations on the townsite of New Echota and develop the place as a Museum-Park.

The report of Henry T. Malone, Department of History, Atlanta Division, University of Georgia, to the Georgia Historical Commission, was published under the title "New Echota-Capital of the Cherokee Nation, 1825-1830" in *Early Georgia* (Vol. 1, No. 4, Spring, 1955), the quarterly magazine of the Society for Preservation of Early Georgia History. Other papers on the subject are in this same number of *Early Georgia*: "Symbols of a Civilization that Perished in its Infancy" by J. Roy McGinty, Editor, *The Calhoun Times"*; and "The Excavations of New Echota in 1954" by Clemens De Baillou. These papers review, respectively, the history of New Echota as a town, its place in the story of Georgia and the excavations carried on at the site up to 1955, all of absorbing interest in the history of the Cherokee Nation that had a prominent place in the history of Oklahoma.

Dr. Malone's careful research reveals data that prove conclusively the exact location of New Echota as shown on the original field notes made by Stephen Drane, Georgia's State surveyor in 1832. It was at Newtown, the seat of the Cherokee government near the junction of the Coosawattee and the Connesauga rivers beginning in 1820, that the Cherokee National Council issued a resolution on November 12, 1825, establishing the townsite of the new capital of the nation. This provided the marking of a townsite of one hundred lots of one acre square each, and a public square of two acres on the Connesauga, to be called "Echota." The resolution was signed by John Ross, President of the National Committee; Major Ridge, Speaker; Pathkiller, Principal Chief; Charles Renatus Hicks, Assistant Chief; Alexander McCoy, Clerk of the Committee, and Elias Boudinot, Clerk of the National Council. John Martin, George Sanders and Walter S. Adair who were members of a commission appointed by John Ross to superintend the work carried on the plans. A printing office of hewed logs was erected according to specifications where the first number of the *Cherokee Phoenix* was published on February 28, 1828. The two Cherokee government buildings were one to house the National Supreme Court and another, the National Council. The main tavern was that of Alexander McCoy who operated a ferry on the river. There were several business houses and a post office near the government buildings. The residences included the Reverend Samuel Worcester's house, the only original building still standing on the

site of New Echota, besides several known from early descriptions: the attractive home of Elias Boudinot, "the large beautiful residence of Elijah Hicks,—member of the Senate from Cooseegatah," the "handsome cottage residence of Jno. F. Wheeler, the printer." Excavations under the direction of Mr. De Baillou on the townsite have disclosed the footings and other evidences of the main buildings, and have revealed stone artifacts (prehistoric Indian) and rich cultural materials of the old capital days—forks and knives with carved bone handles, hand-painted English china and Sequoyah type used on the printing press of the *Phoenix*. Temporary markers on the site of New Echota indicate the location of some of the buildings.

Mr. Henry B. Bass, member of the Oklahoma Historical Society's Board of Directors, and his brother, Mr. John H. Bass, visited the New Echota project in Georgia this last May, and have sent enthusiastic reports with some photographs of this and the restoration of the "Vann House" near the old Moravian Mission at Spring Place, east of Echota, in Murray County, Georgia. The *Newsletter* published by the Georgia Department of Commerce for September, 1955, carries a fine view of the restored "Vann House" on the front cover, and devotes a short article to its history. Located three miles west of Chatsworth, the County Seat of Murray County, the old ruin of the Vann House was purchased from the private owner, and deeded to the State of Georgia. The Georgia Historical Commission restored the building at a cost of $40,000. A large collection of relics and objects relating to Cherokee history are to be housed in this historical dwelling as a museum. The Historical Commission has planned tours to visit these historic sites in Northwest Georgia, all of which are of deep interest to the people of Oklahoma as a part of its own prelude in history.

The following letter from Mr. C. E. Gregory, Director of the Georgia Historical Commission, tells of its work on the restoration projects.[1]

Mr. Henry B. Bass,
Bass Building,
Enid, Oklahoma.

Dear Mr. Bass:

Thank you very much for the pictures of Mr. Kurtz and me which I received in this morning's mail.

After meeting you during the tour of the Chicago Civil War Round Table at the McNeel home in Marietta, I tried to find the memo I made of your initials and address in order to carry out my promise to send you some

[1] A note on "The Old Vann House," the title of a paper read before the Rotary Club of Georgia, by Mrs. B. J. Bandy was published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1 (Spring, 1954), pp. 94-8, reviewing the history of this early Georgia residence, the home of "Rich Joe" Vann who is known in Oklahoma history as a Cherokee settler at Webbers Falls on the Arkansas River.

Vann House restored near Spring Place, Georgia. Built by James Vann of Cherokee Nation, 1799.

Worcester House, ruins on site of New Echota. Restoration project near Calhoun, Georgia, 1955.

Site of Cherokee Court House, New Echota, restoration project, 1956.

Site of McCoy's Tavern, New Echota, restoration project, 1956.

information about the Vann House. I remembered your name, but could not find the address. Therefore I had to wait until I heard from you to fulfill my promise.

I am enclosing all the printed matter we have about the Vann House, including Exhibit A, which is a pamphlet we got out during our campaign to raise funds for the purchase of the property. Cherokees from the North Carolina reservation came to Dalton and took part in a school parade and we have promised to install Cherokee families as caretakers and hostesses at both the Vann House and New Echota when we are ready to open these Cherokee sites to tourists.

Residents of Whitfield County (Dalton) and Murray County (Chatsworth) raised $6,000, bought the Vann House from an old doctor who was letting it fall down, and gave the property to this Commission. We spent $20,000 restoring the exterior and now have another $20,000 for restoring the interior, on which work is in progress. We engaged Dr. Henry Chandlee Forman, of Easton, Md., a nationally known historical architect, to plan the restoration, and he insisted on duplicating the hand carving done by Indians in the Vann House. We plan later, as money is available, to rebuild the other structures that stood around the Vann House, and also to restore the garden and to landscape the grounds. However, we are handicapped by lack of information from Vann descendants.

We are working toward the restoration of all the government buildings at New Echota, but have no publications yet on that historic Cherokee site.

I will be glad to answer any further questions you may want to ask.

Sincerely,

(Signed)

C. E. GREGORY, Director.

Seneca-Cayuga Green Corn Ceremonial Feast *

The annual Green corn festival of the Seneca-Cayuga Indians of northeastern Oklahoma is held traditionally about the middle of August. The stomp grounds, located ten miles north of Grove and two miles southeast of Turkey Ford, on State Highway 10 are but a stone's throw from the Cowskin branch of the Lake o' the Cherokees. The ceremony is open to the public but tribal rulers will not permit the religious rites of the festival to be photographed.

The Green Corn Feast still retains its religious significance, and is little changed from the days when the Senecas and Cayugas were "People of the Long House", a part of the mighty confederacy of the League of the Iroquois.

When Lewis Whitewing, the seventy-nine year-old tribal speaker, opens the ceremony praying beside a small fire burning in the middle of the "long house" where the greencorn rites are held, he

* A contributor to *The Chronicles* of articles on history in Ottawa County where the remnants of many Indian tribes made their last tribal home, Velma Nieberding of Miami, Oklahoma, here tells of the annual Green Corn Festival of the Seneca and Cayuga Indians.—Ed.

will begin with a prayer of thanksgiving to *Hawenniyu,* the literal translation of which "He is a Great Chief." Whitewing is thanking "The Great Spirit" for the gifts of the earth. From a buckskin pouch he takes the sacred Indian tobacco and sprinkling it on the fire for incense makes certain motions of his hands toward the sky. Sometimes he will fan the fire with a turkey wing fan. The Indians gathering in the tribal house are silent and attentive, watching the smoke of the fire as it carries the prayers heavenward.

Following the opening ceremony the traditional turtle-shell or Confession dance is held and then the babies are named. In the old days each clan of the tribe had a "keeper of names" but today all the babies are named by the venerable Whitewing. A baby is given an ancestral name derived from some feat performed by a member of his or her own clan. After naming, the baby is carried about the "long house" while the assembled Indians express in song best wishes for its future life.

Some of the dances of the Green Corn Festival are for rain, and it is not unusual for showers to fall sometime during the week of the Festival. In this ceremony the drummers acting as the sun drawing water call the dancers to the doorway of the "long house". Their answer is the song of the thunder before the rain. In the ancient Iroquoian ceremony, Heno "the Thunderer" is requested to continue his favors for the next year. The same favors are asked in turn of the sun, the earth, and the moon.

All of the ceremonies the first day are solemn and religious in nature. But the second day the Peach Seed Game, which is the principal amusement of the Festival, begins. While the players derive much pleasure from this game, it is by tradition played to please *Hawenniyu,* and is continued as long as *Hawenniyu* is considered to be amused by it.

In the Peach Seed Game, the clans of the north play against the clans of the south. Mrs. Mamie Long, a Seneca, living near Turkeyford, is by tribal tradition the keeper of the wooden bowl and the peach seeds with which the game is played. The bowl, medium in size and shallow, is over forty years old and was made by Jackson Jimerson, an Indian from Canada. It is carved from maple and has the soft, polished patina of age. Inside the bowl, on opposite sides, are painted a wolf and a deer, symbols of the north and south clans. The peach seeds, highly polished from long handling, are painted black on one side. They likewise are very old. In playing the game, the six polished seeds are put into the bowl and shaken vigorously, the object being to turn up seeds with black sides. Scorers keep the tally with 150 beans as the bowl passes from player to player.

The Seneca clans were originally Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Beaver, Deer, Snipe, Heron and Hawk. The Cayugas possessed an additional

clan, the Eel. Today only a few of the clans are represented when the tribesmen meet in the Green Corn Ceremonial.

Last year the South clans won The Peach Seed game, wagering a string of blue and white wampum against a buckskin bag of sacred tobacco. This year, Little Beaver, of the South clan, is to start the game. The sacred Indian tobacco used in the ceremony is hand-raised by the Senecas, the seed having been handed down in the tribe from earliest times.

A committee of six women and six men prepare the food for the feast. They are supervised by Mrs. Ruby Charloe, wife of the Chief. It is a traditional duty inherited from her mother, the late Amanda Turkey. Tribal ritual provides that the women who cook the green corn inherit the honor from generation to generation.

Green corn, the principal dish of the feast, is prepared separately from the other food. Those who eat the corn agree that it could be prepared the same way at home but "it would never taste the same." A huge iron kettle simmering over a fire of hickory wood, tended by the men, is used to cook the meat. Originally this was game meat of some sort, preferably deer. Today it is beef. After hours of slow cooking the meat is lifted to other pots to be kept warm and the green corn, cut from the cob, is put to cook in the meat broth.

The serving of the corn is an interesting ceremony. Tribal members and visitors invited to partake of the feast sit on benches around the "long house," and the food is passed by the men. Each guest brings his own dish. The Indians have previously brought the fruits of their fields and orchards to the long house and these offerings are stacked in one great heap. The hot, fragrant corn is ladled into one's dish, and big chunks of beef are handed out of a basket. "Fry bread" is passed, and large red or yellow tomatoes. Last year to finish off the feast, watermelons were cut and passed to the guests. Always there are pots of coffee steaming in nearby cook tents, and soft drinks are made available but are not served in the "long house."

A spirit of festivity and fun marks this occasion. Here, governed by rituals of the untraceable past, the Indian is pausing to give thanks for the gifts of the earth. It is an ending of the harvest with prayer and gratitude and a renewal of friendships. When the feast has been cleared away and the drummers gather in the middle of the long house; when the singers begin their chants and the "shell shakers" strap the terrapin shells filled with pebbles to their ankles, many white people prepare to join their Indian brothers in the social side of the "Green Corn Dance."

The Seneca-Cayuga tribes were the first Indian tribes of Oklahoma to organize under the Thomas-Rogers Oklahoma Indian Wel-

fare Act of 1936. With these Indians the idea of tribal responsibility has never died through all their wanderings. The Government of the Chiefs, the keeping of tribal festivities, and above all the spirit of Indian co-operation has been kept alive among them.

Visitors expecting buckskin and beads or feathered war dances will be disappointed. Compared to some Indian tribes the dress of the Seneca-Cayuga is plain. The men favor bluejeans and colorful "ribbon" shirts and neck scarves. Some of them carry turkey-wing fans while dancing. Leaders of the tribe paint their faces, three red stripes on each cheek. The women wear full-skirted, long sleeved, ruffled "squaw" dresses and bright aprons. Some wear silver and shell jewelry, and for dancing most of them wear moccasins.

The Seneca-Cayugas have other dances during the year including the blackberry and strawberry festivals. The Green Corn Dance, one of the most widely attended is probably the least understood, especially if the visitor misses the significance of the ancient rituals.

—Velma Nieberding

Awards and Decorations of the Confederacy

The Oklahoma Historical Society has often received inquiries on the nature and extent of awards and decorations presented to personnel of the Confederate military service. Through the courtesy of Harry Weiss, Esq., Editor of *Weekly Philatelic Gossip,* Holton, Kansas, we are able to reprint this interesting article by a well known authority on Confederate philately, published here because of widespread interest in all details of service in the Confederate military establishment.

—George H. Shirk

THE CONFEDERATE ROLL OF HONOR

By THOMAS PARKS

It may be a surprise to most readers to learn that the Spartan-like Confederate States Army had a long forgotten award for military effort.

It neither offered "hardware" (medals), "fruit salad" (ribbons), or "hash marks" (service stripes), but inscribed names of members, chosen by election, on rosters of the honored. After each victory each company of the Confederate States Army was authorized to elect one soldier on the basis of his participation in the battle and inscribe his name on his Regiment's "Roll of Honor" in accordance with an Act signed by President Jefferson Davis.

The history of military bravery awards prior to that of the Confederate Army is a study in itself. The ancient Greeks, whose example the Confederates followed during the first three years of the war, had the typically Spartan attitude that conspicuous valor in action was to be expected without special reward, and anything less deserved punishment. On the other hand,

the Romans had a series of combat honors ranging from wreaths, swords and armor to victory parades for their heroes. The Romans had medals, too, but only for athletic contests. In various forms military rewards continued through the centuries until Napoleon started the modern vogue of medals suspended by ribbons. Perhaps the most challenging decoration of all time was that of Flemish troops in the Middle Ages who wore a rope and a nail *with which they were to be hanged if they ran away!* Thus originated the "*fourragere*" which certain American troops received in World Wars I and II from the French, the Belgians and the Dutch.

The American tradition started with a gold medal voted by Congress to General Washington on March 25, 1776 after the capture of Boston. Eighty-six such special gold and silver medals were voted between 1776 and 1862. On August 7, 1782 Washington originated the "Purple Heart," a piece of cloth sewed on the coat. It was awarded to three soldiers and forgotten until 1932 when it was revived as a decoration for military personnel wounded by enemy action. In 1783 the "hash mark," a cloth stripe on the left sleeve for three years service, was adopted by the Army and it alone, of all the early decorations, continues today. In the Mexican War a "Certificate of Merit" with $2.00 per month extra pay was awarded to distinguished privates, but to no other ranks. For nearly a century after 1776 the standard American award for distinguished military service was the "Brevet" promotion, an advance of one commissioned grade for sergeants and up. Since this did not necessarily mean an increase in pay or command it was a somewhat confusing and dubious honor.

The Confederate leaders, many of whom had been officers in the Mexican War, including President Davis and General Lee, certainly knew of the above but perhaps ruled them out because of the political bickering which attended the award of "Brevets" during that war. That they considered, legislated and finally adopted a system for recognition of conspicuous service seems to have been forced upon them by the "competition." Chronologically, developments were as follows:

On July 12, 1862, at the end of the first year of war, Northern enthusiasm was waning and the United States Congress authorized and provided funds for 2,000 "Congressional Medals of Honor" to be awarded for valor beyond the call of duty. Presentation of these started on March 25, 1863, with as much publicity as possible, retroactive to First Bull Run-Manassas and even a few before that.

On October 13, 1862 the Confederate Congress enacted a law reading in part: "That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to bestow medals, with proper devices, upon such officers of the armies of the Confederate States as shall be conspicuous for courage and good conduct on the field of battle, and also to confer a badge of distinction upon one private or non-commissioned officer of each company after every signal victory it shall have assisted to achieve."

However, the hard pressed South was too busy "gittin' on with the wah" to divert time and effort to honors just then and provided no money for them.

Four months later, on Feb. 2, 1863, somebody in General Rosecranz's Union Army of the Cumberland dreamed up a dream applicable to that Army only. This provided that valor was to be recognized only in certain stated quantities of so many of each rank in each brigade, the same to have their names on a "Roll of Honor" and to be separated from their units and formed in "Roll of Honor Companies" with special arms, special duties and a red ribbon badge to identify them. Needless to say the idea died. This red ribbon is not to be confused with the book "The Red Badge of Courage," one of the best known stories of the war.

After the battle of Chancellorsville, half a year later, on August 17, 1863, General Lee complained to the Secretary of War that in accordance with the General Order authorizing medals and badges under the Act of the Confederate Congress of October 13, 1862, the Army of Northern Virginia had recommended a number of well deserved awards and nothing had happened.

That put on the spot the venerable General Sam Cooper, who probably was behind the Spartan-like Confederate system. Inconspicuous in history, General Cooper was a strong influence. A New Yorker, he had been the Adjutant General of the United States Army, had resigned, and had been appointed the Adjutant and Inspector General of the Confederate States Army, where he was senior to General Lee and all others. Perhaps in his previous long service in the Federal Army he had been soured on military honors. Anyway, on October 3, 1863, he issued General Orders No. 131 replacing the previously legislated medals and badges with a "Roll of Honor" not too different from the Army of the Cumberland's idea except that it provided no badge of any kind. Moreover, he did nothing about it for nearly another year, by which time a great number of those honored had fallen in battle.

In part this order reads as follows: . . . "Difficulties in procuring the medals and badges of distinction have delayed their presentation by the President, as authorized by the Act of Congress approved October 13, 1862, to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the Armies of the Confederate States conspicuous for courage and good conduct on the field of battle. To avoid postponing the grateful recognition of their valor until it can be made in the enduring form provided by that Act, it is ordered:

"I. That the names of all those who have been, or may hereafter be, reported worthy of this distinction, be engraved on a Roll of Honor, to be preserved in the Office of the Adjutant and Inspector General for reference in all future time for those who have deserved well of their country, as having best displayed their courage and devotion on the field of battle.

"II. That the Roll of Honor, so far as now made up, be appointed to this order and read at the head of every regiment in the service of the Confederate States at the first dress parade after its receipt, and be published in at least one newspaper in each State. . . .

"By order S. Cooper, Adjutant and Inspector General."

The "Official Records" contain only two lists of "Roll of Honor" awards. One was dated August 10, 1864, memorializing a total of 724 officers and men. The other was dated December 10, 1864. After that the "Roll of Honor" seems to have been forgotten in the press of more urgent matters. Apparently less than 900 were named.

We are indebted to Van Dyk MacBride of the Confederate Stamp Alliance, for the key to this study. A book which he loaned me, "Four Years With Marse Robert," by Major Robert Stiles, contained the only reference I have seen to the "Roll of Honor" outside of the "Official Records," and he furnished the photo illustrated herewith.

Major Stiles criticized the "Roll of Honor" selection system bitterly. He called it a "lottery" in which the winners won nothing but the reading of their names to the regiments and publication in a newspaper, which so angered many units that they never made any such recommendations. I thought this was impossible but here are the rules as quoted in the "Official Records" and signed by the ubiquitous "General Sam" Cooper. in General Orders No. 64, August 10, 1864:

Confederate States of America Roll of Honor, Post Office Cover.

. . . "II. The non-commissioned officers and privates are authorized, at the first dress parade after each victory the company should have assisted to achieve, to distinguish by a majority of their votes one private or non-commissioned officer most conspicuous for gallantry and good conduct in the battle. Should more than one soldier be hereafter selected by a company as equal in merit, the name to be announced upon the roll *will be determined by lot.* Commissioned officers distinguished for gallantry on the field are not to be selected by vote of the company, battalion or regiment to which they belong, but a statement of their official good conduct should be made by their immediate commander and forwarded through the regular channels to this office."

Under these rules the fourth crew of the Confederate Submarine "H. L. Hunley" could not and did not receive even this honor, yet theirs was an act of courage exceeded by none on either side during the war. After the submarine had drowned most of two crews and the entire third crew, the Confederate Navy abandoned it. Lieutenant George E. Dixon of the 21st Alabama Infantry Regiment, civilian Thomas Parks, its builder, and seven soldier (not sailor) volunteers ranking from captain to private, not only took it out on hazardous training cruises but with it sank the USS "Housatonic" on February 17, 1864, with the loss of their own lives.

In his book Major Stiles related how Union soldiers were spurred to greater effort by a variety of cloth badges as well as the Congressional Medal of Honor. The soldier who captured him in April, 1865 was assured he would receive a special badge for capturing an officer. Investigation reveals that there was a varitey of these decorations awarded but not with official blessing from higher up.

Unfortunately the Major did not sufficiently identify the Confederate honor and I was unable to locate references to it until I saw the cover illustrated here. After that I found that fourteen volumes of the "Official Records" contained mentions of the Confederate Roll of Honor.

The objection to "lottery" was due to the fundamental error of authorizing *companies to elect* their heroes—naturally they had more than one—instead of having brave men enlisted men designated by their commanders, as was done for the officers. The "Official Records" list by name 3018 Confederate outfits which included perhaps some 5000 company-size units, and Confederate forces took part in 2261 battles, large or small. If all companies had been able to nominate all their bravest men for the "Roll of Honor" it would have lost prestige through too many awards.

Few Confederates lived long enough to witness the "other side" having this difficulty. Up to January, 1917, a total of 2625 U. S. soldiers and sailors had received the Congressional Medal of Honor. On February 15, 1917, just before World War I, the Medal of Honor Board decided that 911 awards were unjustified and struck their names from the rolls. Of these, 864 men, the entire roster of a regiment, had received the Medal because they defended Washington, D. C. after their enlistments had expired and they could have gone home instead. At the time Congress was grateful but 50-odd years later the Board took a dim view of such service having been "beyond the call of duty."

The writer has seen a total of three "Roll of Honor" envelopes, in two typesettings, all postmarked Raleigh, N. C., and addressed to Army officers in North Carolina. The contents were gone but the single 10c stamp indicated they did not carry long lists. Just what they were used for, and whether others have survived, may never be known.

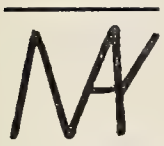
It is on record that Napoleon, when boarding the HMS "Bellerophon" for exile, remarked: "What! No marks of merit?" about the uniforms of his

honor guard of British soldiers, whom he mistook for recruits. When informed that they were veterans of campaigns against him but that it was then British custom not to decorate common soldiers, Napoleon replied: *Such is not the way to excite or cherish the military virtues!*"

Virginians George Washington and Robert E. Lee, and Mississippian Jefferson Davis, agreed with Napoleon, and Tennesseean Alvin C. York and Texas Audie Murphy, the most publicized Congressional Medal of Honor winners of World Wars I and II, probably agreed, but New Yorker Sam Cooper, Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General, apparently did not agree, and thereby hangs this tale.

The only tangible mementos of the wartime Confederate award for bravery in action, appear to be three envelopes imprinted "Official Business, Adjutant General's Office, Roll of Honor." No badges exist.

Tussy Community near Wildhorse Creek, Named for Henry B. Tussy, Pioneer Rancher in the Chickasaw Nation



H. B. Tussy Cattle Brand

Tussy Community corners in three counties, Garvin, Stephens and Carter counties, and is located in an old spring-fed region near Wildhorse Creek on the Base Line, in Township three West, fifteen miles west of the Indian Meridian. The "Base Line Store" or "Tussy Store" and most of the residents of the community today are in Garvin County, as well as the old cemetery where Henry B. Tussy lies buried. He died at the age of eighty-three on July 9, 1938, having made his home just over the line in Sthepens County since soon after his marriage to Miss Lili Colbert on July 4, 1886. Tussy was named for him when the first post office was established here in Pickens County, Chickasaw Nation on March 1, 1890, with Finch P. Scraggs as Post Master.[1]

Henry B. Tussy, born July 8, 1855, at Louisville, Kentucky, was the son of Jacob and Mary Tussy, natives of Tennessee, who were of the sturdy stock that characterized many of the early settlers in Oklahoma. He was fourteen years old when he came with his parents to the Cherokee Nation where his father died in 1870. The next year Henry went to Sugden, present Jefferson County, where he was employed as a ranch-hand in the flourishing days along the old Chisholm Trail in this region. He and his young wife made their first home at Cold Springs two miles south of present Tussy Store. They had married at Velma, an early-day post office in the Indian Territory.[2] Lili Colbert Tussy was the daughter of James Colbert and the granddaughter of Governor Winchester Colbert of the Chickasaw Nation (elected three terms,

[1] George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 231.

[2] The first post office was established at Velma, in the Chickasaw Nation, on September 25, 1886, with John R. Frensley as Postmaster.—*Ibid.*, p. 232.

1858-60 and 1862-66). Mr. and Mrs. Tussy were the parents of nine children, all of whom survived him at the time of his death, together with twenty-four grandchildren. Mrs. Tussy is still living at her home in the Tussy Community.

Mr. Tussy at the age of eighty-three was one of the most prosperous farmers and livestock men, and was one of the largest land owners in Stephens County. He had bought up many hundreds of acres, and added to his wife's original Chickasaw allotment after 1902. He was identified with the Woodmen of the World and Masonic lodges, and was a lifelong member of the Methodist Church.

Back in the 1880's and 1890's, he long served as an employee on the Bill Addington Ranch which covered twelve square miles in the Tussy area. The fence around this ranch was the first wire fence in Stephens County, including a part of Garvin and Carter counties. When allotment of lands was made in the Chickasaw Nation before Statehood, this wire fence was cut and rolled up; settlers came from miles around and claimed part of the wire, and it served to fence many farms and pastures in this part of present Oklahoma.

When Henry Tussy came to the Chickasaw Nation in 1871, he was in company with Georye Gray who was still his neighbor at the time of his death in 1938, living two miles east of Tussy. Both men were pioneers of the "old school," for both had worked hard and enjoyed the fruits of their labor. They both had hunted together, and had many adventures. Gray liked to tell of many of their camping experiences back in early days when they were young men. One time on a deer hunt, they failed to get any deer but killed a panther. They were out of meat and were hungry so they invented "panther steak." And Gray added that it was the best steak he ever ate. Wild turkey was plentiful all through the country. But deer were a source of revenue, the hides bringing $4.00 or 47c per pound on the market. Tussy and Gray hauled their cotton and deer hides to Gainesville and to Denison, Texas, taking five or six days to make the trip by wagon.

When Henry Tussy first located on the Addington Ranch, there was nothing but wild prairie where there are cities and towns in Stephens County today; there were only cow paths through the tall grass to indicate life of any kind. Gray said that there was not a house between where he later had his home near Tussy and Fort Sill. The first house was built by Jim Doak at Velma, out of logs cut and hauled from the bottom land on Wildhorse Creek. The only road through the whole region was the military trail from Fort Arbuckle to Fort Sill, along which Tussy and Gray watched the big army wagons travel, the first highway through Carter and Stephens Counties.

—Muriel H. Wright

1956 Historical Society Tour Over the Old Chisholm Trail

Retracing the Chisholm Trail was an intriguing experience for those who participated in the annual tour of the Oklahoma Historical Society on May 3, 4, and 5 of this year.

The general plans of the tour were outlined by a committee composed of R. G. Miller, Chairman, Col. George Shirk, H. B. Bass, Exall English, and Thomas J. Harrison. These members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society were appointed for this duty by Gen. W. S. Key, Society President. The details of the tour were worked out by the committee chairman and members of the regular staff.

More than one hundred took the trip. The majority rode in two large busses, while several went by automobile. The caravan left Oklahoma City, with a police escort, at 6:50 a. m. on Thursday, May 3.

The first stop was at Tuttle, where the Silver City monument is located on the American Legion grounds. Old Silver City was located about 2½ miles north of the marker. The Administrative Secretary made a brief talk at this stop, pointing out the highlights in the history of Silver City.

At the eastern outskirts of Chickasha, city traffic police met the tourists and escorted them to the campus of the Oklahoma College for Women. Here a fine breakfast was served to the visitors in the college cafeteria. The O. C. W. chorus, under the direction of Miss Dorothy Tullis, furnished music for the breakfast program, which was presided over by General Key. Dr. Dan Proctor, President of the college, gave a brief welcome and introduced several people who had assisted in making arrangement for the breakfast, among whom was Dr. Anna B. Lewis, head of the college history department. A number of Chickasha citizens, including State Senator Walter Allen, were present at the breakfast. General Key expressed deep appreciation to the college and the citizens of Chickasha for their kindness in having arranged the breakfast.

Leaving Chickasha, the caravan progressed southward down Highway 81 to the Historical Society marker north of Rush Springs. This marker indicates the location of the Battle of Wichita Village. Miss Muriel Wright, Editor of the Chronicles, made a short talk giving pertinent facts concerning the Wichita Village battle. It was here that Dr. Ellsworth Collings, of the University of Oklahoma faculty, and one of the tourists, called attention to an old log house that was located about a quarter of a mile east of the marker. He said that this old house, which is down in a small valley, is the oldest house in that part of Oklahoma and that it was in use at the time the great herds were moving up the Chisholm Trail, less than two miles to the east.

When a short stop was made at Marlow, representatives of the Chamber of Commerce of that city presented a large bouquet of flowers to the tourists and expressed pleasure at having the tourists call on them. Many of the visitors were heard to remark how much they appreciated this courtesy shown them at Marlow.

By this time the caravan was considerably behind schedule and needed to travel rapidly if it was to get to the Red River Bridge in time to meet the Texas delegation at 11:00 a. m. This meant that sixty miles must be traveled in less than an hour, which was impossible, even though there was a highway patrol escort to clear the way.

While rolling along between Waurika and Ryan, two large busses loaded with Texans, who had been retracing the Chisholm Trail in their state, passed the Oklahoma entourage. This was the group that the Oklahomans had planned to meet at the Red River.

It was decided by General Key, after consulting with other members of the Board, that it would be best for the Sooners to turn around and join forces with the Texans. So, the busses and automobiles of the Oklahoma group turned around in Ryan and headed back north, catching up with the Texans at Waurika, where they had stopped and were awaiting the arrival of the Oklahomans.

While the Texans waited at the side of the road on U. S. Highway 81, the Oklahoma group followed U. S. Highway 70 to the south edge of Waurika, where a new Oklahoma Historical Society marker was dedicated. This marker indicated the 98th meridian, which was the western boundary of old Indian Territory in that region. It had been erected under the auspices of the Delphian Club. Mrs. Harley Ivy made the presentation to the Historical Society and General W. S. Key spoke in acceptance. He complimented the club women of Waurika for their splendid contribution in erecting the marker and expressed the hope that more groups in more communities would see to it that historical sites are properly marked.

Under the guidance of Judge J. G. Clift of Duncan, the combined Oklahoma and Texas groups traveled to Monument Hill two miles east of Addington, where they were shown views of where the old Chisholm Trail crossed the pasture lands. On getting ready to leave Monument Hill, one of the Oklahoma busses became stuck in the mud and a tractor had to be called from the highway to help pull it out.

Eventually, all the Oklahomans and Texans were enjoying a big barbecue in a grove at the foot of Monument Hill. This barbecue was part of the old Pickens County cowboy reunion, and the tourists from Texas and Oklahoma were guests of this group. Visitors from both Oklahoma and Texas were loud in their praise of Judge Clift

and the Pickens County Cowpunchers Association for their genuine hospitality.

Following the barbecue at Addington, the Oklahomans proceeded to Duncan, while the majority of the Texans began their return journey home. Two or three cars of Texas travelers remained with the Oklahoma contingent. During the Duncan stop the travelers were guests of the Halliburton Oil Well Cementing Company. They viewed some of the early day equipment used by that company.

Still considerably behind schedule, the caravan reached the Wichita Mountain Wild Life Refuge at about 4:30. With R. G. Miller acting as master of ceremonies, rangers and others gave information concerning the extent of the refuge and the methods used in carrying on their activities. A herd of long-horn steers, descendents of the type that traveled the Chisholm Trail in the 70's and 80's, had been rounded up by the rangers for the visitors to view. A herd of buffalo had also been driven into a pasture near the road where they might be seen by those on the tour.

It had been planned to go through the Fort Sill Museum, but inasmuch as the hour was late, this stop was cancelled and the tourists went to the hotel in Lawton, arriving there shortly after 6:00 p. m.

Under the direction of Exall English, resident of Lawton and member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, an excellent dinner was served and program presented. A local historical exhibit was on display so that all attending the banquet might view it. The banquet and program received the sincere plaudits of all in attendance.

The second day of the tour began with a run from Lawton to Anadarko. The first place visited in Anadarko was the grave of Black Beaver, famous Indian scout and leader. Miss Muriel Wright spoke to the group concerning the career of Black Beaver. Following her talk two descendents of Black Beaver were presented to the visitors.

Under the guidance of the Anadarko Junior Chamber of Commerce, the travelers went to Indian City which is located two miles south of Anadarko. At this place handicrafts, building structures and other Indian materials were viewed. A special Indian dance was put on by Indians living in the Anadarko neighborhood for the entertainment of the visitors.

Fort Reno was the next stop for the caravan. Here the group was met by representatives of the El Reno Chamber of Commerce, who served doughnuts and coffee to their guests. This proved to be a fortunate event, because the travelers did not get to eat lunch until around 3:00 that afternoon. At Fort Reno the old quarters

that had been occupied by General Philip Sheridan were viewed, along with the Quartermaster Building. From the former parade grounds of Fort Reno, the tourists went to the old fort cemetery, where many early day soldiers, who served at the fort, are buried. The graves of Germans and Italians, who died while American prisoners of war in camps located in Oklahoma during World War II, were also visited.

From Fort Reno the tourists proceeded to Geary, where a new Historical Society marker was dedicated. This marker is on the highway a short distance north of Geary. It tells of the location of the grave of Jesse Chisholm, for whom the Chisholm Trail was named. Miss Genevieve Seger, member of the Board of Directors of the Historical Society, along with other Geary citizens, had arranged for the dedicatory program. R. G. Miller and General Key were speakers on the program, which was highlighted by the recitation of the Twenty-third Psalm in Indian sign language by Mrs. R. L. McElhaney, a member of the Kiowa tribe.

The visit to Jesse Chisholm's grave was a solemn affair. The last resting place of the great pioneer and trail blazer is on a small knoll near Johnny Left Hand Spring, a few miles northeast of Geary. Following a short commemorative talk by General Key, a bouquet of flowers was placed on the grave by Miss Muriel Wright. After the ceremonies at the grave the group proceeded over country roads to Watonga, and from there went to the new state recreational lodge at Roman Nose Park. Here a late afternoon luncheon was served.

The next stop was at Kingfisher, and a large number of townspeople had gathered on the court house lawn to greet the visitors. Judge George Bowman, member of the Board of Directors of the Society, was in charge of the local proram. After words of welcome by Judge Bowman, General Key responded by thanking the Kingfisher people for their generous hospitality. The Kingfisher high school band played several numbers and a quartet sang. State Senator Roy Boecher was a member of the quartet.

Moving northward, the caravan stopped at Dover, where another Oklahoma Historical Society marker had recently been erected. This marker designated the exact spot where the Chisholm Trail passed through that locality and also designated the location of the old Red Fork Ranch. Robert Barr, on behalf of Dover citizens, presented the marker to the Society and General Key accepted. The Administrative Secretary also spoke briefly. A number of pioneer men and women of the Dover community were present for the ceremonies.

It was at the history-laden town of Hennessey that the caravan made one of its most interesting stops. Here the grave of Roy

Cashion, first man from Oklahoma to lose his life in the Spanish-American War, was viewed and the location of the Pat Hennessey massacre was also visited. Coffee and doughnuts were served in the community building by the Hennessey Lions Club. A parade of local groups preceded the Society caravan into town.

The second night stop was made at Enid. Henry B. Bass, member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, was in charge of the evening's program, which was attended by the visiting tourists and a large number of Enid residents. Dr. E. C. McReynolds, of the history faculty of the University of Oklahoma, was the speaker of the occasion. During the festivities, General and Mrs. Key were presented with a large wedding anniversary cake, which came as a great and pleasant surprise to the couple.

The third and final day of the tour began with a visit to the Great Salt Plains near Cherokee. This was a fifty-mile drive from Enid. The Plains are considered among the scenic wonders of Oklahoma, and were long a landmark for Indians and early day travelers.

The tour backtracked to the vicinity of the Chisholm Trail at Pond Creek, observing the evidences of the old trail where it crossed the highway west of that city. At the south edge of Jefferson, the site of the old Sewell Ranch was visited and also the graves of two cowboys who were killed by the Indians while riding the Chisholm Trail. The Administrative Secretary spoke briefly at the monuments.

Medford, the county seat of Grant County, was the last stop in Oklahoma for the tour. Upon reaching the outskirts of Medford, the visitors were greeted by blowing whistles of old thrashing machine engines. The main street of Medford had been roped off and a royal welcome was given to the tourists. The high school band played and a girls' Quartet sang several numbers. Officials of the Medford Chamber of Commerce made the official welcome, which was responded to by General Key and Chairman R. G. Miller. Refreshments were served to the entire group, all of whom expressed deep appreciation for the fine reception that had been given them by the citizens of Medford.

It was only a few minutes' run from Medford until the Oklahoma delegation crossed the Kansas line, where they were met by a parade of ancient cars, horseback riders, and other Caldwell representatives. These groups escorted the Oklahomans to a pasture at the south edge of Caldwell, where the ruts of the old Chisholm Trail could be plainly seen. Here a barbecue was served to the tourists and hundreds of Kansans who had gathered at Caldwell to celebrate the first annual Border Queen City festival. After the

barbecue, the Oklahoma busses and cars proceeded to downtown Caldwell where the tourists visited the historical exhibits that had been prepared by the people of Caldwell, who reside in the town that was long the northern terminus of the Chisholm Trail.

Nyle H. Miller, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society was on hand to officially represent the State of Kansas, while Lt. Governor Pink Williams represented the State of Oklahoma and General Key the Oklahoma Historical Society. Lt. Governor Williams had been along for the retracing of the Trail in its entirety.

At 2:30 p. m. the Oklahoma caravan left Caldwell and arrived at the Historical Society Building in Oklahoma City shortly before 6:00.

—Elmer L. Fraker

BOOK REVIEWS

The Autobiography of Sam Houston. Edited by Donald Day and Herbert Ullom. (The University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1955. Pp. 298, Illus. $5.00.)

There appear in our country's history few personalities more intriguing and refreshing than Sam Houston. Although somewhat of an historical enigma, Houston even today, as during his lifetime, is a character of whom everyone has a positive opinion. Perhaps today he would be known as a "controversial" figure. His domestic troubles, his unexpected resignation as governor of Tennessee, his remarkable interlude at Fort Gibson, and finally his misunderstood stand on the secession question, all gained for him a unique spot in American lore.

It is hard to write about such a person. Invaribly the biographer becomes so imbued with the central figure of his efforts that he unwittingly joins in the band of the pros or of the cons. The technique of presenting Houston through the means of an "autobiography" is a good one. Editors Day and Ullom have collected in chronological sequence all of the more important papers, manuscripts and letters of this man who did so much to shape the destiny of Texas. Laced firmly together with excellent editorial comments (all of which appear in readily distinguishable italics) and footnotes, this man's own words are presented in a highly worthy manner. The volume makes very good reading; and it would be hard to conceive of a finer access to the character and philosophy of Sam Houston than through its pages.

Regretfully for Oklahomans, Houston's life at Fort Gibson and "Wigwam Neosho" during the years 1829 to 1832 are all but ignored. In their haste to have him reach Texas and his ultimate destiny, the editors rush their autobiographee through the early years much too fast for those readers anxious to linger yet a while at Fort Gibson in Oklahoma.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

American Heritage. The Magazine of History: Publisher, James Parton; Editor, Bruce Catton. (Sponsored by American Association for State & Local History and Society of American Historians, Vol. VII, No. 4, June, 1956. Pp. 112. Illus., color and black and white. $2.95.)

The unprecedented success of *American Heritage,* the "Magazine of History" sponsored by the American Association for State

and Local History and the Society of American Historians, is attested by the June number, 1956. Paid circulation (annual subscription, $12.00; single copies, $2.95) and reader interest have exceeded all expectations since the publication of the first hard-back copy of this bi-monthly magazine in December, 1954. Every number since the beginning has had a beautiful format with striking illustrations in full-color and excellent articles on the American scene, each copy treasured in public and private libraries over the country, and some of the early numbers now listed as rare collector's items. Publisher James Parton with his editorial director, Joseph J. Thorndike, Jr., and Editor Bruce Catton with the associate and assistant editors have kept the high standard of the publication in the current issue.

This June number (Vol. VII, No. 4) has a fine reproduction, in colors on the outside front cover, of the portrait of General John Burgoyne in his scarlet coat and uniform as a British officer, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1766-1767. The theme of the lead article, "Burgoyne and America's Destiny" by Reginald Hargreaves is in the introductory statement: "Stickler for a point of honor, the General marched to defeat and helped lose a War." Opposite this page and more is a reproduction in full-color of John Trumbull's painting (1816-1824) of the surrender of the British at Saratoga on October 16, 1777, a turning point in the American Revolution that brought France to America's side. The caption at one side of this illustration briefs the history of the painting, and indicates the Continentals shown, among them Colonel Daniel Morgan in his white Virginia rifleman's uniform.

The Table of Contents for the June *American Heritage* lists fifteen titles that include in addition to the one mentioned above "A Record Filled With Sunlight" by Allan Nevins, which reappraises John C. Fremont's part in opening the Far West in pre-Civil War days. Another, "It Happens Every Four Years" by Roy F. Nichols, is appropros of the present year of 1956, telling about the early history of our national political conventions, with six pages in color showing old-time convention scenes, campaign banners, posters, campaign ribbons with patrotic symbols and candidate cards. "One Who Survived: Seaman Heyn's Story" is the verbatim account of the sinking of the U. S. S. *Juneau* off Guadalcanal in World War II given by a young sailor who was one of the few survivors.

The last title on the last page is "They Keep Tearing It Down," a reprint of a brief article from *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for July, 1856, which said: "We are not yet 80 years old and there is scarcely one historic house left standing in our greatest City." Evidently, there were people in this country a century ago who were thinking that "a city or nation which forgets its heritage, however brief, soon has none."

American Heritage is a distinguished publication that awakens deep pride in the history and the good things here in life today, which inspires to keep America great.

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Boundaries, Areas, Geographic Centers, and Altitudes of the United States and the Several States. Geological Survey Bulletin 817, Second Edition. (Washington, Government Printing Office. Reprinted 1955. Pp. 265, with maps. $2.00.)

Bulletin 817 of the United States Geological Survey, Department of the Interior, was published in 1932. Prepared by E. M. Douglas, it contains a chapter on each state and territory, giving in detail the origin of each state boundary, boundary line, geographical and statistical data for each state. Well documented notes on boundary origins, references and the historical significance of each are set forth; and the volume is a complete hand-book on the subjects set forth in the book's title.

Pages 216 to 219 are devoted to Oklahoma. This section shows the historical background and the reason for each boundary line of the state. Likewise, by referring to the sections on each of the neighboring states, wherein like reference data is to be found on that state's common boundary line with Oklahoma, a very fine work is available on the origin of each of Oklahoma's boundaries.

The Bulletin has long since been out of print, and has been considered by many as a "collectors item." A pocket envelope contains photographic reproductions of the Disturnell map of 1847 and the Mitchell 1755 map of North America.

The Government Printing Office is to be commended for reprinting and thus making available this Bulletin. The extent of the new printing is not known, but it is hoped that there will be a sufficient supply for all who desire to add this valuable reference work to their library.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

OFFICIAL MINUTES, ANNUAL MEETING, OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, APRIL 26, 1956

The annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held in the Auditorium of the Historical Society Building at 10:00 a. m. on Thursday April 26, 1956.

General W. S. Key, President, called the meeting to order with the following remarks: "I welcome you here and hope this will be the beginning of what will develop into a large, enthusiastic gathering each year. Although our Historical Society has grown to where we have a larger membership than ever before, there is still room for growth and expansion. This Historical Society Building is an ideal place for our annual meetings. It is to be hoped that in the future, with proper publicizing, meetings similar to this will be attended in such numbers that this auditorium will be overflowing.

"It is my desire, and the desire of all the members of our Board and staff, that every member of the Society feels that this is his organization. We want you to make suggestions at any time, to the end that the pooling of our wisdom will prove of great benefit to the Oklahoma Historical Society. It is our purpose to make the annual meeting a vital part of the Society's activities."

Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Chairman of the Program Committee, was introduced by General Key. She in turn presented the arranged entertainment program. The following is the program, as introduced by Mrs. Korn:

Musical Numbers by Arthur Bartow and Vannie Lou Miller, Students of the University of Oklahoma

"All Day on the Prairie"

"People Will Say We're in Love," from "Oklahoma"

"Out of My Dreams," from "Oklahoma"

"You'll Never Walk Alone," from "Carousel"

Following the musical numbers, the portrait of Joseph B. Thoburn, former Secretary of the Historical Society, was presented by Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Chairman of the Thoburn Memorial Committee.

In making the presentation, Judge Vaught said, "J. B. Thoburn was active in both church and civic affairs, helped organize several departments in our state government, and was the first person to become enough interested in preserving Oklahoma history to do something about it. He forgot J. B. Thoburn, but never forgot Oklahoma. He gave his life for this state, and it is fitting that we pay tribute at this time to such a distinguished Oklahoman. Dr. Thoburn was one of the men who helped get so much accomplished during our early years of development. It is a pleasure for me to make any contribution I can to the memory of this great man."

The portrait of Thoburn was painted by John Metcalf, Oklahoma City artist. Judge Vaught explained that the portrait was part of the Thoburn Memorial, the other being a monument that is to be erected in Rose Hill Cemetery, in Oklahoma City. At present Thoburn lies in an unmarked

grave, but under the chairmanship of Judge Vaught, sufficient funds were raised to erect a suitable monument and have the portrait painted. Judge Vaught commended Mr. John J. Hardin, owner of the Rose Hill Cemetery for furnishing a new site as a final resting place for Joseph B. Thoburn, and also for making a personal contribution towards the erection of a monument.

Mrs. Loma Weakly, of Muskogee, was then introduced by General Key. She presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society a Bible which had been the property of Mount Olivette White Shrine No. 1 and explained that the Bible had been used by the Mount Olivette Shrine for more than forty years. General Key accepted the Bible on behalf of the Society and expressed thanks to the Muskogee Shrine for turning this valuable gift to the Society.

A bookcase and approximately 250 books, to be known as the Korn Collection, were presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Mrs. Anna B. Korn. She also made a gift of a cabinet to house pieces of china and bric-a-brac to both the Confederate Memorial Hall and the Museum. General Key, on behalf of the Society, accepted these gifts and expressed words of appreciation for the long and loyal service Mrs. Korn has rendered to the State of Oklahoma, and particularly to the Historical Society.

It was pointed out by General Key that the Oklahoma Historical Society was caring for a rather large collection of General Raymond S. McLain's materials that would one day be placed in the War Memorial, which is proposed to be built north of the Historical Society Building. He said that the Historical Society would be custodians of these items and documents until such time as the War Memorial might be completed.

The Honorable William Franklin, Oklahoma City, was introduced by Mrs. Korn as the speaker of the day. In presenting Mr. Franklin, Mrs. Korn pointed out that he is the only living member of the delegation that went to Washington to plead for statehood for Oklahoma. She further stated that he was a member of the first state Senate, and that he not only knew Oklahoma history, but "had helped make it and lived it."

In his address Mr. Franklin said that the history of Oklahoma is deeply rooted in the past of America and Western Europe. He held out the hope that this generation would in turn contribute to the future, as past generations had contributed to ours.

Interesting comments were given by him on the trip made by the Oklahoma delegation to Washington to make an appeal for Oklahoma's admittance to statehood. He said that the difficulties and obstacles were many, but that the arguments on behalf of statehood out-weighed them.

The speaker paid tribute to the character of the people that settled Oklahoma. He asserted that the proof of their worth had been shown by the great progress made in the fifty years of statehood.

In closing, Mr. Franklin declared that anyone who claimed that Christianity had failed did not understand the situation. He said it is not Christianity that has failed, but people who have failed to practice Christianity.

Among those in attendance who were introduced by General Key were: Mrs. Grant Foreman; W. D. McBee; Dr. Alfred Sears, of the University of Oklahoma history faculty; Dr. Leonard Logan, University of Oklahoma sociology faculty; and Frank D. Northup, one of the charter members of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Administrative Secretary, Elmer L. Fraker, was then called upon for his annual report. In presenting this report he stated that the Society,

as had already been mentioned, was now the largest it had ever been, and that the finances were in good condition. He emphasized that an all-out effort must be made to increase the facilities and staff of the Society, so that it might keep pace with the increasing demands made upon it by the people of the state.

The purposes of the annual Oklahoma Historical Society tours were discussed by R. G. Miller, Chairman of the Tour Committee. He said that the primary purpose of the tours is to help develop public interest in the State of Oklahoma and its heritage. He stated that much work needed to be done in erecting monuments and markers throughout the state at historic spots, but that the success of such a program depends on the interest of the people.

It was moved by Judge Edgar S. Vaught and seconded by Dr. Leonard Logan that the actions taken by the Board of Directors during the preceding year be approved and confirmed. The motion was put and unanimously carried.

Mrs. Virgil Brown, of Oklahoma City, a representative of the Oklahoma D. A. R., made a short talk in which she said that the Oklahoma D. A. R. had been designated as one of the organizations in the United States to have the honor of choosing a hero whose name and achievements are to be placed on a memorial at Valley Forge. She said General W. S. Key, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, one of America's outstanding military men, had been the choice of this group. General Key replied, "I receive this honor with great humility."

The following members of the Board of Directors were present for the annual meeting: Henry B. Bass, Kelly Brown, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Joe Curtis, Exall English, Dr. Wayne Johnson, Gen. W. S. Key, Mrs .Anna B. Korn, R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, R. M. Mountcastle, H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, George H. Shirk, Judge Baxter Taylor, and Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

The session was adjourned at 12:00 noon and the Board of Directors re-assembled at the Indian Grill for luncheon and the regular Board meeting.

—W. S. KEY, President

Elmer L. Fraker, Secretary

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING APRIL 26, 1956

Members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met for luncheon at the Indian Grill, north of the State Capitol, at 12:00 noon on Thursday, April 26. Immediately following the luncheon Gen. W. S. Key, President of the Society, called the meeting to order.

The first order of business was roll call by the Secretary, with the following members answering present: Henry B. Bass, Kelly Brown, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Joe Curtis, Exall English, Dr. Wayne Johnson, Gen. W. S. Key, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, R. M. Mountcastle, H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, George H. Shirk, Judge Baxter Taylor, and Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

Absent members were Judge George L. Bowman, Dr. E. E. Dale, Thomas J. Harrison, Judge R. A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mrs. Jesse Moore, and Mrs. Willis C. Reed. Each of the absent members had notified the Secretary of their inability to be present.

This was the first meeting to be attended by newly elected member, Kelly Brown, of Muskogee. Mr. Brown had been presented by General Key to all those attending the annual Historical Society meeting, which had been held in the Society's auditorium prior to the meeting of the Board.

The first topic discussed was the necessity of amending the constitution and bylaws of the Oklahoma Historical Society, so as to bring them into conformity with present requirements. It was pointed out by General Key that, in order to amend the constitution or bylaws, the proposed amendments must be submitted to the entire membership of the Society at least ninety days in advance of the date of the meeting when such amendments would be voted upon. General Key then announcd that the committee to study the need for amending the constitution and bylaws was composed of Judge Baxter Taylor, Col. George H. Shirk, Judge N. B. Johnson, Judge Edgar S. Vaught, and Judge Redmond S. Cole. This committee is to bring their findings to the Board of Directors at a future meeting.

Mr. R. G. Miller, Chairman of the annual Tour Committee, reported that details had been completed for retracing the Chisholm Trail on May 3, 4, and 5. He expressed disappointment that more people did not become interested in the tours, because they were exceedingly bneficial to those desiring to learn Oklahoma history at first-hand. Miss Genevieve Seger suggested that each Board member contact their friends and urge them to join the Tour. Mr. Milt Phillips observed that it was difficult for some people to get away for three days during the busy time of the year.

The Administrative Secretary reported that he and the President of the Society had appeared before a State Senate committee that was checking on the needs of various state organizations. He said that the Society's plans for expansion were outlined in general to the committee. He also said that the Society's representatives had indicatd to the Senate committee that a onsiderably increased budget would be necessary to keep the Oklahoma Historical Society in a position to meet its responsibilities to the people of the State.

Mr. Fraker then told of another state legislative committee meeting, before which he and Mr. R. G. Miller appeared. He said that the questions

asked by members of this committee indicated that they were in sympathy with the Society's expanding its activities. The Secretary reported that he had told the committee that the reason the Historical Society did not expand its work was because of lack of funds. Mr. Miller, he said, had told the committee that much of the load of caring for the recording and preserving of history and historical spots in the state could be done by local groups. The two Society representatives also stated that some history projects were of such importance and magnitude that the Historical Society should be given the responsibility of caring for them.

The Secretary then reported on a recent trip he had taken to the site of old Ferdinandina. He also told of his recent visit to Winfield, Kansas, where he examined the artifacts and historical materials that had been collected from the site of Ferdinandina by the late Bert Moore. Mr. Fraker was accompanied on this trip by Miss Muriel Wright, Editor of the Chronicles. The Secretary stated that he had asked the widow of Mr. Moore to price these artifacts, and that she had done so. He further stated that he considered the amount asked by her to be a fair figure. Mr. Fraker then recommended that the Board of Directors authorize the purchase of the Bert Moore collection.

George Shirk moved that the Administrative Secretary's recommendation be approved and that the Executive Committee be empowered to purchase the Bert Moore Collection out of the private funds of the Society. The motion was seconded by Mr. Miller, Miss Seger, and Judge Vaught. President Key then appointed Judge Vaught and Colonel Shirk to assist the Secretary in consumating the purchase.

The Secretary reported that, as of that date, there were 770 life members in the Society and 1,590 annual members. He also stated that the finances of the Society were in splendid condition, and that all departments were living within their respective budgets.

Colonel Shirk, who had been chairman of the Rose Hill Cemetery Committee for some considerable time, suggested, since Dr. James D. Morrison, a member of the Board of Directors, lived much nearer the Rose Hill Cemetery than he did, that Dr. Morrison be named chairman of that Committee. He stated that Dr. Morrison had already been doing a major part of the work on the project of seeing that the Rose Hill Cemetery is cared for properly. Dr. Harbour moved that Colonel Shirk's suggestion be accepted and that the chairmanship of the Rose Hill Committee be conferred on Dr. Morrison. The motion was seconded by Mr. Curtis and adopted.

Upon the suggestion of General Key, a resolution was unanimously adopted thanking Judge Vaught for the leadership he had furnished in carrying to completion the project of securing funds for the erection of the Joseph B. Thoburn Memorial and the painting of Thoburn's portrait.

Before adjourning, General Key briefly discussed the plans that were being made for constructing the Raymond S. McLain War Memorial on the Oklahoma Historical Society grounds. He explained that it was proposed to erect this memorial north of the Historical Society Building, and that it would conform to the present building in style of architecture. He further stated that it was planned to have sufficient office space in the Memorial Building so that all organizations now occupying space in the Historical Society Building would be able to remove to the new structure. When this is done, he said, the Historical Society would be in possession of all the space in the Historical Society Building.

It being determined there was no further business to be brought before the Board, Judge Baxter Taylor moved and Dr. Wayne Johnson seconded that the meeting be adjourned. The motion was unanimously adopted.

—W. S. KEY, President

Elmer L. Fraker, Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED

LIBRARY:

Additions to the J. B. Fink collection: More than 200 historic items and pictures, including considerable material on the history of railroads.
Donors Mr. and Mrs. John B. Fink, Oklahoma City

Seeds of the Nation, by Marion Richardson DuMars
Donor: Marion Richardson DuMars, Topeka, Kansas

Ford Fund Finagling, by Hon B. Caroll Reece
Donor: Frank Kirkpatrick, Commuantator, The American Way, (TAW)

Twenty-Five Years of Peace and Prosperity, by John W. McCormack
Donor: Dominican Republic

Technical paper No. 17, U. S. Dept. of Commerce; "Kansas-Missouri Floods of June-July, 1951 and March 1-June 30, 1955;" Report of the Office of Defense Production, July 1, 1954-Feb. 28, 1955; Publications of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces: "Single Manager Plan," by Robert C. Lanphier, Jr.; "Wage Stabilization in Theory and Practice," by David J. McDonald; "Problems in Research and Development," by Dr. Stanley Livingston; "Communications and Human Relations," William Oncken, Jr.
Donor: Col. George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

Addition to the Pugsley collection: Picture taken at the dedication of the first Masonic Temple in Guthrie.
Donor: Mr. Frank Pugsley, Oklahoma City

Book case and approximately 250 books, to be known as the Korn Collection.
Donor: Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Oklahoma City

MUSEUM

Seven pieces of Chinese Nationalist money
Donor: R. F. Remmers, Oklahoma City

A $20.00 Confederate bill
Donor: Orville Don Harper, Oklahoma City

Jefferson Guard sword
Donor: Frank C. Pugsley, Oklahoma City

Wagon bows from a wagon used in the Run of 1889
Donor: Mrs. C. E. Parks, Cincinnati, Ohio

Designer Fashion Magazine, Feb. 1909
Donors: Mrs. Olive Kelly, Alhambra, California
Mrs. Alice Mauk, Oklahoma City

Certificate of membership in Payne's Oklahoma Colony issued to Edward S. Wilcox Jan. 3, 1885
Donor: W. R. Stinson, Oklahoma City

Wooden shoe last
Donor: Melton Johnson, Glencoe, Oklahoma

Large framed picture of street scene in Stroud, 1906
Donor: Bert J. and May Warren Nance, Picher, Oklahoma

Picture of Whitaker Orphans Home at Pryor
Donor: Anna Wright Ludlow Estate, secured through Miss Muriel Wright

China cabinet to house historic pieces of china and bric-a-brac
Donor: Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Oklahoma City

Bible used in first White Shrine in Oklahoma
Donor: Mount Olivette White Shrine No. 1, Muskogee

ARCHIVES:

"Work Sheet of Census of Restricted Choctaw Indians made in 1939"
Donor: J. B. Wright, McAlester, Oklahoma

CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL HALL:

Large scrapbook, suitable for clippings of historical value
Donor: Mrs. D. W. Keating, Oklahoma City

Picture light for the General R. A. Sneed case
Donor: Chapter 1181, United Daughters of Confederacy, Oklahoma City

Confederate Battle Flag, was the property of John Wheeler Dickey, of Roxton, Texas, who served in Col. Roger Qu. Mills' Regiment, C. S. A.; reunion souvenirs; Dictionary of the Choctaw Language, compiled by Byington, printed by Government Printing Office, 1915.
Donor: G. M. Robinson, Oklahoma City

China cabinet to house objects d'art pertaining to period of Confederacy
Donor: Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Oklahoma City

UNION MEMORIAL HALL:

Photograph of James Luman, Quartermaster Sergeant, Company F, 12th Tennessee Cavalry
Donor: Mrs. Jessy Sullivan, Sapulpa, Oklahoma

The names of new members of the Society are as follows:

LIFE MEMBERS:

Mayor Ab Jolly	Ardmore, Okla.
Mr. C. O. Doggett	Cherokee, Okla.
Mr. Alfred Reed, Jr.	Grove, Okla.
Mr. G. W. Athey	Enid, Okla.
Mr. T. T. Eason	"
Mr. George A. Hutchinson	"
Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Knox	"
Mr. Kenneth H. Martin	"
Mr. Lloyd W. McKnight	"
Mr. Gary Munger	"
Mr. David J. Oven, Jr.	"
Mr. and Mrs. Wm. S. Schwab, Jr.	"
Mr. Ray Elbert Williams	"
Miss Moita Davis	Lexington, Okla.
Hon. Richard L. Disney	Norman, Okla.
Mr. H. G. Gilmore	"
Dr. Charles M. O'Brien	"
Mr. Paul W. Updegraff	"

Dr. Clarence E. Bates	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Mrs. Genevieve Cullen Bates	"
Mr. Frank Finney	"
Mr. C. E. Grady, Jr.	"
Mr. M. B. Fagan	"
Mr. C. E. Grady	"
Mr. Clyde H. Hale	"
Judge Albert C. Hunt	"
Mr. John S. Metcalf	"
Mr. Ray Mullinix	"
Mr. W. Beverly Osborne	"
Dr. Charles E. Martin	Perry, Okla.
Mr. George A. Everett	Sand Springs, Okla.
Dr. Frank J. Gasperich, Sr.	"
Dr. L. Wayne Johnson	Stillwater, Okla.
Mr. Leo H. Gorton	Tulsa, Okla.
Mr. Robert E. Snider	"
Dr. Claude B. Knight	Wewoka, Okla.
Mr. Baptiste B. Shunatona	"
Mr. Dale O. Johnson	Culver, Indiana
Mr. Doyle S. Crain	Dallas, Texas

ANNUAL MEMBERS:

Mr. Kenneth Floyd Campbell	Ada, Okla.
Mr. Gus Hadwiger	Alva, Okla.
Miss Barbara Doerr	Anadarko, Okla.
Mr. Robert H. Watford	"
Mrs. Paul Stewart	Antlers, Okla.
Dr. Tillman L. Witherspoon	"
Mrs. Jennie M. Smith	Ardmore, Okla.
Mrs. T. H. Tate	"
Mr. Tom L. Wilkes, Sr.	"
Mrs. Stella Higdon	Avant, Okla.
Dr. Harry M. Roark	Blackwell, Okla.
Mrs. Alice E. Ragsdale	Chandler, Okla.
Mrs. Kit C. Farwell	Chickasha, Okla.
Mrs. A. R. Ash	Cordell, Okla.
Mrs. Douglas J. Walker	Davis, Okla.
Mr. Guy Pierce	Durant, Okla.
Mr. Lindsay W. Phillips	"
Mrs. Starr Otto Doyel	Edmond, Okla.
Mrs. R. A. Bachler	El Reno, Okla.
Mrs. Floyd E. Field	Enid, Okla.
Dr. A. M. Gibson	"
Mr. Donis B. Lovell	"
Mrs. Leola B. Meinhardt	"
Mr. Henry J. Miller	"
Mrs. Gretchen McGuinn	Hallett, Okla.
Mrs. David Ward	Heavener, Okla.
Mrs. Lorenzo Eales	Hobart, Okla.
Mrs. Susie Isabel Herwig	Holdenville, Okla.
Mrs. Elizabeth Putnam Fleming	Hugo, Okla.
Miss Juanita Adams	Lawton, Okla.
Mr. J. Allen Anderson	Mangum, Okla.
Dr. J. B. Hollis	"
Miss Mary Estelle Posso	Miami, Okla.
Mrs. Carl Rundell	"
Mr. Bobby P. Boyd	Milburn, Okla.
Mrs. Bertha B. Edwards	Muskogee, Okla.

Mr. John F. Bender	Norman, Okla.
Mrs. Edith Copeland	"
Dr. O. R. Gregg	"
Dr. Stanley M. Kemler	"
Miss Edith Mahier	"
Mr. Robert N. Taylor	"
Mrs. V. C. Thompson	"
Mr. Sam R. West	"
Mr. W. E. Roberts	Nowata, Okla.
Miss Vivian Keen Chowning	Okemah, Okla.
Mr. Clyde Fletcher Ross	"
Mr. Bob Carey	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Mr. David P. Delorme	"
Mrs. Raymond Everest	"
Mr. T. F. Hall	"
Mrs. Walker C. Hay	"
Mr. Billy P. McCarty	"
Mr. Ellis L. Masonhall	"
Dr. Rob Roy MacGregor	"
Mrs. Mary E. Newbern	"
Mr. Kenneth B. Ogilvie	"
Mr. Gail R. Palmer, Jr.	"
Prof. Acton Porter	"
Mrs. Bess Grace Rogers	"
Mrs. Pearl R. Scales	"
Mr. James S. Twyford	"
Mr. Charles H. Whitford	"
Mrs. Mercedes Sherman Wood	"
Miss Doris A. Youngs	"
Mr. Frank D. Zeliff	"
Mr. Charles M. Hirt, Jr.	Pawhuska, Okla.
Mr. J. Val Connell	Perry, Okla.
Mr. Luther D. Strawhun	Pryor, Okla.
Mr. Creekmore Wallace	"
Mrs. Leonard H. Crowder	Seminole, Okla.
Mr. James P. Epling	Skiatook, Okla.
Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Hardy	Soper, Okla.
Mrs. Pearl Souddress Gist	Spiro, Okla.
Mr. R. Morton House	Stillwater, Okla.
Mr. Charles A. Burbage	Tahlequah, Okla.
Mrs. Blanche Genivee Mikesell	Texhoma, Okla.
Mr. Samuel A. Boorstin	Tulsa, Okla.
Mr. Armon H. Bost	"
Mr. John W. Collins	"
Mr. O. F. Dickenson	"
Mr. R. T. Douglass	"
Mr. Brummett Echohawk	"
Mrs. Neal Harris	"
Mrs. Beulah Hull	"
Mr. George C. Pendleton, Jr.	"
Mr. Frank Settle	"
Mr. Arthur R. Shoemaker	"
Mrs. Robert Summers	"
Miss Mary Louise Whiteley	"
Mr. C. N. Price	Vinita, Okla.
Mr. Neil Akin	Westville, Okla.
Mr. Glenn O. Wallace	Wewoka, Okla.
Mr. Harry W. Readnour	Wynnewood, Okla.
Mrs. T. B. Lunsford	Lincoln, Ark.
Mr. Bruce Ramsey	Winthrop, Ark.

Miss Colleen Moss	Burbank, Calif.
Miss Edna H. Fowler	Los Angeles, Calif.
Mrs. Mabel S. Freeman	Buhl, Idaho
Mrs. John Woodrick	Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. E. P. Hirt	St. Clair Shores, Mich.
Mr. Gerald S. Pierce	University, Miss.
Mr. E. V. Green	Southwest City, Mo.
Mr. George Calvin Carter	Manchester, N. H.
Mr. David Coxe Cooke	Valley Stream, N. Y.
Mrs. T. N. Hawkins	Albuquerque, N. M.
Mr. Frank A. Sinon	Harrisburg, Pa.
Mrs. Morris Schwartz	Austin, Texas
Mrs. Grady Lewis	Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Arminta K. Hamilton	Wenatchee, Washington

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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SEAL OF THE SEMINOLE NATION

The design in colors on the front cover of this number of *The Chronicles* is a reproduction of the original painting of the Seminole Seal on exhibit in the Museum of the Historical Society, one of the paintings of the official seals of the Five Civilized Tribes in the history of Oklahoma. The central device of this seal shows a plumed tribesman paddling a canoe across a lake to a village where a factory (trading house) stands on the shore.

Originaly a tribal division of the Creek Nation, the Seminole separated from the Creek about the middle of the Eighteenth Century to settle in Florida where the lakes and swamps of this region henceforth had a significant place in the life of the Seminole people. It was in the Everglade swamp region of Southern Florida that Seminole families found refuge and remained in hiding while their warriors fought for seven years against United States troops. This war had been precipitated by the refusal of the tribe to leave Florida during the removal of the Indians from the Southeastern States and come west to the Indian Territory in 1833-35. Most of the Seminole were finally forced to move to the Indian Territory but some of them never surrendered to the United States, remaining in Florida where their descendants have lived to this day adapting themselves to life in the swamp lands.

There is a tradition that the central device of the Seminole Seal was based on old tribal religious beliefs as well as real history when the design for the seal was adopted. Medicinal herbs and roots were purchased for the manufacture of commercial tonics, by traders among the Indians living in easy access to the places where such plants grew near lakes and streams both in Florida and the Indian Territory. This trade was brisk in early times, bringing in considerable revenue to the Indians during certain seasons of the year.

The knowledge and the use of some of the herbs and roots were held sacred by the Creek and the Seminole, in connection with certain tribal religious rites and ceremonials. These ideas had a significant place for the people in gathering and preserving the plants as well as in the journey when taking the dried products to the trading post. The whole event followed a definite pattern of procedure, and was associated with thoughts of happiness and well-being. When an official seal was planned and adopted for the nation

[1] The lower right-hand ray of the central star in the Oklahoma State Seal shows the old Seminole seal, each of the four remaining rays of this five-pointed star showing the other official seals of the Five Civilized Tribs. For further reference on the history of these seals, see "Official Seals of the Five Civilized Tribes," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (December, 1940), pp. 357-70.

west, the scene of the plumed tribesman paddling a canoe across a lake to a trading post suggested a design representing peace and plenty for the old time Seminole.

The Seminole reposed great faith and power in a hereditary chieftain, who ruled the comparatively small tribe. Therefore, following an old tribal law, the executive of the Seminole Nation was a herediatary chief or his kinsman chosen to govern for life or, in later history, for successive terms in the office during a long period of years. Significant of this one-man rule, the outer border of the official Seminole Seal is inscribed with the words, "Executive Department of the Seminole Nation."

The separation of the Creek tribal group that became known as the Seminole and their settlement in the prairie region of present Aluchua County, Florida took place around 1750. The name "Seminole" signifies "those who went off from the main part of the people," from the Creek *Semino'lē* which literally means "run-away." The nucleus of this immigration to Florida was from the Oconee tribe, decendants of the Hichiti who still spoke the ancient Hichiti language, that had moved from the Oconee River, Georgia, and settled among the Lower Creek people on the lower course of the Chattahoochee River after the Yamasee War, about 1715. Other tribal bands from the Creek confederacy joined the Seminole; the Oconee and these Hichiti speaking allies soon became known as the Mikasuki. They were the "Red Stick" warrior division of the Seminole that bitterly opposed dealings with the white colonial interests (Spanish, French or English). Muskogee speaking bands from the Upper Creek people joined the Seminole in Florida about the time of the American Revolution; and again after the Creek War of 1813-14, at which time so many of these Creek people came as refugees among the Seminole that the population of the tribe was tripled and even the language was changed to that of the Creek (or Muskogee).

The first Seminole War took place in 1817-18, in which Andrew Jackson led a large force of American troops in an attack and the burning of the town of the Mikasuki near the lake by that name in Northern Florida. The trouble had arisen over run-away Negro slaves from Spanish Florida and from the State of Georgia who had formed a large refugee population in the Seminole country. When white men, many of them unprincipaled characters, hunted down these Negro fugitives and even seized Negro slaves that belonged to some of the wealthy tribesmen, fights and killings had taken place that brought on war.

The Spanish Treaty of 1819, providing the cession of Florida, brought the Seminole under the jurisdiction of the United States. A census made in 1823 under the auspices of the War Department showed that there were 4,833 Seminole in Florida, an approximately

accurate count in the light of population figures of the tribe given some years later by the United States Office of Indian Affairs. Georgia still incensed over the run-away slave issue demanded that the Seminole be moved out of the rich agricultural region in Florida to another part of the country. The Seminole, referred to as the "Florida Indians," signed a treaty with United States commissioners meeting at Moultrie Creek, Florida Territory in 1823, concluded September 18 (ratified January 2, 1824), providing for the cession of all tribal lands in Florida except for a reservation in Central Florida where the tribesmen and their families should henceforth make their homes. Pushed out of their rich agricultural region to the reservation in the swamp country, the Seminole were soon reduced to near starvation and still suffered from white outlaw attacks and seizure of Negro slaves. Finally, following the Indian Removal Act passed by Congress and signed by President Jackson (May, 1830), another treaty was signed by the Seminole chiefs at Payne's landing on May 9, 1832, providing for the cession of the Seminole Reservation in Central Florida to the United States and for the removal of the tribe to the Indian Territory if they could find a suitable location in the Creek country there. Six Seminole leaders[2] made the journey west to examine this new country and were induced by their Agent to sign another treaty at Fort Gibson (April 12, 1833) providing for the settlement of the Seminole in a tract in the Creek Nation, lying between the Canadian and the North Canadian rivers and extending west to a north-south line twenty-five miles west of the mouth of Little River. The Seminole people bitterly opposed these two treaties since this new western tract was already settled by the Creek and bordered the Plains where "wild Indian tribes" were at war.

In 1835, the second and Great Seminole War began, this year marking the end of the stipulated period in which the tribal members were to have made ready to go west. The war lasted until August, 1842, costing the United States the lives of approximately 1,500 American soldiers, many civilians and $20,000,000 in money. The war was one of attrition with atrocities committed by both sides.

Seminole families fled deeper and deeper into the swamps where they existed in a starving condition as their homes were burned, their fields laid waste and their cattle and Negro slaves killed and captured. A black passage in United States military annals was the seizure of Osceola, the Seminole leader and his followers through treachery under a white flag of truce, by General Thomas S. Jesup goaded by demands of hysterical white people to end the war at

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[2] These Seminoles were in order as their names appear on the Treaty at Fort Gibson, 1833: Takos Emathla, Holati Emathla, Jumper, Coa Harjo, Charley Emathla, Yaha Harjo, Neha-thloco representing Foke-Luste-Harjo ("Black Dirt"). Portraits of some of these leaders are shown in McKenney and Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, (Philadelphia, 1842).

once. This happened early (December, 1837) in the war. Osceola died as a prisoner in Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, in January, 1838.

The Seminole leaders in this period were Mikanopi,[3] hereditary ruler and descendant of the ancient Oconee, ranked as head chief of the tribe, owner of considerable property, a man of ability and prestige. Jumper, a descendant of the old Yamassee chieftains, was the intelligent and most influential leader in the tribal councils. Alligator, of the ancient Yamassee, was a shrewd, sensible leader in the council. Holati Emathla, chief of the Mikasuki, was closely identified with his son, Charlie Emathla (courageous and practical) and Takos Emathla (John Hicks), a Mikasuki chief who was strongly in favor of removal to the west. Coa Coochee (Wild Cat), son of a Seminole chief of the St. Johns River region, was a young leader of unusual personality and promise. Osceola was a Creek (and part Scot), noted for undaunted courage, from the Upper Creek town of Tallassie.

United States agents began organizing for the removal of the Seminole from Florida in 1835, the first party of immigrants arriving in the Indian Territory the following year under the leadership of Chief Holati Emathla who died enroute near the Choctaw Agency (Skullyville) in the summer of 1836. These immigrants traveled on west and settled near Little River, north of the Canadian, where their community became known as Fokeluste Harjo ("Black Dirt") after their influential leader by this name. Jumper died of tuberculosis in the spring of 1838 at New Orleans en route to the Indian Territory. According to the report in this year through the Office of Indian Affairs, there were 3,565 Seminole in the Indian Territory but another authoritative report states by the end of 1838 their population was far lower, many hundreds having died from disease and hardships en route and in the new country west. One-third, or less, of the tribe still carried on the war in Florida.

In June, 1838, soon after the arrival of Chief Mikanopi with a company of his tribesmen and their families, a council was held at Fort Gibson with the Creek chiefs, in which the location of the Seminole in the Creek nation was discussed. The region that had been assigned to them was already occupied by the Upper Creek "towns" leaving only a hazardous location on the western border near the Plains tribes. In their plight, the Seminole encamped in the vicinity of Fort Gibson in a miserable condition some of them remaining there for several years. At the close of war in Florida (1842), more of the Seminole were brought west though several hundred remained in the Everglade region.

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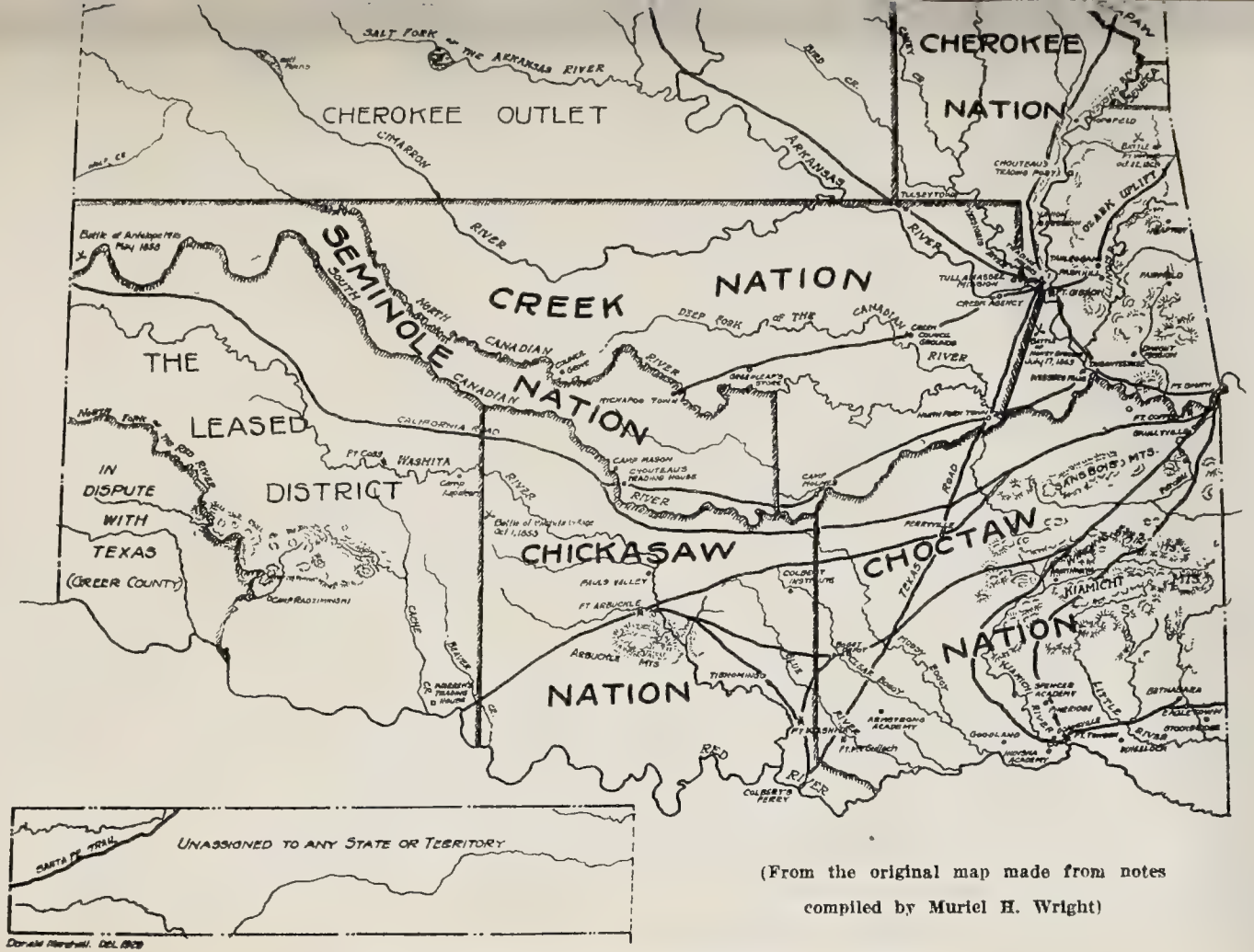
[3] Swanton (*The Indians of Southeastern United States,* Bur. Amer. Ethn. *Bulletin* 137 [1946]) gives the spelling of this name as *Mikonopi,* and variations appear in other publications.

In 1845, a treaty signed by the United States commissioners and delegations of the Seminole and the Creek provided that the Seminole could settle anywhere they wished in the new country under the Creek laws and government, an arrangement that never proved satisfactory since many of the Creek people were unfriendly neighbors and friction arose when they seized Seminole slaves claiming them as their own Negroes. Seminole settlements by 1849 were located in the valley of the Deep Fork south to the Canadian River in what are now are adjoining parts of Okfuskee, Hughes and Seminole counties. Chief Mikanopi died in 1849, and was succeeded in the chieftaincy by his nephew, Jim Jumper (son of Jumper). Coa Coochee or Wild Cat, who had been Mikanopi's principal advisor and who had never accepted the laws of the Creek Nation, left the Indian Territory with a large party of his Seminole tribesmen and some Negroes for Mexico where he was later honored for his part in Indian wars on the side of Mexico.

A treaty with the Creek Nation in 1856 finally provided a cession of Creek lands to the Seminole where they could establish their own government and laws. The tract of an estimated 2,169,080 acres lay north of the Canadian River to the North Canadian and the south line of the Cherokee Outlet, extending west from the 97th Meridian to the 100th Meridian, West Longitude. The Seminole Agency and the Seminole Council house a few miles west were located in the vicinity of present Wanette in Pottawatomie County. Organization of the Seminole Government was under way by 1859, with John Jumper as Principal Chief, who had succeeded to the position at the death of his relative, Chief Jim Jumper some years before. Advancement of the Seminole Nation, however, was interrupted by the outbreak of the War between the States. On August 1, 1861, Commissioner Albert Pike concluded a treaty with the Seminole at their council house in behalf of the Confederate States, signed by John Jumper as Principal Chief and twelve town chiefs. John Chupco, a town chief, refused to sign the Confederate treaty. He with the members of his town, together with town chief Billy Bowlegs and his followers, soon joined the forces of the Creek leader Opothleyahola, in Kansas where they served during the War in the Indian Home Guard troops of the Union Army. Chief John Jumper led the southern Seminole forces that served in the Confederate Army during the War period, having organized the Seminole Battalion in 1861 which served with distinction in the battles fought in the Indian Territory and in which he himself attained the rank of colonel.

At the close of the War, John Chupco recognized by the Government agents as the principal chief of the Seminole Nation signed the Seminole Treaty of 1866 at Washington, D. C., with the United States. The same document was signed by John F. Brown, lately a lieutenant in the Confederate Army and son-in-law of Chief



(From the original map made from notes compiled by Muriel H. Wright)

MAP OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY, 1856-1866

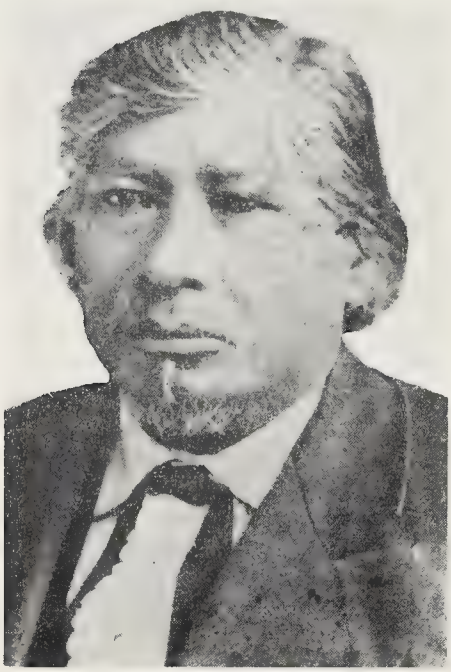
John Jumper, representing the southern Seminole. The new treaty based on penalties for the recent alignment with the Confederacy provided the cession of all the Seminole lands (the tract of 2,169,080 acres) to the United States at a price of approximately fifteen cents an acre and the purchase by the Seminole of a 200,000 acre tract from the Creek Nation at fifty cents an acre. This tract together with an additional 175,000 acres, later necessarily purchased from the Creek Nation at one dollar an acre, because of an error in the Government survey of the Creek boundary, comprised the Seminole Nation until statehood, approximating present Seminole County, Oklahoma.

During the reconstruction period after the War to the close of the 1870's, there were two head chiefs in the nation: John Chupco (died 1881), chief of the Northern faction of the Seminole; and John Jumper (died 1896), chief of the Northern or majority group. Chief Jumper resigned in 1877 to devote himself to the Baptist ministry among his people, and was succeeded in office by John F. Brown who served as Principal Chief of the Seminole Nation until the time of his death in 1919, except for one term (1902-1904) when Hulputta Micco was elected to serve. The sister of John F. Brown, always referred to as "Governor Brown" as a prominent citizen of Oklahoma, was Mrs. Alice Brown Davis, a leader in Seminole education and official business who was appointed Principal Chief of the Seminole by the President of the United States in 1922 in closing some tribal land affairs. Since the death of Mrs. Davis, other appointed Seminole chiefs to promote welfare and business interests of the tribe relating to the United States Indian Office have been the late George Harjo, Marcy Cully and the present principal chief Phillip Walker.

The Seminole bands came from the different parts of the country where they had been refugeed during the war and were settled 1868 in the land assigned them by the Treaty of 1866. The tribal government was established along the lines of constitutional forms, and Wewoka was designated the capital of the Nation. This Seminole government consisted of an elected principal chief, a national council constituting the legislative and judicial departments and a body of light-horsemen that served as the police force which had the reputation as the best law-enforcing body in the Indian Territory. The Council was composed of forty-two members, three each from the fourteen "towns" or communities in the nation, twelve being Indian towns and two separate towns for Negro freedmen who had been granted citizenship in the Nation by the terms of the Treaty of 1866. The Seminole was the smallest (population varied from 2,000 to 3,000 at different times after 1846) of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory were the last of these Five Tribes to organize their government in this region.

JOHN F. BROWN

John F. Brown, referred to as "Governor Brown," served as Principal Chief of the Seminole Nation from 1877-1902; and 1902 to his death in 1919.

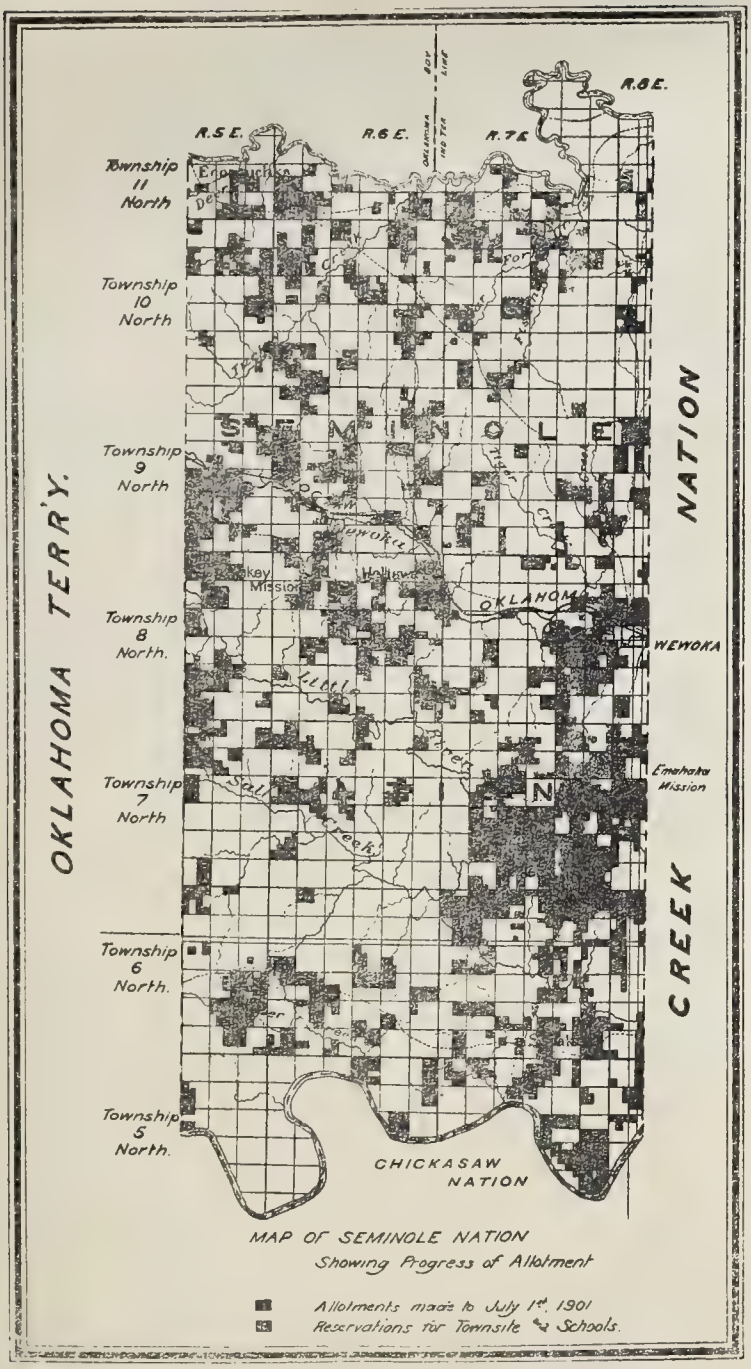


CHIEF JOHN JUMPER,
SEMINOLE NATION.

JOHN CHUPCO, CHIEF
OF THE NORTHERN SEMINOLES

Emahaka Boarding School for Seminole Girls.
Building erected, 1893.

Seminole Council House, Capitol of the Seminole Nation, at Wewoka.



Map of the Seminole Nation, 1901.
The area shown comprised the Seminole Country, 1866-1907.

The Seminole chiefs in their first meetings with United States government agents were interested in schools for their children. The Treaty of 1823 provided the establishment of Seminole school near the agency in Florida. Seminole boys were sent to the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky where the interest of the Elkhorn Baptist Association prevailed, the first group—eight fine looking Seminole boys about ten to twelve years old—arrived on December 24, 1830. Other Seminole boys attended this Academy through the years. A plea for a Seminole school in the Indian Territory brought the opening of their first school in this country near the Agency in 1844, with John Bemo as teacher, a young Seminole who had experienced a romantic sea-faring life as a lad and later had opportunities of schooling through the Mariner's Church in Philadelphia. The first Seminole mission school was called Oak Ridge, a boarding school opened in 1848 under the auspices of the Presbyterian Mission Board, with Reverend John Lilley in charge, the site of which is about three miles southeast of present Holdenville, in Hughes County. The Presbyterian missionary, Reverend James R. Ramsey, established four schools in the Nation in 1868, and later also opened a boarding school for Seminole girls, known as Wewoka Mission, about two miles north of Wewoka. Missionairies of the Methodist Indian Mission Conference established the Sasakwa Female Academy among the Seminole in 1884. Baptist Missionaries had begun work among the Seminole around 1850, and this church has a large and influential membership among the Seminole people today. The oldest Baptist church organization in the old Seminole Nation is the Spring Church, the location of this modern Indian church building and grounds being about two miles west of Sasakwa in Seminole County, where Colonel John Jumper was pastor at the time of his death. He had always been zealous for the education of the Seminole children. Two national academies were established by the Seminole Council, with the erection of two handsome buildings, exact replicas at a cost of about $65,000 each: The first was "Mekasukey Academy" opened for Seminole boys in 1891, located about three miles southwest of present Seminole, in Seminole County; the second was Emahaka Academy (referred to locally as "Emahaka Mission"), the school opened in 1894 for girls.

Seminole men, women and children were allotted lands in severalty under the Seminole Agreement concluded with the United States Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes ("Dawes Commission) and signed December 27, 1897. At the close of the Seminole government ten years later, official documents and papers of this Indian nation and the old die of the Seminole Seal were taken to the Five Civilized Tribes Agency as the depository for the United States government at Muskogee.[4] The painting made from the im-

[4] The constitution and laws of the Seminole Nation were never published in book form. The first written law of the Seminole was passed by the Council at the Seminole Agency, in Florida, in 1825, relating to the rights of children in in-

Visiting Mission Group to the Florida Seminoles, 1909. Seated left to right: Mrs. A. J. Brown, Mrs. Alice B. Davis, Lizzie Bruner, Irene Davis, Lucy Brown, Mrs. George Scott; standing, left to right, Dan Long, A. J. Brown, John Wesley, George Scott, Sissy Long.

press of this old die, shown here in colors on the cover of *The Chronicles,* is a symbol of the history, lore and promise of a remarkable Indian nation—the Seminole—, in establishing social institutions and a new form of government along the lines of old tribal customs as a law-abiding, peaceful people.[5]

—*The Editor*

heriting property belonging to the father. The first Seminole constitution providing the organization of the Nation west was adopted soon after the Treaty of 1856 but the text of this document was lost. The original manuscript of acts of the Seminole Council for the years 1884, 1886, 1887, 1893 have been kept in the old records of the Five Civilized Tribes Agency at Muskogee. The original manuscripts in the native language (Creek), of acts of the Seminole Council passed at meetings in the old Seminole capitol at Wewoka from 1897 to 1903, bound in a volume, form a valuable historical relic in the Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

[5] References on Seminole history are found in the following: Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal,* (Norman, 1932), and *Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934); John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors,* Bur. Amer. Ethn., *Bulletin* 73 (1922); Edwin C. McReynolds, *A History of the Sooner State* (Norman, 1955); Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951).

THE JUMPER FAMILY OF THE SEMINOLE NATION

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

The name "Jumper" was celebrated in Florida from the time of the negotiation of the Treaty of Payne's Landing through the several Seminole Wars, and it became equally well known in the Indian Territory.

Lieutenant George Archibald McCall, Fourth United States Infantry, in a letter to his brother from the Seminole Agency, July 15, 1823, described Chief Micanopy as slow of speech and rather too indolent to rule harshly: "In fact he leaves official matters very much to the management of his Minister of State, as I may call him, a man who possessed great cunning and effrontery. This person, 'bold in council, but cautious in the field' never distinguished himself by deeds of enterprise or courage, and has received the name of *Hote-mathla*, in English, '*Home Warrior*;' he is known, however, more generally, if not exclusively, by the name of 'Jumper.'"[1]

Upon the death of the aged Micanopy he was succeeded by his nephew, Jim Jumper whose reputation was tarnished by some questionable business transactions with a white man regarding Seminole slaves. He was succeeded by John Jumper who was prominent in Florida for many years as a treaty maker, and later in the western Seminole Nation as a minister of the gospel.

Governor William P. Duval wrote to Thomas L. McKenney from Tallahassee, April 7, 1826, that it would be unavailing to urge the Seminole Indians to emigrate west of the Mississippi, and they refused to go unless the Creeks were removed:[2]

The deputation of chiefs who will accompany Colonel Humphreys, the agent, to Washington, will, no doubt, be more inclined to listen to the Secretary of War than to any other person. I would consider it an important point gained, could the chiefs be induced to send out a party to explore the country under the proper person. The great number of deer, elk, and buffalo would be a strong temptation to them to settle west of the Mississippi. These people are in dread of the western Indians; and the Secretary, to succeed, must satisfy the chiefs that the United States can and will protect them from the western Indians.

These articles of agreement were agreed upon at Payne's Landing on the Ocklewaha River the ninth day of May, 1832, between James Gadsden and the above named chiefs:[3]

"The Seminole Indians, regarding with just respect, the solicitude manifested by the President of the United States for the improvement of their con-

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[1] *Letters from the Frontier*, Philadelphia, 1868, p. 146. (The spelling of the Seminole chief's name, *Micanopy*, is a variant among other forms *Mikanopi*, *Miccanopy*, etc.—Ed.)

[2] *American State Papers*, 1834, "Indian Affairs," Vol. 2, p. 697.

[3] Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1903), Vol. 2, pp. 249-50.

dition, by recommending a removal to a country more suitable to their habits and wants than the one they at present occupy in the Territory of Florida, are willing that their confidential chiefs, Jumper, Fuck-a-lus-ti-had-jo, Charley Emartla, Coa-had-jo, Holati-Emartla, Ya-ha-hadjo-Sam Jones, accompanied by their agent Major Phagan, and their faithful interpreter Abraham, should be sent at the expense of the United States as early as convenient to examine the country assigned to the Creeks west of the Mississippi river. . . . ."

The delegation appointed to explore the country intended for the Seminoles reached Little Rock from Cincinnatti on board the new steamboat *Little Rock* November 9, 1832. The party was composed of John Blunt, an intelligent Indian chief of one of the Apalachicola bands; Charley Emathla, Jumper and Holahti Emathla, accompanied by their interpreter Abraham. They left on November 6 for Fort Gibson according to the *Arkansas Gazette.*

While awaiting the arrival of the United States commissioners at Fort Gibson, the Creeks took the visiting Seminoles on a buffalo hunt where they had an opportunity to learn of the marauding Indians of the plains; while they were favorably impressed with the land they objected to being located near the Wichita, Kiowa and Comanche who were principally occupied in horse stealing.

Jumper was a foremost leader but Micanopy was the hereditary chief: "*The nominal Chief of the nation is Micanope; though Jumper, who is exceedingly intelligent, and I suspect the most influential Chief in the nation, has always taken the lead in Council. Oceole, however, I should think the more active Chief as well as a better General; Jumper, being now rather old, Oceole, I should say, is about 35 years old, and Jumper about 55.*"[4]

Regular troops and volunteers were ordered into Florida under General Edmund P. Gaines and when about to cross the Withlacochee River on February 27, 1833, he was attacked by several hundred Indians under Osceola, Jumper and other leaders. The Indians kept the United States troops surrounded at that place for ten days until a truce was proposed and Captain Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Jumper, Osceloa, Micanopy, Abraham and Caesar participated in a conference. It was agreed to allow the Indians to withdraw from the river and cease hostilities.

The Seminole delegation when preparing to leave Florida for the West asked that their agent, Major John Phagan, should accompany them: "the government could not, at this time, appoint a better agent."[5]

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[4] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1930), p. 329.

[5] National Archives, Office Indian Affairs: 1832 Seminole (Emigration) Jas. Gadsden, Commissioner Negotiation. Letter addressed to Secretary of War, November 15, 1832. The Indians complained bitterly against Phagan and on their return to Florida he was removed for defrauding the Indians (Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* [Norman, 1930], p. 322.

S. C. Stambaugh wrote Secretary of War Lewis Cass from Fort Gibson, April 3, 1833, that as soon as the treaty between the Creeks and Cherokees was signed in February, by which the Creeks assigned a country embracing a home for the Seminoles, the delegation lost no time in examining the country. They were absent thirty-two days and made a choice of the area between the main Canadian and North Fork rivers, extending west from the mouth of Little River about twenty-five miles.[6]

Montfort Stokes, Henry Ellsworth and John F. Schermerhorn were the commissioners appointed by president of the United States to meet the delegation of Seminoles at Fort Gibson and learn their opinion of the suitability of the country for their future home. These were the men who induced the Seminoles to sign the Additional Treaty at Fort Gibson on March 28, 1833—a treaty which the delegates were not authorized to sign for their tribe and which caused years of fighting and untold suffering for the whites and Seminoles in Florida.

On their return home the delegates were ridiculed and upbraided by the rest of the Seminoles for being circumvented by the whites:[7]

> The only way they avoided chastisement, was to deny the assertions of the agent (John Phagan), and express their readiness to co-operate in opposing the fulfillment of the treaty.
>
> Had the delegation been permitted to return to Florida unbiased, without extraneous influences, and they allowed to submit the question of emigration, accompanied by their opinions of Arkansas, not an Indian would have consented to the relinquishment of their country.
>
> Arleika or Sam Jones, Halpatter-Tustenuggee or Alligator, Jumper, and Black Dirt, openly and unreservedly declared their dissatisfaction with Arkansas—with the land, climate, and means of subsistance.
>
> The treaty with the Seminoles was acknowledged at Fort Gibson on March 28, 1833.
>
> It was then when Micanopy, through Jumper, refused to abide by the treaty, that his name was struck from the council of the nation, as also four others. It is not possible to read the petitions of those Indians to be saved from a connexion with those western Indians, to be mingled with the Creeks, and exposed to the treachery and thieving habits of the Pawnees, without feeling the deepest sympathy . . . . .
>
> Jumper said, "At Camp Moultrie, they told us all difficulties should be buried for twenty years from the date of the treaty, made there (September 18th, 1823): that after this, we held a treaty at Payne's Landing, before the twenty years were out, (by nine years,) and they told us we might go and see the country, but that we were not obliged to remove, &c., &c. When we went to see the land, we had not sold our land here, and we were told only to go and see it. The Indians there steal horses, and take packs on their horses; they steal horses from different tribes. I do not want to go among such people. Your talk (addressing the agent,) seems always good, but we don't feel disposed to go west."

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[6] National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs.

[7] John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848), pp. 76-79.

Chief Micanopy made his home in the Seminole Nation West, in the vicinity of present Wetumka, Hughes Co., 1840's.

Yaha-Hajo (or Harjo), was second Chief of the Seminole and signer of the Treaty at Ft. Gibson (1833); was killed in battle on Oklawahah River, 1836.

Chittee Yoholo, Seminole war chief, was a leader in the Battle of Wahoo Swamp, Florida, 1835, in which Maj. F. L. Dade was killed.

Foke-Luste-Hajo (or Harjo) or "Black Dirt," favored the removal west, and was "Town Chief" of the first Seminole settlement in Oklahoma, 1836, near Little River.

Portraits from Thomas L. M'Kenney and James Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, (Philadelphia, 1842).

After Charley Emathla and Holati Micco had spoken, Jumper again addressed the meeting: "We are not satisfied to go until the end of the twenty years, according to the treaty of Camp Moultrie."[8] In his speech Jumper said:[9]

> When we saw the country we said nothing, but the whites that went *with us made us sign our hands to the paper,* which you *now say* signifies our consent to remove; but we thought the paper said only *that we liked the land,* and when we returned, our nation would decide upon removal. We had no authority to do more. My people cannot say they will go. We are not willing to go. If their tongues say yes, their hearts cry no, and call them liars.
>
> The country to which you invite us is surrounded by hostile neighbors, and although it may produce good fruit, the fruit of a bad neighborhood is blood, that spoils the land, and fire that dries up the brooks.
>
> When in the west I said to the agent, "You say the Seminoles are *rogues,* but you wish to bring us among *worse rogues,* that we may be destroyed by them. Did they not steal our horses, and were not some of us obliged to return with our packs upon our own backs?"

During a council with the Seminole chiefs and General Wiley Thompson on April 22, 1835, Micanopy opposed the removal of his people. The next day the chief was not present, claiming to be ill. The old Chief Foke Luste Harjo, had always advocated removal and in a speech he denounced all who opposed the movement. As a result of this speech eight of the principal chiefs and eight sub-chiefs signed the article which affirmed the treaty of Payne's Landing.

Micanopy, Jumper, Holati Micco, Coa Harjo, and Arpiucki still opposed and the agent questioned Jumper as to whether Micanopy intended to abide by the treaty or not. Jumper confessed that he was authorized to report that Micanopy would not, so the agent declared that he no longer considered him as chief and "that his name should be struck from the council of the nation; that he should treat all who acted like him in the like manner . . . . . In consequence of this, the names of the above mentioned opposing chiefs were struck from the council of the nation."[10]

Another council was held at Fort King on April 24, 1835. "Jumper, a shrewd and sagacious warrior, was put forward as the speaker of the nation." The council members had decided to adhere to their opposition to the treaty, and declare that they would never execute it, and when these sentiments were made in the presence of the agents of the government, "accompanied by tones and gestures

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[8] Thomas L. McKenney, *Memoirs, Official and Personal; with Sketches of Travels Among the Northern and Southern Indians* (New York, 1846), Vol. I, pp. 278-279.

[9] Samuel G. Drake, *The Aboriginal Races of North America* (New York, 1880), pp. 433, 464-65.

[10] Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America,* Frederick Webb Hodge and David Bushnell (eds.) (Edinburgh, 1935), Vol. 2, pp. 340-41. The above account was taken from *The War in Florida, by a Late Staff Officer,* [Woodburn Potter] (Baltimore, 1836), p. 83 *et seq.*

which could not be mistaken, "General Wiley Thompson of Georgia, who had replaced Phagan as agent, "upbraided them in a most earnest manner for their infidelity, and total disregard to truth and honor. This caused harsh language in return for the chiefs, reiterated by the agent, until the council was in a perfect uproar."

General Duncan L. Clinch interposed his authority, advice, and arguments and threatened the use of troops if they persisted in their course. This had the effect desired by the whites and after a consultation between Osceola, Jumper and others, eight chiefs consented to abide by the treaty, but five obstinately refused and of course Jumper was one of them.[11]

Not knowing of the conference, or of the treaty that was to be nogotiated later, General Clinch in command of ten companies of regular troops and some territorial soldiers with Agent Wiley Thompson advanced to drive out the Indians.[12]

On the morning of December 28, 1835, Major Francis Langhorne Dade, heading his troops on the way to Fort King, was shot from ambush and before the day was ended all but three of his soldiers had been killed. This attack was led by Micanopy, Jumper and Alligator who lost only three men. Osceola met the victors that night in the Wahoo Swamp and his medicine men decorated the ones who had distingushed themselves in these two opening fights in the Second Seminole War.[13]

From Fort Brooks, Tampa Bay, February 9, 1836, Captain George A. McCall wrote his father that he knew the Seminoles well and that he fully appreciated their character as a warlike people; their spirit and character were easily read in their proud and independent bearing, and he predicted a *seven years' war.*

The officer was also perfectly familiar with the country to which the Seminoles would retire when pushed, and he understood the difficulties that awaited the white men when they followed the Indians into the Big Cypress Swamp:[14]

> The knowledge I possess of this country I obtained from several Indians, especially from Jumper, who had hunted there regularly for many winters . . . . Jumper is one of the most intelligent men of the nation, and I have no

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[11] John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848), p. 84.

[12] Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-30; Holman Hamilton, *Zachary Taylor* (Indianapolis, 1941), pp. 123-24.

[13] *Seminole Indians in Florida*, Department of Agriculture, Tallahassee, August, 1941 (No. 107), pp. 4, 5.

[14] George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontier* (Philadelphia, 1868), p. 295. "Koonta" is better given as "Coonti," a cycadaceous plant (*Zamia integrifolia*), or the breadstuff obtained from it by the Seminole of Florida; spelled also *koontie, coontia,* etc. Kunti is the name of the 'flour' in the Seminole dialect. (Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians* [Washington, D. C., 1912], Part 1, p. 341).

doubt that his description of the country, given at a time when no apprehension of war with the United States was entertained, may be fully relied upon. This country, he stated, absolutely abounded in game of every description, and that the "koonta," a very good species of the arrow-root, grew plenteously everywhere. Thus the Indians may live and grow fat on the borders of the "Big Cypress."

General Gaines directed Captain Ethan Allen Hitchcock to meet the body of Seminoles who approached the camp, unarmed and under a flag of truce. With an orderly the Captain went to see the visitors and found Osceola, Alligator, and Jumper who talked for the Indians.

Jumper said the Indians did not want fighting; they wished for peace and that enough men had been killed: "If white men came to plant, they wished to know it; but they wanted the troops to go away." The Indians refused to go into the camp to talk with General Gaines. If he wished to see them then he must meet then on neutral ground.[15]

During June, 1836, Captain Hitchcock had several interviews with President Jackson and Secretary of War Lewis Cass in which he explained the situation of affairs in Florida. He took occasion to repeat the interview of General Gaines with Chief Jumper when he was trying to enforce the fradulent "treaty" of 1832.

Jesup arrogantly ordered the Negro interpreter to tell the Indians: "They *must* all go to their new country." The interpreter repeated the command and gave the chiefs answer:

"Well, massa, he say he like dis country berry well and no wants leab um."

"But tell him," pursued the General, "that they *must* go—if they do not go they will be carried away—tell him that Primus."

"Well, massa, I told um. He say like dis country where fader live and mudder. Don' want no new country."

"But tell him, Primus, that they *must* go to the new home west. Tell him that the Great Father at Washington will send much, much troops and cannon and drive them all out. Make him understand that."[16]

After the Negro had interpreted the General enquired what answer he had received and the Negro replied:

"Putty much same t'ing he say 'fore, massa—Bress God, dis berry fine country. Fader, mudder, live here and chil'n—he no wanto go nowhere t'all."

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[15] W. A. Croffut, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field—Diary of Major-General Ethan Allen Hitchcock* (New York and London, 1909), p. 94.

[16] Old Primus became a faithful interpreter after the capture of Jumper and Osceola (Sprague, *The Florida War* [New York, 1848], p. 112).

President Jackson indulged in a forced laugh but appeared not much impressed.[17] He was determined that the Indians were to be forced to leave and no expression of love of country from them softened his hard heart.

General Jesup sent a prisoner to Jumper on January 28, 1837, trying to get a parley, while he took up a position at Lake Tohopikalega, near the Cypress Swamp. The prisoner returned the next day bringing favorable talks from Alligator and Abraham. Two days later Abraham visited the General in his camp and on February 3 he brought in Jumper and Alligator who agreed to meet General Jesup at Fort Dade on February 18. The Indians stated that their families were suffering and that they were tired of fighting.

Ben, a slave belonging to Micanopy, was captured and he declared that Jumper and Abraham were in the vicinity and would come in if sure of their lives. Ben was delegated to report to Jumper that a liberal treaty would be made.

It was not until March 5 that the General got a hearing with Holatoochee (nephew of Micanopy), Jumper, Abraham, Little Cloud and several others at Fort Dade. When Jumper was asked what time the Indians would be ready to remove it was apparent that they were only trying to gain time; he replied that they could not be prepared until the autumn. Jesup declared that was out of the question and Jumper displayed anger at being suspected.

On the following day the Indians added to their number representatives of Alligator, Coa-coo-chee and Peace Creek John and a treaty was drawn up and signed. All hostilities were to cease by April 10, 1837, and all were to remove. The Indians frequented the camp of Jesup to make sure of rations and Jumper and a number of other prominent tribesmen were there.

A rumor was circulated among the Indians that as soon as Jesup got a sufficient number of them in his power, he would handcuff and ship them to Arkansas. The Seminoles agreed to remove on the condition that their Negroes were to accompany them, and with that understanding Micanopy, Jumper, Alligator, and Coa-coo-chee took their followers to Tampa to await transportation aboard ships. During the time they were in Tampa slave owners invaded the Indian camp in search of Negroes and the Indians were so incensed at the breach of faith that they stole away from the camp overnight. Jesup, who broke every pledge he ever made to the Indians, and who regarded a flag of truce as a rag without meaning, subsequently showed his character in the seizure of Osceola.

[17] Crofutt, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

When Jumper came, in he was in a decline from a pulmonary affection. "He is a sensible man; but from the state of his health, and consequent low spirits, much disposed for peace."[18]

Jesup thought he had all matters in fine shape and by the middle of May he had twenty-four transports lying at Tampa to remove the Indians. On the morning of June 2, he awakened to discover that almost all of the Seminoles had disappeared and all of his strategy had been for nought. From Headquarters Army of the South, Garey's Ferry, Florida, on August 7, 1837, General Jesup dispatched word to Adjutant General Roger Jones in Washington: "I place no reliance on the statement that the Indians are coming in; but I do believe that, so far as Micanopy and Jumper can influence their people, no other depredations than robberies will be committed, still, there would be but little security for the frontier without force to repel any attempt that might be made upon it."[19]

The *Army and Navy Chronicle,* August 31, 1837 (Vol. V, No. 9, p. 132), recorded the origin of Jumper and Alligator, the celebrated Seminole warriors, as descendants of the powerful and warlike tribe of Yamassees that had been driven from South Carolina and Georgia into Florida, where they resided for some time near St. Augustine under protection of the Spanish government. There is a tradition among the Seminoles, that they were driven by the Creeks upon an island in the Everglades, where they all perished with the exception of one man and one woman. "Jumper claims descent from these two, as also Alligator, though he is not so pure in blood as the former. These two are the only representatives of that numerous tribe, the Yamassees, who once inhabited the whole coast of South Carolina and Georgia."

The noted leader Jumper is said by some to have been of Yamasee descent, but Cohen[20] sets him down as a refugee from the Creeks.[21]

According to Swanton, Mikanopy (or Mikanopi) was the theoretical head chief during the Seminole Wars, "but the brains of native resistance were Osceola . . . . and Jumper, who is said to have come from the Upper Towns, but to have been the last survivor of 'some ancient tribe.' "[22]

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[18] *Army and Navy Chronicle,* Washington, April 13, 1837 (Vol. 4, No. 15), p. 234; Foreman, *op. cit.,* pp. 344-45.

[19] *American State Papers,* "Military Affairs," Vol. 7, pp. 844-45. On August 13, 1837 Jesup wrote Jones that he believed Micanopy and Jumper were sincerely desirous of fulfilling the treaty, and had exercised in some degree their influence (*ibid.,* p. 845).

[20] M. M. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns* (New York, 1836), p. 237.

[21] John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, 1922), p. 107.

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 412.

In November, 1837 General Jesup thought that Jumper and Micanopy were ready to surrender but were deterred by fear of Sam Jones who was then in command of the nation. Jones had declared that he would remain in the nation as long as he could induce one man to stay with him and fight the whites. Jones was described as a "well set, neatly formed, and perfectly finished small man, with 'locks' white as the driven snow—aged and venerable, yet active as a hind, and intrepid as a lion, struggling for the home of his childhood and the graves of his forefathers."[23]

On December 10, 1837 word was received in St. Augustine that a letter had been received from General Jesup, at Fort Mellon, stating that Jumper, Micanopy, Cloud, and Ohithiola and about thirty or forty warriors had come in to the fort. Sam Jones sent a message by his nephew saying that he would surrender "if Gen. Jesup would treat them well, and apologize for having used the Indians as cowards."[24]

General Jesup, with his little army of regulars and volunteers, including about one hundred Delaware and Shawnee Indians, left his encampment on the morning of December 19, 1837, and advanced to the southeast towards the camp of Sam Jones and his forces. In the interior he discovered signs of Indians, and through the efforts of Captain Parks, a halfbreed chief, who commanded the Delawares and Shawnees, he induced Jumper, and a few families of the Seminoles to come in and agree to emigrate, under the articles of capitulation of the previous March.[25]

According to Sprague in *Florida War,* Jessup was informed by Powell and Coe-Hajo that Micanopy, Jumper and Holatoochee and a greater portion of the Seminoles were ready to execute their treaty, but were prevented by the Micasukies. That portion of the Seminoles had resisted in every way the efforts of the government to induce them to agree to emigrate and they threatened death to their tribesmen who capitulated to the whites.

The *Savannah Georgian* reported on December 22, 1837 that Colonel Z. Taylor had received a message by runner from Alligator and Jumper, "two of the most important chiefs in the nation, (the first commanded at Dade's massacre, and the other is the sense keeper of Micanopy,) that they with their families intended to come in forthwith. Since that message, Alligator had been in and left hostages for him, and his family's safe return, and that of Jumper, who is in miserable health and cannot ride or walk."[26]

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[23] *Army and Navy Chronicle,* Washington, December 14, 1837 (Vol. V, No. 24), 382.

[24] *Ibid.,* December 21, 1837 (Vol. V, No. 25), p. 394.

[25] Joshua R. Giddings, *The Exiles of Florida* (Columbus, Ohio, 1858), pp. 173-74.

[26] *Army and Navy Chronicle,* December 28, 1837 (Vol. V, No. 26), p. 411.

In the battle fought at Kissimee on December 25, 1837, in which the Seminoles were supposed to be commanded by Sam Jones, and the whites by Colonel Z. Taylor, the troops were ambuscaded and had a very severe loss, 32 killed and 122 wounded. Jumper and Alligator and their bands came in; Wild Cat, who escaped from the prison at St. Augustine, was one of the fiercest in the battle.[27] This battle was fought at the edge of the Everglades, seventy or eighty miles from Tampa Bay. Taylor's force consisted of the First, Fourth and Sixth regiments, or parts thereof, and of the Missouri Volunteers. Many whites were killed, but only eight Indians were found dead on the field. They were said to have dragged off forty or fifty of their men.[28]

General Z. Taylor reported from Ford Gardner, Florida on January 4, 1838, that he met "the Indian chief Jumper, with his family, and a part of his band, consisting of fifteen men, a part of them with families, and a few negroes—in all sixty-three souls—on his way to give himself up, in conformity to a previous arrangement I had entered into with him . . . . ."

Jumper and his party surrendered on December 19, 1837, and they arrived at Tampa Bay a month later and were immediately placed aboard a vessel for Camp Pike near New Orleans.[29]

The *Army and Navy Chronicle* on January 11, 1838, copied an article from the *St. Augustine Herald* of January 15, saying that Jumper and Holaoochee, and 140 Indians, sixty of whom had been captured, were expected there the next day and that they would be immediately transported.

Lieutenant J. G. Reynolds of the United States Marine Corps, who had the contract for carrying the Seminoles to Fort Gibson, reported from the U. S. Barracks, New Orleans, March 26, 1838 to C. A. Harris, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, that Jumper was very ill with consumption. Physicians in consultation, declared him to be "in a state of rapid decline," but thought he might live with the utmost care until he reached the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi.

The *Army and Navy Chronicle* of May 10, 1838, mentioned the death of Jumper in the following words: "The distinguished Seminole chief, Jumper, died at the New Orleans Barracks on the 18th ult., and was buried in the afternoon. In his coffin were placed his tobacco, pipe, rifle, and other equipments, according to his people's custom. The military, and a number of citizens attended his funeral, which was conducted with all the honors of war." According to the

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[27] New York *Observer*, January 20, 1838, p. 3, col. 4.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Army and Navy Chronicle*, February 8, 1838 (Vol. VI, No. 6), p. 81; Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 356, Note 10.

Arkansas Gazette, May 9, 1838, Jumper had been confined to his bed for almost two months.

Major Ethan Allen Hitchcock wrote to his brother from Tampa Bay, Florida, on October 22, 1840, giving his opinion of the so-called treaty with the Seminoles:[30]

> The Indians have always held one language in regard to their understanding of the Treaty. They have from the first to last uniformly declared that the deputation to examine the new country had no power to confirm the treaty, but were to return & report the result of their observations when they, the tribe, were to assent or dissent.
>
> The deputation however were induced while at Fort Gibson (as I have heard, even under menaces that they should not otherwise return to their friends) to sign a paper signifying that they were satisfied with the country designed for them in the Treaty. This paper was regarded by President Jackson as completing the treaty and the Senate ignorantly ratifying it, it became to appearance the law of the land in '33 I believe . . . . .

In his many letters, as well as his journal, Hitchcock disagreed with the conduct of the Seminole War by the Army, and in all his writings, he showed a wonderful understanding of the Indians. All through his service in Florida he had the utmost sympathy for the Seminoles who were being forced from their ancestral home, and who fought to the last to convince the whites that the fraudulent treaty they were forced to sign was unjust to them.

So far as the writer has been able to learn the name of Jim Jumper first appeared in Seminole history when Agent Judge wrote the following letter to Captain Nathan Boone who was stationed in the Indian country with his company of Dragoons.

From the Seminole Agency, August 31, 1844, Thomas L. Judge wrote to Captain Nathan Boone:

> The following Chiefs in Council wished their names introduced to your notice Maccanopy, Wild Cat, Young Alligator, Octe, Archi, Yoholo Hajo, Jim Jumper, Tom &C &C.
>
> Seminole Agency
> Aug. 31, 1844
>
> Dear Sir:
>
> The Seminole Council today have the subject of the outrage on Jno. Jumper before them, the ultimut they arrived at was. A request that I say to you they disapprove of the whole transaction, and are very sorry that it took place; they are willing to pay for the horses; they have no funds on hand at present, but expect some ere long, when they will direct their agt. to pay for the Horse; they regret Government has been written to on the subject as it will bring them all under censure for the act of one man which they disapprove of, I will remark that they have taken a very correct view of it and comdem the act without any qualification
>
> "Verry Respectfully
> Your Obt. St
> Thos. L. Judge."[31]

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[30] The above letter was addressed to Samuel Hitchcock of St. Louis, Missouri. The typescript in the collection of Grant Foreman was made for him by Mrs. W. A. Croffut of Washington, D. C. from the original.

[31] Office Indian Affairs: Seminole File J-1684. Ft. Smith, 1845.

To the Seminole Agent
Sir

This is to inform you that the horse herein alluded to has been paid for by Gofer John (Gopher John)—the Amount was thirty dollars, which amount when Collected from the Simenole Should be paid to Gofer John—as it is Now Justly Coming to him—

N. Boone
Capt—[32]

Captain Nathan Boone on November 28, 1846, certified that Gopher John paid of his own funds $50.00 to Sergeant Eldridge for a "horse beast" that the Seminole Indians killed while loaned to Gopher John.[33]

The following announcement tells of the death of the Seminole chief:[34]

The *Cherokee Advocate* announces the death of "Micconopy" (*sic*) who died suddenly, a few days since, at Fort Gibson (in the latter part of December, 1848). Micconopy (Pond King) was the head chief of the Seminole Nation, and was one of the few warriors who, at the head of a mere handful of men, resisted our government for six years, and maintained possession of their country during that time, against twenty times their number of well equiped troops, led by our most experienced generals. We believe that it was to General Taylor, then Col. Taylor, that Micconopy finally surrendered. He commanded the Indians in person at the time of Dade's massacre, and with Osceola successfully resisted the crossing of the Withlacoochee by General Gaines in 1836. It is generally believed that he was opposed to the war with our government, and that he was forced to take up arms by the younger chiefs. He was a large fleshy man, notoriously indolent, but none the less shrewd and crafty.

Jim Jumper, the new chief, was present at a council in June, 1849, to consider sending a party of Seminoles to Florida to try to induce the remaining members of the tribe to emigrate and settle in the West. Among other prominent Indians present were Alligator and Wild Cat.

On March 11, 1850 General D. E. Twiggs wrote to his aide-de camp, Major William T. H. Brooks, directing him to proceed immediately to Arkansas to induce Jim Jumper and Wild Cat to come to Florida. They were to be offered $4.00 or $5.00 per day and four other Indians were to receive $2.00 a day. This was payment for attempting to get the Seminoles to emigrate. The General reported on April 15, 1850 that Major Brooks had arrived from Arkansas with Jim Jumper, four sub-chiefs, and three interpreters and that eighty-five Seminoles emigrated.[35]

General D. E. Twiggs reported to the secretary of War on March 27, 1850 that negotiations with the Indians had broken off and they had removed from the vicinity of the army. On May 5

[32] *Ibid.*
[33] *Ibid.*, J. 96.
[34] *The Indian Advocate*, March, 1849, p. 2.
[35] National Archives, Office Adjutant General, Old Records Division, T 29, April 15, 1850.

Major W. T. H. Brooks arrived with Chief Jim Jumper, and his party, but they had little influence with the Seminoles. The Indians said they had been deceived by a former delegation and would have nothing to do with them. They even threatened to shoot them if they entered the Seminole country.

The Seminole chiefs were greatly disturbed when they had heard this word:[36]

> Their present Principal Chief, Jim Jumper, a young man, who has no slaves, promised the Agent's brother, William J. DuVal, as they have heard, one third of the blacks that had sought protection at Fort Gibson, provided, he would have them turned over to the Seminoles; and that but a few, if any of the owners of these slaves had any knowledge of this promise, or ever gave their consent to such a disposition of their property—and that their Sub Agent of late has said that one third, or about ninety of the Negroes would not be sufficient renumeration, as he and his brother had expended much of their money in prosecuting the suit against the President of the United States—in hiring lawyers etc, for the recovery of said Negroes, and that more than ninety of them must be turned over to himself and brother. . . . .

The Seminoles, of course, rightly supposed that the Indian agent was paid by the government to supervise their affairs without cost to them. The officer, Flint, declared that if the Indians were dispossessed of their slaves, in the manner planned by William J. DuVal, there would be serious trouble and that they would make a claim against the United States for the loss of their Negroes. The Sub-Agent informed one of the chiefs that if they did not give up the blacks that he would withhold their annuity.

Wild Cat (Coa-coo-chee), son of King Philip, was a man of unusual intellect and the shrewdest man among the Seminoles. Army officers predicted him as a future chief, but when Mikanopy died he was succeeded as chief by Jim Jumper (Micco-mut-char-sar), who was probably the son of Jumper who died in New Orleans during removal. "After Jumper became chief and sought to commit the slave-holding members of the tribe to a deal whereby the agent's brother would obtain a large part of their slaves, Wild Cat began to make plans to leave the Indian Territory for another home, and sought to influence some of the Seminole Indians to accompany him."[37]

John Drennen, superintendent of Indian affairs sent to Hon L. Lea, commissioner of Indian affairs on August 20, 1851, from Van Buren, Arkansas, a long statement from a delegation of Seminoles to the President of the United States, setting forth the views and feelings on several subjects of great importance to them.

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[36] F. F. Flint, acting adjutant general, Seventh Military Department, Fort Smith, to John Drennen, acting superintendent, Western Territory, Choctaw Agency. Typescript in Grant Foreman collection.

[37] Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), p. 260.

They had been informed that thereafter they were to be without an agent to represent them before the government and other Indian tribes. In great earnestness they petitioned their Great Father to continue to them those rights as a nation which they had heretofore enjoyed—such as protecting them in the right to exercise "our *own laws* over our *own people*—not subject to the wishes of any other tribe of Indians—so long as we do not interfere with them—We object to being placed at the *mercy* of any tribe of Indians, whose interests are not *identical* with our own . . . . ." They did not wish their nationality to be merged with that of the Creeks although they were willing to live as neighbors with them, but "*unwilling* to become their *subjects.*" The delegation sending this statement was made up of Ya-har-chupe, acting governor; Jim Jumper, Pap-weke John, Tupekian Tustenuchay.

Lieutenant John Gibbons of the Fourth Artillery went to the western Seminoles to attempt to get another delegation to go to Florida, and on December 12, 1853, John Jumper, brother of Chief Jim Jumper, Halleck Tuskenuggee who had headed the 1849 delegation, "Kapitchochee" chief of the party that emigrated in 1850, Toliss Hadjo, son of Sam Jones, and eleven other Indians including Jim Factor the Indian interpreter, and the Negro interpreter George Noble began the journey. They arrived at Tampa Bay January 5, 1854.[38]

In the spring of 1848, the Reverend John Lilley attended the Seminole council where he met the old Chief Micanopy who gave permission to open a mission school among his people. Soon after the old chief went down to Fort Gibson and died:[39]

His nephew Jim Jumper was made king under the name of *Mikko Michuassa.*

They say one ought never to speak ill of the dead and he was crippled I suppose from the war, as he must have been a warrior but he did not show much courage. For one day after he was elected chief he came over to Mr. Lilleys to get a tooth pulled and did not show much courage as he went to his horse two or three times to get a drink of whiskey to muster up his courage before he could get it pulled—

He (Jim Jumper) did not live very long, perhaps not a year, and then they elected John Jumper chief.[40] Put out their fire and whatever other ceremonies they had in electing him . . . .

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[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 252-53.

[39] *The Autobiography of Mary Ann Lilley*, typescript in Grant Foreman collection, 39. Jim Jumper's name appears as principal chief signed to a letter written by him, Wild Cat, and nine other Seminoles on March 9, 1849, advising the Comanches to keep the peace (Indian Office Files. Texas File Seminole S. Agy. 3/25/1849 (D 177) Duval, M.).

[40] Chief John Jumper was a notable Seminole leader in the history of Oklahoma until his death at the age of eighty years on October 9, 1896. He had attained the rank of lieutenant colonel of the Mounted Seminole Volunteers in the Confederate Army during the War between the States. After the war, he continued to serve as chief of the Seminole Nation for over ten years, and devoted his later life to missionary work and preaching in the Baptist Church.—Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "John Jumper," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (Summer, 1951), pp. 137-52.

THE CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO PIONEER COMMUNITIES*

By T. L. Ballenger

Down through the years western Arkansas and eastern Oklahoma have been more or less related to each other in several different ways. Both regions are somewhat similar physically—in surface, in soil, in climate, and in general topography. Both snugly set in the foothills of the Ozarks, they are drained by some of the same rivers and creeks and traversed by some of the same mountain ranges. Both regions are well perforated with an abundance of clear, strong springs of water. There are said to be some two hundred springs within a radius of two miles around Cane Hill, Arkansas. These springs, it is said, account for the cane growing on top of the hills, instead of in the lowlands as is commonly the case, hence the name Cane Hill.

Business relationships between them have been close. The Indians of eastern Indian Territory bought goods from the merchants of western Arkansas. In early days the same Indian tribes occupied both regions, the Cherokees in the north and the Choctaws in the south. Both regions were in close touch with each other during the War between the States. But by far the most conspicuous relationship, particularly between northwestern Arkansas and northeastern Oklahoma, has been one of education and culture. The chief purpose of this paper is to point out, in some detail, this latter relationship between the earliest schools of higher learning in these two respective regions: the Cane Hill College and Female Seminary at Cane Hill, Arkansas and the Cherokee National Male and Female Seminaries near Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

While the two communities to be compared in this article are Cane Hill, Arkansas and Tahlequah, Oklahoma, it is not the intention of the writer to confine his remarks rigidly to these two towns but rather to the vicinity or region centering about these two places. In distance Cane Hill and Tahlequah are about forty miles apart as the crow flies. They were both pioneer settlements rather far removed from other civilization at the time of their beginnings.

In its origin Cane Hill boasts of Spanish visitations at the time of De Soto's ramblings through Arkansas. The site of a sup-

* The information from which this article was gleaned came from so many sources that it is not thought advisable to try to cite all of them. It was obtained through personal interviews with old-timers who knew some of these facts, from old newspapers, from college catalogs, and various other sources. The late Mrs. Ellen Earle Richardson, daughter of F. R. Earle who was president of Cane Hill College for a number of years, was very helpful.

posed old Spanish fort is preserved there by a recent marker. Some ambitious Oklahomans will even point out the remains of one of De Soto's abandoned mines a few miles southeast of Tahlequah but history will hardly bear out this contention.

The two settlements were made differently. Individual families came into the Cane Hill region in the 1820's and in the early thirties, and hewed for themselves pioneer houses out of the virgin forests. John Latta, originally from South Carolina, came to this region from Tennessee about 1828, with his negro slaves, and established a plantation and industrial plant which he called "The Lord's Vineyard." He reared a large family, set up a blacksmith shop and furniture manufacturing plant, and built up for himself and family a reputation for thrift, industry, and dependable citizenship. The family came to be one of extraordinary size and possessed great versatility. Some were skilled in blacksmithing and carpentry work, some were peace officers, some were ministers of the Gospel, while others were farmers, businessmen, and teachers. Some of them remained there and others settled in and around Tahlequah and remnants of the family still reside in both places today. The family as a whole played a conspicuous part in the industrial, social, and cultural development of this entire region from Cane Hill on the east to Tahlequah on the west.[1]

Martha Jane Latta taught in Tahlequah in the early eighteen fifties. After the Civil War James Latta was overseer of the George Murrell estate at Park Hill and lived in "Hunters Home," while his wife taught private subscription schools for the white children.[2] The Goddards were associated with the Lattas in Arkansas and some of their descendants have long since been citizens of Tahlequah.

Another early family were the McClellans. They too have connections in Tahlequah. Members of this family in Cane Hill live today in an aristocratic old mansion, built shortly after the Civil War, that superceded one of pre-war structure on the same site. This residence today, with its large fireplaces, contains some rare furniture and many interesting antiques of early Cane Hill. The Buchanans lived in Cane Hill before the Civil War, some were officers in the Confederate army, and some taught in the college there, both before the war and after. The Earles, the Richardsons, the McCulloughs, the Trousdales, the Reynolds, the Reeds, the Coxes, the Shannons, and others too numerous to mention, were prominent early settlers.

Unlike the settlement of Cane Hill, Tahlequah was settled by a mass migration. When, in the winter of 1838 and the spring of 1839, the Cherokee Indians, under pressure of the State of Georgia

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[1] "The Lord's Vineyard", p. 38. (This is a mimeographed history of the Latta family compiled by F. F. Latta of Shafter, California, 1940).

[2] Mrs. Carolyn Foreman, *Park Hill*, p. 161.

and complusion of the Federal Government, were forced to leave their homes in Tennessee and Georgia and come to the Indian Territory, several thousand of them assembled in the neighborhood of Park Hill and Tahlequah. After a considerable period of factional strife over their removal, fraught with cruel assassination and much destruction of property, they effected a union of government, adopted a new constitution, and selected Tahlequah as their national capital. A few of the Old Settler Cherokees who had come here in 1828, like Black Coat, Young Wolfe, Riley Keys, and the German missionary Thomas Bertholf, had settled along Bear creek in the vicinity of Tahlequah, but the main settlement began in 1839. Tahlequah began its corporate existence under the direction of the Cherokee national government, and all at once. It was not built up gradually by individual accretion, at least not in its beginning.

John Ross, chief of the Cherokees for nearly forty years, established his home at Park Hill, three miles southeast of Tahlequah. His brother, Lewis Ross, treasurer of the nation, also lived there at first. George Murrell, a wealthy planter and merchant, built a very substantial home here in the middle forties. This old home is still standing and is now being restored by the State Planning and Resources Board. Andrew Nave, George Lowrey, Sequoyah, the inventor of the Cherokee alphabet, Riley Keys, David Carter, William P. Ross, Reverend Hamilton Balentine, John Henry Covel, and Dr. Samuel Austin Worcester were prominent leaders in the early days of Tahlequah.

Inspired with an imagination for the future and with the eternal verities of life uppermost in their minds the early leaders of both of these communities put education in the forefront of their thinking. The Latta family record says that "on the long road from South Carolina to Arkansas, traveling in slow wagons over roads that today we would consider impassable, he (John Latta) brought with him to his western wilderness a library of books that would exceed that found in many homes today."[3] This family record also says: "Cane Hill College was organized in 1833 in the living room of the old Latta home at Vineyard, near Evansville, and later established in a two-room log schoolhouse on a hill above the present town of Cane Hill as a training school for the ministry."[4] But the state marker that stands just across the street from the post office bears the following inscription:

> Cane Hill College, the first Collegiate Institution of learning established in Arkansas, was founded here by Cumberland Presbyterians on October 28, 1834. The following persons were named by the

[3] *The Lord's Vineyard*, p. 38.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

founders as the Board of Trustees: Col. John McClellan, Dr. Robert Bedford, Rev. John Carahan, Rev. Jacob Sexton, and Col. Lewis Evans. Dr. Stephen B. Johns was Secretary of the Board.

This school was for boys only. At the same time that Cane Hill College was chartered, the Cane Hill Female Seminary, located about two and a half miles south of Cane Hill, was chartered. In 1875 the two were combined and made coeducational. The college was located on the top of one of the main hills overlooking the surrounding country. A strong spring gushes out from beneath the brow of this hill from among boulders that weigh several tons. The college consisted of two brick buildings and one frame, two-story structure, together with a frame dormitory about an eighth of a mile to the south. The brick buildings were burned during the Civil War but in 1868 a two-story frame building was built on the original site.

The Cherokee people were considerably advanced in civilization while still living in Georgia and Tennessee, having already had a written constitution, a printing press, a national newspaper printed half in English and half in the newly invented Cherokee characters, and a number of mission schools for the education of their children. Thus it is only natural that they would make ample provision for education in their new home in the West. In the constitution of 1839 provision was made for a system of free public schools. Then, in 1846, the Cherokee National Council established two institutions of higher learning, one for boys and the other for girls. The Male Seminary was located just southwest of Tahlequah and the Female Seminary was placed at Park Hill, some three miles southeast of Tahlequah. Thus the Cherokees, like the early settlers of Cane Hill, gave education the predominant place in their lives.

Miss Graham, the first principal of the Cane Hill Female Seminary, was a graduate of Mount Holyoke. Similarly, Miss Ellen Whitmore, the first principal of the Female Seminary at Park Hill, was a product of Mount Holyoke. Preparatory to opening the two Cherokee academies, William P. Ross and David Vann were appointed to go to Mount Holyoke and to other eastern colleges and universities to select a faculty for these schools. Both of these female academies placed much dependence upon Mount Holyoke, not only for their teachers but for their curricula and general standard of conduct. Miss Amanda Buchanan, daughter of John and Ellen Crawford Buchanan, attended school at the Oxford Ladies Seminary at Oxford, Mississippi, and graduated from Mount Holyoke, Massachussetts, in 1854. On her return to Cane Hill she became "Instructress in Painting" in Cane Hill College.[5] When,

[5] Taken from a paper written by Jobelle Holcombe of Fayetteville, Arkansas, upon the occasion of presenting to Mrs. Ellen Earle Richardson of Cane Hill the Distinguished Citizen Award, on September 20, 1953.

in 1852, Miss Ellen Whitmore resigned the principalship of the Cherokee Female Seminary to get married, she was succeeded by Miss Harriet Johnson from the Mount Holyoke faculty.

Several of the teachers at these institutions had Master's degrees. The Reverend Cephas Washbourne, who came to this country as a missionary to the Cherokees, taught at Cane Hill long before the Civil War. Major Quesenbury taught painting at Cane Hill from 1875 to 1880. He was a poet, an editor, a humorist, and an all-round likeable fellow.

Miss A. Florence Wilson was a native of Cane Hill and received her early training in the Cane Hill Female College. She later received a diploma from La Grange College in Tennessee. Then she came to Tahlequah, first to teach in the public schools and later to serve, for a number of years, as principal of the Cherokee Female Seminary. She impressed upon the young womanhood of the Cherokee Nation her principles of thorough scholarship, ladylike conduct, and stern but helpful discipline as perhaps no other person has ever done. Her former pupils still refer to her in terms of the highest praise and esteem.

Mrs. Foreman, in her *Park Hill*, said: "The seminary was run on the plan of Holyoke and Sarah (Worcester) not only imparted book knowledge to her pupils, but also the meticulous refinements thought essential to good breeding in those days. So the ideals of Mount Holyoke were carried into the wilderness and the learning of Cherokee girls educated there was no poor imitation of the refinements of eastern graduates."[6] While this was said of the seminary at Park Hill it would apply equally well to the female seminary at Cane Hill, since it too was so closely affiliated with Mount Holyoke.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century Prince Dolgorouky was associated with both of these educational centers. Mysterious and eccentric, he was supposed to have been a political refugee from Russia. In 1887 one member of his family was Prime Minister to Czar Alexander III of Russia. According to his own story, the Prince was exiled to Siberia as a political prisoner and set to work in the salt mines. He escaped by concealing himself in a salt barrel and, in this way, finally reached America. He was an accomplished musician, having studied under Rubenstein and other European teachers. Upon reaching this country, he naturally sought the seclusion of isolated regions rather than trying to remain in the eastern cities, where he might be recognized. He first taught music in Cane Hill College, then later in the Male Seminary at Tahlequah. When he taught at Cane Hill he boarded at Prairie Grove, eight miles distant and walked back and forth to his work. If the creeks were up he sometimes had to wade the water. The late Mrs. Ellen Rich-

[6] Foreman, *Park Hill*, p. 80.

ardson related that upon one occasion when she was taking piano lessons from him he reached in his pocket for a handkerchief and pulled out a wet sock. He was director of the band at the Male Seminary for a number of years and directed the choir at the Presbyterian Church at Tahlequah.

Miss Ella Lake, fourth assistant at the Cherokee Male Seminary in 1889, taught music at Cane Hill College before coming to Tahlequah. Reverend Samuel Newton, who established the first mission at Park Hill in 1830 and named the place, also the first postmaster at Park Hill,[7] later moved to Washington county, Arkansas, and was postmaster at Boonesboro (Cane Hill) in 1847.[8]

Not only did several of the faculty members teach both at Tahlequah and at Cane Hill but many of the young men and women of the Cherokee Nation attended school at Cane Hill College, particularly before the Cherokee seminaries were opened and during the intervals when they were closed, just before and immediately after the Civil War.

Eliza Christine Thompson, mother of Mrs. Ella Scott and the late Roger Eubanks, and also her sister, Anna Thompson, later the wife of J. W. MsSpadden, Sr. of Tahlequah, attended the Cane Hill Female Seminary before the Civil War. Maria Ann Thompson, mother of the late Judge J. T. Parks of Tahlequah, also attended this seminary prior to the Civil War. She told of boarding at a place where they served o'possum so much that the girls formulated them a prayer for returning thanks at the table: "Lord, deliver us from possum and help our landlady to serve some other kind of meat." Miss Eliza Jane Ross, the accomplished daughter of Lewis Ross and niece of the Principal Chief, attended the Cane Hill Female Seminary before she entered the Bethlehem Female Seminary in Pennsylvania. In 1854 she became assistant teacher in the Cherokee Seminary at Park Hill. The Schrimpsher girls and Mrs. Clem Rogers of Claremore received a part of their education at Cane Hill. Maggie Starr, aunt of the late Mrs. W. W. Hastings, attended school at Cane Hill while Mr. Looney was president. Miss Jane Buffington, later the mother of W. Buff Wyly of Tahlequah, and Miss Nan Thompson of Beattie's Prairie, sister of the late Reverend Joheph Franklin Thompson of Tahlequah, went to school at Cane Hill. Miss Mary Elizabeth Duncan, sister of the late Mrs. J. T. Parks, now a centenarian of Glendale, California, attended the college after it was made coeducational, in 1875. Reverend Stephen Foreman, with his party of Cherokees, camped at Cane Hill at the time of the removal in 1838. His son, Taylor Foreman, later returned there and married Miss Ada McClellan.

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[7] Emmett Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, p. 255.

[8] George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices in the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 37.

In the early years of the nineteenth century the Hinds family migrated from North Carolina to Newtonia, Missouri, then moved down to Cane Hill for the bentfit of the schools at that place. Amanda Hinds, mother of Dr. P. H. Medearis of Tahlequah, attended the Cane Hill Female Seminary before the Civil War. She was held in prison for a time by the Union troops and the family moved temporarily to Viney Grove, Arkansas for safety. Her father, John Hinds, practiced medicine at Cane Hill and also peached for the Cumberland Presbyterian church. Descendants of this Hinds family have been prominent in business and civic affairs in Tahlequah ever since the turn of the century.

Joseph Franklin Thompson, Austin Worcester Foreman, Hooley Bell, Hugh Montgomery Adair, and Frederick B. Severs, a Creek Indian, all attended Cane Hill College before the Civil War. John Henry Covel, William Peter McClellan, John R. Vann, later principal of the Male Seminary at Tahlequah, Watt Watie, Jess Foreman, John L. Adair, captain in the Confederate service under Stand Watie, and John Drew[9] entered Cane Hill College shortly after the Civil War closed. Most of these went on horseback with their belongings in their saddle bags. Watt Watie boarded with Mrs. McCulloch, who lived across the little valley from the college. It was here that he died after a very short illness, the same year that he entered college. His father, General Stand Watie, came and took him home for burial. Sam Starr, the son of the notorious outlaw, Tom Starr, and Clem Rogers, the father of Will Rogers, went to school at Cane Hill.

Robert Fletcher Wyly, later judge of Delaware district and editor of the *Cherokee Advocate* from 1889 to 1891, obtained part of his education at the Cherokee National Male Seminary and part of it at Cane Hill College. The late Ed Hicks of Tahlequah came very near attending college at Cane Hill. In the early eighties his guardian decided that Ed must go to college, hence he loaded him and his trunk full of clothing in a buckboard and drove over to Cane Hill, only to find that the college had just been discontinued. The late Dr. Jesse Bushyhead of Claremore, son of Cherokee Chief Dennis W. Bushyhead, selected his wife from Cane Hill. She was Miss Faith Reynolds, sister of the late Mrs. J. B. Crew of Tahlequah.

In this interchange of students not as many went from Cane Hill to Tahlequah as went from Tahlequah to Cane Hill because the Cherokee male and female seminaries at Tahlequah, being purely national schools, were supported by the Cherokee Nation and were supposed to provide free education only to Cherokees. Cane Hill

[9] John Drew was a halfbreed Cherokee, born in 1850. He held the offices of District Attorney, Clerk of the Cherokee Senate, Attorney General, and in 1884, was a member of the Cherokee Supreme Court. In 1890 he was editor of the *Indian Arrow* at Tahlequah. Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints*, p. 85.

College was a denominational school and it was to its advantage to have as many outside students as possible.

The Cane Hill country was a hotly contested region during the War between the States. The people were divided in sentiment, besides, the region was well supplied with such provisions as armies needed. The "Pin Indians", a group of fullblood Cherokee guerillas on the Union side roamed over this section pillaging, plundering, and killing, leaving terror and devastation in their wake. Mrs. Ellen Richardson of Cane Hill told me of the Pins coming to the home of her grandfather's brother and demanding apples. After their demands had been satisfied they shot him in the back and left him dead in the yard. The "Red Legs" of Kansas and Quantrill's band also raided this country.

Lieutenant J. M. Lynch of the Second Cherokee Regiment, in a letter to his sister, Caroline Lynch Bell, in 1864, after telling of Watie and Bell's defeat by some negro troops north of the Arkansas, said: "I was lucky enough not to be in that fight. Our company . . . . was on our way from Cane Hill, Arkansas. We stayed about a month in Cane Hill had a fine time had more good apples than I ever saw. The people in Cane Hill are the strongest southern people I ever saw with exception of a few families who are union."[10]

Several of the Cane Hill faculty and most of the students took up arms for the Confederate cause. President F. R. Earle was made a major and Pleasant Buchanan, Professor of Mathematics, became captain. He was engaged to be married to Miss A. Florence Wilson and one of her brothers was in his command, but Captain Buchanan lost his life in an engagement near Cane Hill. James Mitchell was another teacher who served as captain in the Confederate army.

During the Civil War the schools at both Tahlequah and Cane Hill were closed and the buildings for men were used as hospitals. The Male Seminary at Tahlequah depreciated considerably during the war but was not destroyed. The main college buildings at Cane Hill were burned by the Union troops. Immediately after the war closed the citizens of Cane Hill set about, almost frantically, to rebuild their college. The frame building was finished on a Saturday in 1868 and school was opened the following Monday morning. They had no books and they had no equipment but they had "Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and the student on the other." Hence, school proceeded. The Cherokees did not get around to restoring their buildings until 1872. They then made suitable additions to both the male and female seminaries, of similiar design, and reopened them. These two institutions, then, continued to function regularly until statehood. The original Cherokee Female Seminary at Park Hill was destroyed by fire in 1887 but it was immediately rebuilt

[10] E. E. Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers*, (Norman, 1939), p. 184.

at Tahlequah, and is still in use today as part of the Northeastern State College.

The curricula of these two institutions, at Cane Hill and at Tahlequah, were considerably alike and they were of about the same standard of scholarship. They naturally would be since they served similiar communities and since so many of the teachers taught in both schools, and since both schools, to a large extent, looked to the same eastern colleges, such as Princeton, Dartmouth, Yale and Mount Holyoke, for their teachers and their curricula.

These two groups of educational institutions established somewhat similar sets of rules and regulations for the government of their respective student bodies. Social conditions and mental ideals in the two communities were sufficiently similiar to make this a natural circumstance. This was a day when educational leaders were serious minded and saw little place in colleges and universities for laziness, levity, or frivolity. Hard work was the order of the day. Recreation was to be obtained, not through frivolous pursuits, but through cultural activities provided and supervised by the college. Society seemed to expect the school to direct students in a course of rigid morality as well as in intellectual pursuits.

Some of these college regulations of a hundred years ago may seem peculiar to this modern generation. All association between the sexes was strictly forbidden except on stated occasions and by special permission of the faculty. Drinking was forbidden. No smoking was allowed about the college. Students were forbidden to loiter about the village. All students must be courteous and respectful at their boarding places. The carrying of concealed weapons was strictly prohibited. The students were supposed to confine their attentions solely to the primary purpose for which they were there, that is, to learn; and everything that tended to detract from this purpose was strictly banned. Today there are some students who like to go to college but are not interested in getting an education. Back at the time these two pioneer institutions were in their prime that attitude was inconceivable.

The inevitable increase in population, progress, and the natural social evolution of these two regions finally forced both of these schools out of existance. Cane Hill went first but Tahlequah followed soon after. The Presbyterians built a new school at Clarksville, and while they did not immediately withdraw their support from Cane Hill College, at least their interests became more or less divided. The University of Arkansas, one of the early land-grant state universities, was established at Fayetteville in 1871. This new state-supported institution of learning, located only a few miles from Cane Hill, naturally entered into competition with this older denominational school. With the advent of tax supported schools of higher learning the privately supported ones necessarily

operated at a financial disadvantage. Hence, the new brick college at Cane Hill, finished in 1886, was converted into a free public school and the famous old college that had trained so many of the early citizens of western Arkansas and eastern Indian Territory ceased to exist.

The dissolution of Cherokee tribal government and the coming of Oklahoma statehood, in 1907, with its establishment of a complete system of common schools and colleges, crowded out the two Cherokee seminaries that had served this Indian people so well for over a half century. The Cherokee Female Seminary was purchased from the Cherokee Nation by the new state and was made into the Northeastern State Normal School, starting in 1909. The same old building, with some internal rearrangements and repairs, still serves as the Administration Building of Northeastern State College. The Cherokee schools were both combined into one as a coeducational school, for a few years, at the Male Seminary. But, in 1910, this building was burned and the Cherokee people made no further effort to continue their tribal schools. They simply accepted and fell in line with the new state system.

The love the Cherokees had for these two tribal schools is still exemplified, however, by the annual homecoming of the former students and their friends and relatives for the observance of their founding day celebated May 7, on the campus of Notheastern State College. Here they spend a day of handshaking and reminiscing together as they gather around the festal board and recount the glories of former days. Many of the older women still visit Northeastern, go through the building, and walk around the outside pointing to a certain window on the third floor where they "roomed" in their girlhood days. They still refer to some humorous incident in connection with Miss A. Florence Wilson or to some wonderful lesson they learned from her.

Though superceded by the inevitable onrush of modern development, these two pioneer, related institutions, the one at Tahlequah and the other at Cane Hill, served an excellent purpose in their day and, from the standpoint of influence and effect on the social life of these two great sections of the two states, they are not yet dead.

In both cases these early schools constituted the chief economic, as well as cultural, basis for the two towns. In the case of Tahlequah the old schools were replaced by the state college which has constantly grown larger and better. And the town has kept well abreast of the college in its growth. In the case of Cane Hill the new institutions that supplanted the old were located at other places, thus leaving Cane Hill "sitting high and dry" without economic or cultural support. Today the absence of these institutions is reflected in the appearance of the little village as much as was their presence in earlier days.

SOME PERSONAL REMEMBRANCES ABOUT LYNN RIGGS

*By Joseph Benton**

All during his almost fifty-five years, Lynn Riggs' life was a continuous striving to satisfy the urge to achieve that which burned within him. A native of Claremore, Oklahoma, his mother died when Lynn was still a small boy and a few years thereafter his father remarried. The new surroundings were not too happy for the lad and he went to live with an aunt. Lynn loved music, or what passed for music among the pioneer settlers of Indian Territory at that time. Being of Cherokee descent, as a child Lynn heard the chants of his family's original tribe and learned many of the folk-ballads of the hardy pioneers, songs which later he used in several of his plays.

After graduating from Claremore High School, Lynn wanted to go to college but such took money. He also wanted to see the world. Hoping for a job somewhere, he "rode the rods" to Chicago, where he worked briefly for the now extinct Adams Express Company, then pressed on to New York. But the big city was unkind, so he crossed the continent as a freight-train bum to Los Angeles where a job finally appeared as proof-reader on the *Los Angeles Times*. He was working on such eye-straining night-time job in the early morning when a bomb planted in the Times Building by disgruntled former employees, exploded and killed many persons. He was among the first there, naturally, wrote an article about what he saw, sold it immediately to the old McClure Newspaper Syndicate and with those three hunderd dollars came back to Oklahoma, this time as a paying passenger inside the train. That fall (1920) Lynn enrolled as a freshman at the University of Oklahoma, since by that time he realized that he could never get ahead in the highly competitive game of newspaperdom without a college education. He chose the University of Oklahoma because tuition there would be less since he was a native of the state.

It was in September of 1920 at the University of Oklahoma that I first met Lynn Riggs. He was then enrolled in Speech in the College of Fine Arts, sang second tenor in the O. U. Men's Glee Club and in order to stretch those three hundred dollars as far as possible, washed dishes at the Pi Kappa Alpha fraternity house for his room and board in the basement of "the Old Red Barn." There was a bond of friendship between him and me immediately and a few weeks after the University opened I invited him to my home

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LYNN RIGGS

one Sunday afternoon for some music. When my mother met Lynn she lost her heart to him and arrangements were made for him to move from his dark basement room into the southeast corner bedroom of our house. He occupied that room as long as he was a student at O. U. The friendship between Lynn and my mother never waned; in fact, he would read to her each poem or scene as a play took form, and she would offer suggestions. Never having known for long his own mother, Lynn turned for love and understanding to other mothers and guarded their opinions carefully.

Lynn's grades at O. U. were average. But at the outset of his Sophomore year he changed from Fine Arts to English in the College of Arts and Sciences. This decision was made largely because by so doing he would become eligible for a gradership in English. He got the job. All of this time he was rapidly turning out poems and short stories, writing late each night. His social life began to blossom, too, since he suddenly had discovered girls. It was that fall (1921) that I was successful in persuading Lynn to become a pledge to Pi Kappa Alpha. Lynn was popular among the coeds, well liked by his male associates and often invited into the homes of his teachers, especially those of the English faculty.

During the time that Professor William G. Schmidt, Professor of voice and Director of the O. U. Men's Glee Club, was studying singing with Jean de Reszké in France, I filled in as the Glee Club's director. In the winter of 1922 some of us conceived the plan of making some money by taking a group from the Glee Club on a Chautauqua tour that coming summer. I got together a double male quartet, a solo quartet and four other members of the glee club who did specialty numbers, and trained them, we auditioned and were signed for a ten-weeks tour with the Midland Chautauqua Company of Des Moines, Iowa. The membership of the solo quartet consisted of the following: bass, Elmer Fraker; baritone, Laile Neal; 2nd tenor, Lynn Riggs; and 1st tenor, myself. The others who did specialty numbers were: reader, Charles Green; tap-dancer, Skeet Carrier; chalk-talker, Leo Morrison; and piano accompanist, Jack Foose. Each day on tour the solo quartet gave a twenty-minute prelude to the afternoon lecture presented by a fine woman speaker known as "Mother Lake," and in the evening the eight of us gave an all-music program, the first part of which was made up of solo, quartet, and specialty numbers, the last half being an old-time black-face minstrel show. The solo quartet wore identical suits, and as minstrels the costumes of all of us were loud and colorful.

That summer the New York Central Railroad system employees were on strike and since the ten states where our Chautauqua tour took us was almost completely in such territory, we had many transportation difficulties. Highways did not exist in 1922, and numerous times we of the solo quartet would have to change into our identical suits to be on time for the afternoon prelude to the lecture, while

chugging along over rutty roads in a truck or steaming flivver. We indeed earned the $25.00 per week each of which our salary consisted. (As manager and director of the group I received $35.00 weekly. That was a lot of money in 1922.) Highlights of that tour include Lynn's and my meeting and being invited to the home of the novelist, Willa Cather, in Red Cloud, Nebraska where one of the group's dates was; our seeing Niagara Falls for the first time for each of us; and a program over Des Moines radio station WHO at the close of the summer's work as a bonus for being the foremost musical aggregation put out that summer by the Midland people. Radio in 1922 was still an expensive toy in most American homes. We were really thrilled when we received, weeks later, forwarded fan-mail for our singing from as far away from Des Moines as eighty miles.

All along during the Chautauqua tour, Lynn by day made notes in his small notebook regarding what he saw and heard—notes especially of Americana—and almost every night, following the program, he would write late. He and I usually shared the same hotel room on tour. It was then that I first was able to go to sleep with the light burning. Certainly there was much chance for the practice of such that summer.

The fall of 1922, there was an over-enrollment in classes in Freshman English at O. U., and Lynn was given two of them to teach. He continued to teach English as long as he was a student in the University but he always found time to do some writing of his own. His first check for something sold was from H. L. Mencken: $18.00. I was with Lynn when he cashed the money order at the Norman post office. Then came a $35.00 check from George Jean Nathan, co-author with H. L. Mencken of *The Smart Set* (later *The American Mercury*), and the following summer Harriet Monroe devoted an entire issue of *Poetry Magazine* to Lynn's poems. He also wrote poems for his friends, and sent them as Christmas and birthday remembrances.

When the muse of poetry and the inspiration for writing short stories became fagged, Lynn turned to play-writing and in the Summer School of 1923 at O. U. his first play, "Cuckoo," was produced. It was a raucous farce, full of fun and contained some of the pioneer ballads which Lynn had heard as a child in Claremore. Lynn had an excellent tenor voice but he could not write music on paper so that others could learn it, so he would sit at our piano and "chord" as he sang these old songs and I would write them on music paper. (He and I collaborated also on "Honeymoon" which today is still printed in the National Songbook of our fraternity, Pi Kappa Alpha.) "Cuckoo" had two performances that summer at O. U., and was the first of the Lynn Riggs plays.

The beautiful coed whom Lynn had met when a Sophomore began more and more to take up his time, so his prose-writing

suffered but not his writing of poetry. He gave this beauty-queen his pin and she in turn liked Lynn quite well but in her own veneered, superficial way. Then in September of 1923 there came to O. U. to study geology the son of a beer baron from Wisconsin The young man drove a Stutz speedster, and had a well-padded wallet. He set siege to Lynn's love-castle, and soon won out over Lynn. Lynn had a nervous breakdown, withdrew from the University before the first semester of 1923-24 was over, and went to New Mexico, with a deeply-rooted case of pulmonary tuberculosis, where he worked—doctor's orders—as a manual laborer. He found employment as a man-of-all-work on the ranch of Whitter Binner, the poet whom Lynn had met at an O. U. lecture-recital and with whom he had corresponded occasionally thereafter. After many adjustments, Lynn built his own adobe house in Santa Fe where the one upstairs room was his writing room. It was there that he completed several of his plays and made drafts for others, some of them never finished.

The period from September of 1923 to May of 1935 I lived, studied and sang in opera in Europe, so I do not know much regarding Lynn's dramatic endeavors save for occasional letters, but in the fall of 1935 we met in New York. One day following lunch as guests of George Gershwin, Lynn and Gershwin went over their plans to collaborate on a folk-opera, something similiar to "Porgy and Bess" which was then playing in New York City, but they never concluded these plans before Gershwin's death in 1937.

Lynn telephoned me in New York very early one morning shortly after our lunch with Gershwin—it was November of 1935—to say that he was flying back to Santa Fe at once in answer to a telegram from the old Mexican man who had helped him build his adobe house there, that that water pipes had frozen and burst in the kitchen and that the house was melting away. He was gone several weeks but meanwhile plans had matured for the New York presentation of Lynn's play "Russet Mantle," so he flew back to New York to help with its preparation. This was his first play where the locale was not laid in Oklahoma but in New Mexico.

January 10, 1936 was the date of my rather sudden debut at the Metropolitan Opera in Massenet's opera, "Manon," and opposite that great lady of opera, Miss Lucrezia Bori. Despite the rush of rehearsing, I took time to telephone Lynn and ask him to be my guest at the debut that night, but he could not come due to the first dress rehearsal of his play, "Russet Mantle." However, he did attend several subsequent performances at the Met where I sang, even as I did one of his play's presentations. In "Russet Mantle" Burgess Meredith was starred and in this play he was "discovered" for Hollywood, even as Franchot Tone had been "discovered" for Hollywood in Lynn's play "Green Grow the Lilacs." It has always been a keen disappointment to me not to have been able to hear and see "Green Grow the Lilacs" since it is the play from which

the great musical hit "Oklahoma" was made by Rogers and Hammerstein. I was still in Europe when it ran its very great success in New York. Almost every one of the folk-melodies in that play, the melody-line of which appears in print in the Samuel French edition of the play, had been written on paper as Lynn sang each song with my writing down the tune, at various times back in 1921-22-23 in my parent's home in Norman, Oklahoma.[1]

Lynn was allergic to letter-writing. I used to remind him, "You write for a living but seldom to your friends." He agreed readily and always seemed duly penitent but the allergy persisted. Hence it is that many of the details of his activities in the field of the theatre must be related by those who know about them first-hand. After 1936 in New York, the next time we saw each other—and the last time—was at the National Convention of Pi Kappa Alpha in Los Angeles in September of 1938. My father had died that May and in order to change the scenery and her ideas a bit, I had persuaded my mother for us to go to California for the summer, since many of her relatives lived there then. We had taken an apartment in Monrovia, and from there as home-base, we made trips to see relatives and to visit places of interest up and down the West Coast. As the days drew near for the opening of the Convention, I took a room at the Convention's headquarters, the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles, and from there telephoned Lynn. He was then writing for MGM, and it was a real chore to reach him by telephone through the battery of secretaries, each of whom wanted to know who, what, and why. Lynn came to several sessions of the Convention, and at the Night of Stars at the Coconut Grove he received a standing ovation when prominent members of the fraternity were honored on the program. My mother was also a guest there that night and, she was greatly moved—and most happily—when she saw her two "sons" receive the plaudits of their fraternity's national delegates. She was among the first (1921) who had helped Lynn with his beginning literary efforts and had through all the intervening years encouraged him to continue his writing. That was, as said before, the last time I ever saw Lynn. In 1947 my mother died, and when moving to my new home I found in our basement a wooden cracker-box labeled, "Lynn Riggs' things" which he had left there when he had withdrawn from O. U. and left suddenly for New Mexico following his nervous breakdown. I wrote Lynn about the box and he answered for me to burn all letters therein and send him only a few of the other contents: his mother's shirt-waist-watch, a pair of award cufflinks, his Pi Kappa Alpha pledge-ribbons, etc., all of which things I sent to him and which he acknowledged.

[1] These were not the tunes used in the musical, "Oklahoma," by Rogers and Hammerstein.—Ed.

As cancer of the stomach developed, Lynn never once mentioned his being ill in the occasional letters he wrote me, so it was a sudden and painful shock when I read in the papers for July 1, 1954 that he had died the preceding night in Memorial Hospital in New York. His sister, Mrs. Cundiff ("Sister Mattie" whom he loved dearly) of Tulsa was with him during the final days of his illness. It was the family's wish that I sing at his funeral at the Methodist Church in Claremore, and I did so, but rarely ever have I had such difficulty controlling my voice and emotions. The solo used was "Thy Will Be Done," music by Ward-Stephens, poem by Anne Campbell Stark. (see below). Miss Virginia Lemonds was the organist, W. Angie Smith, Bishop of the Methodist Church for Oklahoma and New Mexico, gave the beautiful eulogy, and Governor Johnston Murray sent an Oklahoma flag which for the first time in our State's history was used to drape over a coffin. And when the organist played softly "O what a beautiful morning," every one of us present was made to realize, and more poignantly than ever before, what vast goodwill Lynn had brought to our state nationally and internationally.

Like his Claremore townsman, Will Rogers, Lynn's strength lay in being his own natural self. Lynn wrote about people he had known, entwining their foibles, weaknesses and strengths, their garrulous chatterings and grass-roots wisdoms throughout his plays even as Will Rogers had columnized and spoken of national and international personalities with the same native sense as weighing-scales for their intrinsic worth. Both were unique and both were great Oklahomans and great Americans.

Following is the poem of the song used at Lynn Riggs' funeral, July 6, 1954:

Thy Will Be Done
By Anne Campbell Stark

The moon rises out of the sea
With the setting of the sun,
And the steadfast stars shine down on me
Silently one by one.
The green leaf comes with the Spring
And goes to sleep in the Fall
Obeying Thy will in every thing,
Thou Watcher over all.
Each bird in Thy wonderful plan
Sings with a heart of faith,
Contented to leave to man
The doubter's questioning breath.
Our Father, can it be
I am less than the smallest one?
Swing me into harmony,
Teach me to say to Thee: "Thy will be done."

VIRGIL ANDREW WOOD, M.D.

By Mrs. H. Robert Wood

Virgil Andrew Wood, M. D., a pioneer physician in Oklahoma whose name is closely connected with the history of Oklahoma as a territory and a state, was Southern born and bred. He himself was a "49er" born in Bartow County, Georgia, August 12, 1849, a son of James Wood, later a Confederate Soldier, born about 1829 in South Carolina, and Mary Turner Wood, of Georgia. The parents of James Wood were both Virginians.

The globe-trotting instinct was started early for Virgil Wood, because the family, which also included his elderly grandmother, Anna Wood, moved to Texas from Georgia when he was a very small child. After two years in Texas, the family moved to the pine country of Hempstead County, Arkansas. He attended St. John's College, and later was graduated from the Kentucky School of Medicine at Louisville.[1] He was married October 4, 1874, at Ozan, Arkansas, to Sarah Catherine Robins, known as "Sallie," born in Georgia, November 3, 1855. His wife's background was southern, too, for her father, Samuel H. Robins, was born in Georgia, and her mother Sarah Turner Robins (a cousin of Mary Turner Wood) and maternal grandparents were all South Carolinians.

Dr. Wood's first years of medical practice were in Arkansas until the opening of Oklahoma in 1889. Riding a big white horse, the doctor made the run into the territory April 22, and located at Oklahoma City. Subsequently the family lived in Norman, later settling in Garfield County near Enid, before finally choosing Blackwell to call home. In Garfield County, he served four years as a member of the pension board, and was County Physician for one year. One of his patients was the notorious outlaw Dick Yeager while the wounded bandit was in the Enid jail. The doctor was a delegate to the Republican conventions, and in 1898 was elected to the Legislature,[2] where he was the author of pharmacy and military bills. Dr. Wood was a Deacon in the Baptist Church, and, like his father, was a Mason. His mother was a member of the Baptist Church, while his father was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.[3] While living in Blackwell, Dr. Wood was for many years president of the board of education.[4]

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[1] *History of Arkansas & Memoirs of Southern Arkansas* (Goodspeed 1890), p. 453.

[2] *Oklahoma Red Book* Vol. I (Democrat Printing Co., Tulsa, 1912). Picture of members of 5th Legislature facing p. 288.

[3] *Portrait & Biographical Record of Oklahoma* (Chapman Publishing Co., Chicago 1901), p. 1273.

[4] Homer S. Chambers, *The Enduring Rock.* (Blackwell (Okla.), Publications, 1954), p. 87.

Dr. and Mrs. Virgil Andrew Wood

Mr. and Mrs. Samuel H. Robins, parents of Mrs. Sarah Turner Wood.

Mrs. James Wood (nee' Mary Turner), Mother of Dr. Virgil Andrew Wood.

Mrs. Anna Wood, Grandmother of Dr. Virgil Andrew Wood.

Dr. and Mrs. Wood had nine children: Beulah, Minnie, Edna, Robert, Okla and Homa (twins born the day after the opening of Oklahoma, April 23, 1889), Virgil, Verda and Dudley, all of whom attended the University of Oklahoma. Beulah was in the first group of co-eds matriculating at O. U.[5] Robert H. played football at O. U., and made the never-to-be-duplicated touchdown of 108 yards back in the days when football fields were 110 yards long.[6] All the boys were members of Sigma Nu fraternity, and the two youngest daughters were members of Pi Beta Phi. Two of the sons became geologists, and named their Tulsa firm the Broswood Oil Company. The other two sons, an attorney and a businessman, also joined the firm.

Dr. and Mrs. Wood have the distinction of having by far the largest number of descendants of any family having attended the University of Oklahoma. At the last count, 33 family members were included in the O. U. roster. Sallie Wood was a true pioneer wife, and at her death, a woman's circle of the Baptist Church at Blackwell was named in her honor.[7] When Dr. Wood died in Blackwell in 1925, an editorial[8] stated: "the death of this much loved citizen brings sorrow to thousands of homes in Blackwell and Kay County."

Dr. Wood had the pioneer spirit when he made the run into Oklahoma in 1889, as shown in the accompanying letters written to the Editor of the *Visitor* published at Wallaceburg (now Blevins), Arkansas, in April, May and June, 1889, at the request of many friends.[9]

Bound For Oklahoma

Atoka, Indian Territory, April 12, 1889.

Editor, *Visitor*:—A great number of my friends asked me to write them regarding our trip, and especially of the famous promised land of Oklahoma. It is impossible to write to all, so I will, through your permission, write them through the *Visitor*.

We are getting on nicely. Have been gone eight days. Are about two hundred miles from home on the M. K. & T. Railroad. It is yet about 150 miles to our destination. As I say we, perhaps it would be good to say who composes our company: Capt. Taylor, L. P. Ross and H. V. Scott of Prescott, and Esq. J. H. Stephens and myself of Wallaceburg. We have seen turkeys in great abundance, but the turkeys see us first—we have killed none. We have seen some very fine country in the Choctaw Nation, and some extremely poor. The cross timbers are about four miles through and are just now ready to launch into an almost boundless paradise. We have seen thousands of

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[5] *The Oklahoma News*, Oklahoma City, Friday, December 17, 1920, pp. 1-2.

[6] Harold Keith, *Oklahoma Kickoff*. 1948. pp. 185-192, 209-211.

[7] Clara B. Kenman, "Neighbors in the Cherokee Strip," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (Spring, 1949), pp. 82-83.

[8] *The Blackwell Tribune*, March 19, 1925, p. 1.

[9] Dates and birthplaces in this contribution to *The Chronicles*, from 1880 U. S. Census Records of Hempstead County, Arkansas.

Indians. They are now at Atoka to draw their bounty. The town is full of them of all ages, all sizes, and all sexes. They are camped all around the town, many of them women, and some of them are very old, are barefooted. All the women wear red handkerchiefs on their heads, most of them have on red dresses and wear red sashes. The men have the red on their hats, around their necks, and some around their body. Red, red, red everything. I for one would be pleased if this big Choctaw Nation were opened to settlers. Sometimes we travel ten miles through fertile regions, and do not see one acre in cultivation. When we get to Oklahoma we will write again.

V. A. Wood

Johnson, I. T. April 16, 1889.[10]

Editor, *Visitor*:—When I last wrote I thought the next letter would be written on the Oklahoma line, but our tent is pitched on the south bank of the South Canadian.[11]

The river is high, angry and muddy. It is much larger than we had anticipated. The great waves roll and splash and leap and fall with a great noise. Owing to the great amount of quicksand, the river is treacherous in the extreme, and many wagons and thousands of cattle and horses have sunk to rise no more. Campers are lined for miles on the roadside. They ride to the water's margin, and look across into the Pottawatomie Nation. They look and long and finally with a dejected appearance slowly ride back to their camps. No ferry boats are near here and we do not know when we can cross, but unless it rains, it will probably be in a very few days. We are within twelve miles of the Oklahoma line. Reports say that the boomers are coming "A hundred thousand strong." Since the writing of my last letter, we have seen some of the finest country that there is within this wide domain. It is very sparsely settled. The traveler can see ten thousand acres of fertile land in one body, and not an acre in cultivation. We have seen but very few Chickasaws; in fact they have a large country and have perhaps less than four thousand in population. They are not very friendly to the whites. They know that the whites want their country. They have recently enacted a law prohibiting the sale of prairie hay. It is against their law, yet some white men come in here and lease land for ten years from some Indian and go to getting rich. My opinion is that the man who now takes a ten year lease will eventually own the land from the fact that I think this new country will be opened to settlers later. The range is excellent. Hogs all over the Territory are fatter than they were at any time of the year in our country. Plenty of them would make good pork. While farming is almost ignored, yet corn can be bought in bulk at 18 cents per bushel. Good horses and mules are higher here than there. Ponies are cheap. Yesterday I received a fee for prescribing for a Chickasaw girl. We have a lawyer in our crowd. He also got a job and five dollars. As for game, there seem to be a good many deer and turkeys. We have seen a great many of them, but have killed none as they always see us first. They hear and see the wagon and leave. Plovers are in great abundance, and there are some prairie chickens. The settlers say there are plenty of chickens, but as this is laying time, they are in unfrequented

[10] This location first called "Johnsonville," named for Montford Johnson, a well known rancher of the Chickasaw Nation, is near the present Byars in McClain County. This place has an interesting history dating back to the establishment of old Camp Arbuckle about a mile northwest, by Captain R. B. Marcy, Fifth Infantry, 1850. A post office called "Johnson," was established at Johnsonville on October 5, 1876, and except for a short period was continuously operated until after Oklahoma statehood. (George H. Shirk, "The Site of Old Camp Arbuckle," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 Autumn, 1949, pp. 313-15).—Ed.

[11] The travelers had come west from Atoka by way of Lehigh, Stonewall and present Ada. The crossing of the Canadian River was a little northeast of Johnson, the road leading north by way of present Wanette in the Potawatomi Reservation.—Ed.

places. Chickasaw plums are natives, and grow here by the millions. Our tent is in a plum orchard. We came through Lehigh, the noted coal mining town of this nation [Choctaw]. There are quite a few mines in successful operation, several hundred miners at work, and the town has a population of about three thousand.

More anon.

V. A. Wood

Pottawatomie Nation, April 21, 1889.

Editor, *Visitor*:—This is the day that we should consecrate as a day of rest, thereby enjoying the more frequent opportunities of beholding the beauties of creation and adoring our Creator. Our tent is pitched within half a mile of the Oklahoma line and near the North Canadian.[12] There are no religious assemblies to attend here today, although there are surely over one thousand people in sight of our camp. Religion, law and politics are very scarce articles in this part of the Territory. Excitement and enthusiasm are at their highest. Men women, children, mules, horses, cattle and dogs are everywhere around. The banks of the little streams are thronged to their utmost. Some are running horse races, practicing their horses for tomorrow's race. Some are shooting, some are fishing, and it seems that nearly all are cursing. Since beginning to write this letter some deer ran through the camp, and it seems that seventy-five guns were fired to no avail. After traveling through this Pottawatomie Reservation we say that we have seen but very little good country. The valley in which we are camped is fertile. I can say that what little we have seen of Oklahoma we like. Men are crossing the line all the time, and if the soldiers find them they claim to be hunting horses. The spies who steal out never bring us any grapes, any leaves, any venison or even a specimen of the soil. On tomorrow every man expects to run for life. He tells but few of his intentions as to course or locality, and those few don't believe him. Men who served as valiant soldiers for four years say they never saw such excitement and enthusiasm. I know of six doctors in these camps and not a single preacher. After the great scramble I will write again.

Oklahoma City

Oklahoma City, April 22, 1889. 6 o'clock p. m.

Editor, *Visitor*:—The great race is over, and our crowd got nothing save the greatest race of their lives. We tried to enter the Territory at a secluded place, but even there a hundred wagons were in line ready to fly for life. It is supposed that a thousand men entered at our secluded spot. Race horses were brought here from a thousand miles away. We are now in the city of Oklahoma. There are but few houses, nothing to buy, but there is plenty of money. The wildest excitement exists. They are laying off the city. Men are cursing, and within ten feet of me, two men are at this moment about to go to shooting. It seems that but few law abiding men have secured claims. Moonshiners popped up from almost every strip of timber and almost every ravine. When they slipped in, nobody knows, but many of us are left. This is certainly the coming Eldorado of America. You can already find here the Chinese. Indians walk the streets, as well as Mexicans and a few Negroes. The whole country seems to be literally alive with human beings. As for myself, I have taken the hardest race of my life today but without avail. There is talk of a town election tonight. We are not candidates. I will

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[12] The encampment was in the Potawatomi Reservation just east of the east boundary of the Oklahoma Country (Indian Meridian) and near the present site of Harrah in Oklahoma County.—Ed.

close and get away before the shooting begins. I never came here to fight. I could have done that nearer home.

V. A. Wood

Oklahoma City, April 26, 1889.

Editor, *Visitor*:—After mature deliberation, I will again give my opinion of this land of comment and excitement. The saying that "There is always a calm after a storm" has not yet been verified in this case. The storm of excitement is not as high as it was on last Monday. The squatters who slipped in under cover of darkness are selling their ill gotten claims for from ten to two hundred dollars depending on location and validity of said claim. Hundreds of contests, and a feast for lawyers will likely result. As a rule it is not expected that squatters will be the permanent occupants. Many men have located claims who are not able to file on them, much less to improve them. On yesterday morning, a man came to our camp and proposed to sell his claim for one hundred dollars. One of our party went to see it, but did not like it, and the claimant relinquished it before night for $15.00. The farmer who comes here for land need not expect to find good land unclaimed, but it is cheap.

Great excitement prevails in regard to which town shall be the metropolis. By tomorrow night 640 acres will be surveyed into town lots at this place. Stores are being erected in every direction. Many stocks of goods are on the bare ground with no covering save the canopy of heaven. Many have already put up temporary buildings and many are selling goods in tents. Gamblers, thieves, pickpockets, lottery men, lawyers, preachers and men of all shades, ages and characters are here well represented. Upon the whole, I think this country is very much overrated. The valleys are feritle and sometimes four or five miles wide. The high lands seem to be too high and sandy. No doubt but this is a good country and possesses an excellent destiny in the not distant future, but it is by no means a garden of Eden, or honey pond surrounded and ornamented with fritter trees. Neither is it necessary to be in a big hurry to come here, because there will be plenty of places to sell cheap, and besides, it is the opinion of many posted men that the Cherokee strip will soon be opened.

Potatoes are selling at 75c per bushel, and all kinds of groceries are at reasonable prices. I have seen crowded trains before, but never saw such crowds as pass on the trains during this Oklahoma excitement. Doctors are as thick here as some people claim that fiddlers are in the regions of Pluto. One man's sign reads as follows:

"To trust is to bust,
To bust is hell;
No trust no bust,
No bust no hell."

Only a few days since, and this part of the country was velveted with the tender grass, but today it is a cloud of dust.

V. A. Wood

Oklahoma City, April 27, 1889.

Editor, *Visitor*:—As I am denied the pleasure of reading your paper or even receiving a letter from Hempstead County, although I have been gone over three weeks, yet I find pleasure in addressing my friends through your columns.

We have read of a nation being born in a day, and recently it has been my lot to witness the birth of a city in half a day. This place will certainly be a good sized place. The water is good and abundant, the valley is surpassingly

fertile, and as beautiful as the eye of man ever beheld. There will soon be a railroad junction at this point, and some day, valuable machinery all up and down this North Canadian. Guthrie has more population than this town, but the location is far inferior to this. The land is not so good, the sand is abundant, and the water supply is short. Trains, both freight and passenger, are crowded to their utmost. The majority of squatters are determined to sell their ill gotten gains at some price. I have a good horse. He was in perfect trim, his spirits were elated, he champed, foamed, and pawed for the word to be given, and at the word go, he made it convenient to strike the ground in the high places, and after almost flying 15 miles, he found ox teams had beat him far enough to be well rested. Uncle Sam's boys failed to do their duty, but I could get a home, if I were so inclined. Two cities are laid off here 320 acres each, and called South and North Oklahoma. Leslie P. Ross, of Prescott, was today elected City Attorney of South Oklahoma.

Two men have died here this week. A pugni et calcibus fight has just occurred over a town lot. It was my pleasure to get the first horse shod in this city, and it was my displeasure to pay one dollar and seventy-five cents for same. I have been in many cities, but it is a fact that a person can see more fakirs here and at Guthrie in one day than I have seen in all my previous life.

It is almost impossible to get to the postoffice. The little house is but little higher than a man's head, and consequently casts but little shade. Men must crowd and jam, and many stand in the hot sunshine for hours before getting to ask for a letter. If he asks for a paper, the reply is: "Good God, man, we can't look through the papers, for there are two hundred bushels of them." At Guthrie, men sometimes pay five dollars for some other man's place in the long file. The man who files out will walk to the end of the line and be in readiness for another bid.

I believe I will be compelled to come home to hear from Sallie and the babies. Postage stamps are selling in Guthrie at 25c each, because a man can't get to the postoffice to buy.

V. A. Wood

Oklahoma City, May 1st 1889.

City elections were held here today, and there is great excitement. There is never the hundredth part of a minute that hammers and saws are not heard. People leave by the hundreds, and others take their place. Lumber and other freight comes much faster than it can be unloaded. Lots are going up every day. On last Sunday a man bought a lot for a hundred dollars. On Monday he was offered a thousand, and on Tuesday he said that five thousand would not buy it. Claims in the country are on the decline. To get to the postoffice a person has to fall into line and perhaps in two hours he can put his head into the little window. No letter from home since I left. I don't even know whether these Oklahoma squibs are printed. On last Sunday night lightning struck a poor fellow here and killed him instantly. He lived in Iowa. His remains are still at the depot, and it is now Wednesday evening. All our party save L. P. Ross and myself left for Arkansas today. I don't know when I will return. The train is about due, so I must stop for the present.

V. A. Wood

Oklahoma City, May 6, 1889.

Editor, *Visitor*:—My friends in Hempstead County are anxious to hear from this country, and they, doubtless, think that I ought to be able to tell all about it. I came almost straight from the line to this place, and saw some

of as fine country as I ever beheld, but have only been out from here just once, and then only about five miles. Reliable men leave here and visit the country in all directions. They say the country is very fine, and many claims are to be bought at very low figures. Many people are breaking sod. The building rage is still very high. No reaction in prices of town property has yet occurred. Everywhere that men dig they get plenty of water. Yesterday was Sunday, and not nearly so many men worked as on the Sunday before. Any man who can drive a nail can get employment here at from two to three dollars a day. As my party came here, we found a human skull in the Pottawatomie Nation. I sent it home by Esq. J. H. Stephens. The wind has been blowing very terrifically for nearly three days and it does seem that all the dust would be blown to the north pole, but as fast as one cloud is gone in that direction, another cloud of dust comes from the southward. Health is good, but there are some chills and bowel troubles. A great many lawyers have located here as well as doctors. I cannot say whether or not the lawyers are gaining much wealth. They are often consulted in regard to claims. Some people think that this is a lead hill, but almost everybody is friendly. When they get enraged they get no fuel in the shape of wine, beer or whisky, so they are soon cool. This climate is salubrious, and so invigorating that it almost forces a man to pinch himself that he may be convinced of his identity. Should any friend wish to ask questions about Oklahoma, he may address me at Oklahoma City, I. T.

V. A. Wood

Oklahoma City, May 16, 1889.

Rain is very much needed. Wherever a hole is dug here, water is found. Very fine fish are taken out of this Canadian River. Many people are breaking land, and some few are planting a little corn.

Citizens say that health is good here, but the doctors say it is distressingly good.

One of Oklahoma's doctors says he will leave here as soon as there is much sickness about Wallaceburg.

Good sakes alive, how ugly is that crowd of Arapaho Indians with blankets and shawls wrapped around their loins.

Out at a distance from this place in every direction men are building small houses, digging wells, and breaking the sod.

Some men leave daily, but others immediately take their place, so the great improvement goes steadily and hurriedly on.

Not many days hence an old ugly Indian carried his daughter to Ft. Reno, a point fifteen miles west from here, and tried to sell her for sixty dollars.

Still the saws are singing and the hammers are knocking and the teams are trotting and the wagons are rattling and the houses are growing like mushrooms, and the city like magic.

It is claimed that lumber is arriving at the rapid rate of nearly 50 car loads per day, and still the supply is not equal to the demand. Lumber now sells at from 2 dollars and twenty-five cents to two dollars and ten cents per hundred.

It is claimed that there are three thousand people here and about fifty physicians. The doctor who gets no more than his pro rata of the practice only has about 60 men to his share. Perhaps one in sixty is now sick with a slight diarrhoea. As I have a genial, educated, and popular partner, and a conspicuous location, we are getting more than our share of the practice.

Many men are here engaged in the employ of the United States. They have a good deal of resting, and some work to do as this country is under military instead of civil government. Sometimes they find whisky in the depot labeled "Castor Oil" or some other deceptive way. They immediately waste it on the ground and take good care of the owner. Recently quite a number of soldiers have been intoxicated and they claimed it was on cider. So much cider has been spilt on the streets that the town is sour.

It is contemplated that several railroads will surely form a junction here. This place is surrounded by perhaps the most fertile part of this territory. The water supply is unsurpassed. The river makes a nice bend and the city in the bend and is as nice a valley as the eye of man ever beheld. Measuring through the town from one point of the river to the other, there is a fall of twenty-one feet to the mile which is evidence that an ample supply of water can be obtained at small price. Owing to the unsurpassed smoothness of the surface here it will not cost much to grade, or to start street cars. No other place in this territory possesses so many advantages which are requisite for a large city. As it now is, it is not very far from the geographical center. Should the Cherokee Strip, no man's land, the Arapahoes, the Chickasaws, and the Sac and Fox be opened to settlement, then it would not be far from the center. Taking all these things in view, there is certainly no question as to the destiny of Oklahoma City. After the great rush of building is over here, property will likely decline till one good crop is made, and then it will rise to fall no more until it is proclaimed that time shall be no longer. The man who is able to spend a few hundred dollars here and let it lie until then is likely to be well paid for his investment. Should any friend wish to address me my box is No. 137.

V. A. Wood

Oklahoma City, May 21, 1889.

Four newspapers are already edited here, and more expected in the not distant future.

Much work was done, even last week, toward grading the streets, and still the work goes on.

From early dawn 'til close of day the busy workmen's saws are singing, and their hammers constantly ringing.

Not many of our citizens are sick, but sickness is on the increase, or at least my partner and myself are getting more calls.

Today sprinklers were put on the streets, and ere long many more conveniences will be added 'til this will be a desirable place.

For the benefit of those who think they would like to see the best part of the Territory, I will state that it is on the two Canadians, and between them.

The first Sunday here was not much observed; the carpenters labored all day, but on last Sunday all was quiet. Many of us attended church and Sunday school.

It was predicted that at the settlement of this country the crimson tide would flow both wide and deep, but now all will acknowledge that it was a joyful surprise. People are not so peaceable today in the lovely city of Little Rock as they are in this fair promising young city. There are no saloons here, but plenty of gamblers. These gamblers don't force us to take a part.

Many men staked lots who never expected to build on them, and as they are required to do some improving, and required to spend a little money in obtaining titles, and as many are minus that little money, they are now selling

their claims just to the best advantage. Lots remote from the busy part of the town are now on the downward tendency. Many men left their families at home, obtained claims, have built houses, and it seems that every train is now bringing women and children.

As stated in a previous letter, many parties came in before noon of April 22, which bars them from filing. They, therefore, are holding down their claims until some home seeker will hire them to move. A retired physician was in here on yesterday. He lives ten miles from this place, says it is beautiful and fertile as the eye of man ever beheld, that plenty of water can be obtained within from ten to twelve feet of the surface, that they need a physician, and that he would insure me a relinquishment for less than 150 dollars, but while I admire and even love this pioneer country, yet I know of a little place in Hempstead County Arkansas that has a well already dug, and it is said that since my exit two brand new comers[13] have made their arrival, and said place and said comers are drawing me like a magnet draws a needle. Another call to see the wife of a judge. Guess it will pay me best to close this epistle and trade with the judge.

V. A. Wood

Oklahoma City, May 26, 1889.

Still the boom goes on.

Every train seems to carry some one away from this city, but it brings more than it carries.

It is estimated that there are now over four thousand people in the city, and by actual count over thirteen hundred houses, thirty-seven physicians and forty-three lawyers on last Wednesday. In one night last week, 170 car loads of lumber arrived at this place. Twenty three lumber yards are here and all are doing a good business. Oklahoma City and South Oklahoma City lie side by side with not a jog in the streets. It is said that the aggregate number of miles of streets is 15, yet plenty of men have no lot. The enthusiasm is so high, and the desire for more lots so great that on last Thursday evening hundreds of people ran on a quarter section just west, and in an incredibly short time staked the whole of the 160 acres, and they called it West Oklahoma. This land is claimed by Capt. W. L. Couch who succeeded Capt. Payne. Said Couch was here previous to April 22, and therefore it is claimed that his rights are worthless, but, nevertheless, Capt. Couch stands in with the military forces here, and above all that, he is the very leader of a nefarious and diabolical syndicate who style themselves "The Seminole Land and Town-site Company." He therefore called on the military for protection, and very soon an armed infantry and an armed cavalry ejected the claimants. The stakes were all pulled up, but this did not quell the excitement. Meetings were held for the purpose of providing methods whereby the town could be relaid, and for the purpose of expressing the overflowing indignation toward such an accursed combination. This town-site company was here on the right of way; they had their pets; they had their lumber to put up shanties; they had their carpenters; they had even previously surveyed their beautiful lots, and now claim that while on the right of way they were not properly in Oklahoma.

Capt. Couch is the mayor of the city, and it is now publicly asserted that he was elected in Kansas by the townsite company, and not only he, but the major part of all the council. It is their object to possess at least half of the real estate here, the water works, the street railways and to possess the

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[13] The twins, "Okla" and "Homa," born to Dr. and Mrs. Wood at their home in Arkansas, April 23, 1889.

(Courtesy of J. M. Owen, Photo Collection)

Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Delegation at Oklahoma City, 1889, meeting with members of U. S. Commission, with reference to their tribal claims in the Cherokee Outlet.

(Courtesy of J. M. Owen, Photo Collection)

Street Scene in Oklahoma City, soon after the Opening in 1889.

charter for illuminating the city. Report says that tomorrow another attempt will be made to lay off the new site. The mayor with all his subordinates is now asked and urged not only to resign but also to leave the city. Quite a sensation was recently aroused here on account of the arrival of three hack loads of big Indians. They were dressed in very gaudy attire which evinced queer taste and a surplus of finances. Their moccasins were beaded in many tints. Their beads and plumes were many and gay. They had their commodious pipes of peace. The pipes were about 3 feet long and ornamented with many colors. These Indians are the chiefs of the several bands of the Arapahoes and Cheyennes. They came to hold a council with a committee of whites in regard to the Cherokee Strip. They claim that according to a treaty made about 20 years ago, the major part of said strip belongs to them, and that they are anxious to sell to the pale faces. The Strip is bound to come. Until last Friday evening we had had but very little rain, but on that evening the thunder began to mutter in the distant west; as night drew near the angry lightning seemed to play base on a dark, smooth and menacing cloud. The air, the heavens and the earth were in a state of agitation. When all was calm, and daylight made its appearance, many a wet man beheld beautiful tents standing boldly on nice lakelets. Recently quite a deal of grading has been done, and no tiling has been put in so you can see that wherever an embankment was made across a low place, a fish pond was made just above. Mr. Editor, don't you suppose that was done for the benefit of the needy doctors? We can't imagine any other good results. A few words to the boys, and I will lay aside my quill and attempt a pleasant journey to the region of dreams.

Boys, I know many of you personally, and I want to venture a bit of advice. Don't carry a pistol. I once thought that it would only take a pistol to make me feel like a man and look like a man. I bought one from a friend, carried it about twelve months without getting to kill a single man. I sold it back to the same fellow from whom I bought it, and have never owned one since. In those days it was bad enough to carry a pistol, but not so bad as it now is, because it is said in Holy Writ "Where there is no law there is no transgression." A person feels worse with one in his pocket. It is no little trouble to keep it at all times concealed. It makes good people think much less of the carrier, and even the bad people respect him less. And this is not all. Were you to kill a person with it, your life would be ever after a burden to you. This is not all, for you are just as likely, and perhaps more likely to do yourself violence than to do violence to an antagonist. Just this evening a nice looking little boy was brought to my office to get a pistol ball taken out of his hand. This afternoon he was playing with a pistol when it went off accidentally. At this sitting I call to mind just 5 cases of gun shot wounds, and not one occured save by accident.

V. A. Wood

Oklahoma City, June 1, 1889.

Health is good, good.
Plenty of rain, but not in great abundance.
One day this week two children were buried here. They died of dysentery.

Town property is firm. Lots are for sale at from ten to a thousand dollars each.

We have no politics here, but plenty of mass meetings, conventions and city elections.

In the building rage there is no check, but onward and upward loom the houses every day.

There is a theatre here which is said to be excellent, but we can not say from experience.

One who has never seen the Indian trinkets would be wonderfully amazed to see the many beautiful and odd things they bring here to sell.

A few nights since, the Sac and Fox Indians had a war dance which drew together perhaps three thousand people, but did not draw your correspondent.

My correspondence to the *VISITOR* has brought me quite a number of letters of inquiry in regard to this country, and all have favored me with return postage.

One day this week a little Indian perhaps ten years of age, amused himself as well as the whites, by shooting arrows at nickels. Every nickel he hit was his, and he hit about two out of three.

The poor beggar, as well as the wealthy merchant, is here. We don't know how they got here, but their stories are so affecting, that to this writing the mite has every time been divided.

Attorney L. P. Ross, the last of my company, left on last Monday to pay a visit to his family in Prescott. When we bade him farewell we felt it would be more congenial with our feelings to accompany him.

Mr. Fletcher King, who has been gone from your township several years, is located here. He has two lots and a neat office built so as to occupy both, but one great misfortune attends him, and that is he has no woman to adorn it and make everything about it pleasant and as lucid as a new silver dollar.

I am requested to answer through the *Visitor* "If a person has filed or made application for homestead and failed to get a deed may he file and get a homestead in Oklahoma?" According to the President's Proclamation if he has failed to get a patent or deed from any cause he is not based.

Some unprincipled men who claim to represent laundry firms have scoured the city collecting clothes to wash and lucky is the owner who ever sees his apparel again. Twice have we been thusly imposed upon, and now we are forced to go to bed to accommodate another such rascal.

For several days there has been a man here getting the description of all stray horses (which horses are legion) and claiming to be an expert at finding horses for the reward. He had some accomplices, but a few days ago they disappeared, and last night the expert was arrested in front of our office for horse stealing. He is now on his way to Muskogee for safe keeping.

A short time since, a young man at this place who was not a gambler, and who had but little money set himself firmly against a wheel of fortune man. He was lucky, and in two hours had won about five hundred dollars which was every dollar owned by the wheel man. The wheeler then made one more desperate struggle. He took a fine gold watch from his pocket and the fortunate young man won again, and marched triumphantly away while the wheel stood as still as a statue.

Many and urgent are the recent appeals to us to return to our old home and practice our profession for those we have known longest and love best. Were our constituents as willing to serve us financially as we are to serve them professionally, never again would we be tempted to cast our lot among strangers in a distant land. However, only a few more moons, and Deo volente, we will likely go on our way rejoicing to the land that is second to but few, to gladly grasp the hands of our many kindred and friends, and above all to see at our home, the little twins whom it has never been our pleasure to behold.

V. A. Wood
P. O. Box No. 137

Oklahoma City, June 6, 1889.

A few of our best buildings are owned by Arkansas men.

There are about fifty doctors here, and plenty more expected to come.

Eighteen drug stores are here and more expected on every train.

There are nine hotels and a score of lodging and boarding houses.

No rain for several days, and the prospect is good for a dry spell.

Plenty of corn within twenty miles of here at 15c per bushel.

Health is not so distressingly good as it has been, but yet there are two doctors to one patient.

Every day men are relinquishing their claims at from $25.00 to several hundred dollars.

Yesterday an Arkansas man brought in a nice tumor on his neck. We robbed him not only of the tumor, but of a few of his surplus dollars.

How glad we were made one day last week by unexpectedly receiving a copy of the *Visitor*. We looked all around to see if our kin folks had come.

The moon has waned and the moon has fulled and still we are no nearer Wallaceburg than we were on the day after the memorable rush.

A corner lot in the business part of the city sold on last Friday for $1500.00; a lot that is not a corner lot sold today for $500.00; out a little way another sold today for $100.00.

It is strongly believed that the West Oklahoma town site scheme will be a success, and in that event we know an Arkansas man who has an opportunity of obtaining two lots.

A wide awake man here is now collecting specimens of all the rare animals of this pioneer country. His garden is now an attractive scene, and no telling how attractive it may be within a few years.

There are five bakeries here with large ovens; there are twelve barber shops with twenty-nine chairs; there are eleven meat markets; seven blacksmith shops; and seven brick yards. There are twenty-seven lumber yards, and one of them averages $1500.00 freight per day. There are four banks; nine paint shops; thirty-four painters; three tin shops; three furniture stores; and only two undertaker shops for fifty doctors, twenty-seven surveyors, forty-six real estate men, forty-two lawyers, and about one thousand gamblers. Strange indeed that there are so many doctors, lawyers, and gamblers, and not one saloon. There are five newspapers, one news stand, and a whole army of paper carriers.

A few days since we were called to go several miles into the country. No pen can describe the scenes of beauty that confronted our gaze, and no heart conceive the elysian thoughts that permeated our enraptured being. For miles and miles, all was a perfect sea of grass which waved so triumphantly that it appeared that not one sprig had ever been molested by horse, cow, deer, antelope, buffalo or by anything of a destroying nature. This sea of living green was beautified with many flowers of varied hues, and lest it might not in reality be called "The Beautiful Land," nature has planted here and yonder beautiful groves of oaks that there might not exist even the shadow of monotony. As we viewed these scenes we thought that Napoleon Bonaparte never bequeathed to one of his best friends a land of such unrivaled loveliness, or one that came so near wearing the look of Heaven upon its young and fair, smooth and virgin face. We thought that Alexander the Great never conquered

a fairer and more fertile region than this. We thought that after Hannibal by dint of unprecedented efforts, had pitched his tents on the summit of the mighty Alps, that he never beheld a more beautiful land than Oklahoma. And on our return we came in full view of Council Grove, the place where the Indians have smoked the pipe of peace and held councils for over a half century. This place, owing to its timber, its water location and its unsurpassed beauty, has been reserved by the Government for some purpose unknown to me. For aught we know this may some day be one of America's finest parks. As we viewed this magnificent scenery from an eminence, we thought of poor old Moses who stood on the memorable mount of Pisga and viewed the landscape, and we wondered if we would be denied the bliss of leading our little Israelitish band into this land of promise.

V. A. Wood
P. O. Box No. 137

The Oklahoma Resume

Wallaceburg, Arkansas, June 24, 1889

Early last spring when we were making arrangements to go to Oklahoma, scores of friends asked us to post them in regard to the country that seemed to be the centre of attraction for admiring millions. We then eagerly grasped the quill, and while our eyes longed to behold the attractions of the Beautiful Land, and while our aspirations ran high, and while our anticipations were bright, we penned the sentence "To Oklahoma or Bust." Since then we have taken special pains as well as special pride in telling our readers of the many varieties of game with which the country abounds, of the waving seas of grass, of the flowers of varied hues, and of the not few and small oases that make glad the wanderer's heart, and furnish an abundance of shade for the joy and comfort of a thousand times more ruminators than ever inhabited those regions. We told you of the many kinds of soil, of the natives, and of the visitors; of the civilians and of the soldiers. We have seen and described the rapid growth of a city from the morning when the wild antelope played upon the velveted green to the evening when they counted their inhabitants by the thousand and computed their wealth by the million. We have told you of the wide rivers that abound with the choicest fish, of the abundance of easily accessible water, how to obtain good claims at a meager price, and above all, we have just furnished the Editor with a condensed census report of the fairest young city among ten thousand, and altogether lovely. After enjoying all these novel scenes after all these days and weeks and months of mingled joy and suspense, we are again in our own family circle, beneath our own vine and fig tree. It is with no small degree of reluctance that we shove the familiar pen aside, assume the arduous duties and responsibilities of the spatula and scalpel, and say to everyone interested in our communications, farewell.

V. A. Wood

THE FOUNDING OF OKLAHOMA A. AND M. COLLEGE: A MEMOIR

By Alfred Edwin Jarrell[1]

Oklahoma A. and M. College could not begin operation without a few students, so Edward Francis Clark, Principal of the Stillwater City Schools, arranged to have our entire class report to the Congregational Church for the opening of the college on December 14, 1891. This was the site of the present United Brethren Church. There we registered as the preparatory class in the college without taking an entrance examination as later additions to the class were required to do. No one ordered us to turn in our firearms. For registration we lined up in alphabetic order in front of a desk.

The *Minutes of the First Faculty* show that at the first faculty meeting on record, March 17, 1892, twenty-two rules were adopted, the first of which reads: "Every student when he enters the college shall deliver to the president all arms and deadly weapons of any description which may be in his possession."[2] This book is a most valuable record on college history but it must be understood in the light of existing conditions. The book was saved in 1901 by Samuel A. McReynolds, a student employed at the college. An administrator who was blind to historical culture directed him to burn it with certain other college records that had reached retirement age.

In my youth when I lived in Kansas and Oklahoma I never wore a gun belt, and I do not remember seeing any schoolmate carry a gun. All pioneers owned firearms but did not carry them in their daily duties. Firearms were carried by town marshals, federal marshals, and by the sheriff and his deputies in their regular duties. Should a sheriff or marshal organize a posse to capture a bandit, all went armed.

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[1] Alfred Edwin Jarrell of Bakersfield, California, is the only survivor of the first graduating class of Oklahoma A. and M. College, composed of six men in 1896. He witnessed the beginning of athletics, military drill, and other basic activities in the college. In presenting this contribution to *The Chronicles*, Jarrell says: "I am indebted to Dr. B. B. Chapman for verifying names and dates in early college records."—Ed.

[2] The *Minutes of the First Faculty* cover the period from March 17, 1892, to June 2, 1899. About 1936 McReynolds brought the book to Dr. Henry G. Bennett who placed it in the vault in the president's office where it has been kept since. A microfilm copy of the book is in the Oklahoma State Library. For the history of the book see *Oklahoma A. and M. College Magazine*, Vol. XIX (March, 1948), pp. 6-7.

The college opened two years before the fight at Ingalls, September 1, 1893, between federal marshals and the Dalton-Doolin gang. The "arms and deadly weapons" rule may have been a protective measure of uniform application, designed by the faculty in case ruffians presented themselves at the college. For an excellent study of outlaws of that era see Glenn Shirley, *Six-Gun and Silver Star*.

As to how students felt about enrolling in a college class, I can speak only for myself. My parents were anxious to have us children enter the college classes because they believed we would have better instructors. I liked the college idea although I suspected that we would have a heavier schedule than in the city schools. Remarks made by neighbors and by the parents of my classmates indicated that they wanted their children in the college classes as soon as possible. When my school friends spoke of the new college classes that were about to be formed, it was always favorable.

According to the *Minutes of the First Faculty* the following forty-four students enrolled on December 14. 1891:[3] James Homer Adams, Oscar Clay Adams, Wilber Bilyeu, Harry J. Coffman, Mahala (Halie) Davis, Charles Duck, Edward Wright Duck, Flavilla Duck, Frank Elsworth Duck, Lauretta Duck, Mary Eliza Duck, Clarence Romanis Donart, Carrie Inas Dupee, Claude A. Eldridge, Lillie Ges Emmons, Clara Louisa Eyler, Etta May Fulsom, Marion Albert Gilbert, Wilson H. Hand, Esta Heaney, Clinton Hueston, Merton Bird Hueston, Lillie Elizabeth Hueston, Hal H. Hunt, Alfred Edwin Jarrell, Daisy Bell Knox, Anna (Annie) Kate Lewis, Erwin Green Lewis, Montana M. McFarland, Richard M. Morse, Earl S. Myers, Myrtle May Myers, J. Edward Munhall, Julian Burrel Murphy, Katie Neal, Menna Leora Ralstin, William Henry Ramsey, Sylvester Johnson Sanders, Phede B. Shearer, Jennie Ethel Thatcher, Jessie Olive Thatcher, Etta Vaughn, George Frederick Waters, Dorsey Caroline Wheeler.

Clark, age 25, taught the most advanced class in the Stillwater public schools. As I recall this was in the Southern Methodist Church. In accordance with Clark's instructions, our class reported at the Congregational Church on December 14, 1891, at 9 a. m. In this building, just across the street from the present courthouse,

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[3] The list of students in the *Minutes of the First Faculty* is not alphabetized and is somwhat at variance with a list of forty-five names in the *Oklahoma A. and M. College Prospectus, December,* 1891. The prospectus states that on December 14, 1891, the college was opened "with appropriate exercises, and the following students were enrolled." The list includes the names of Alexander Campbell, Norris Tell Gilbert, Mollie P. Guthrey, and Juliana Lester, and omits the names of Wilber Bilyeu, Charles Duck, and Clinton Hueston. A further study of the subject is in the *Oklahoma A. and M. College Magazine,* Vol. XV (Dec., 1943), pp. 3-4.

James Homer Adams, first student to enroll on the opening day of the college, wrote vividly of the event; see *Selections from the Record Book of Oklahoma A. and M. College,* Vol. I, pp. 67-70. A copy is in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

According to the *Minutes of the First Faculty,* thirty students were added "Jan. 4th 1892 or after": Elisa Acord, L. H. Alleman, Royal E. Alleman, Winnie Arnold, May Barker, Mattie Bays, Lillie Bilyeu, Rolla Broadwell, Alex. Campbell, William Coats, Banks Diem, Gertie (Gertrude) Diem, Cora Gould, Milton Gould, Gordon Guthrey, Mollie P. Guthrey, Lulu Holt, Minnie Kinnebrew, Nettie Kite, John Lahr, Juliana Lester, Henry Miller, Clinton Morris, Oscar Morris, Lillian Maude Pierce, Thomas Smith, Eva E. Stitch, Mary Taylor, Etta Vaughn, Laura Young. It appears from the minute book that Etta Vaughn enrolled on December 14, 1891, and on January 4, 1892, or after.

the college was opened. I do not recall that any students other than those instructed by Clark in the public school enrolled on the opening day. There were scarcely more than a dozen of us. Clark kept our grades in a small black book which he carried in his coat pocket. Our names there were in alphabetic order, so it was just common sense that he would ask us to line up accordingly. I recall that the Adams boys and Frank Elsworth Duck were just ahead of me in the line, and directly behind me were Erwin Green Lewis and Katie Neal.

I know there was nothing like a group of forty-four students enrolling on December 14, 1891, as shown in the *Minutes of the First Faculty*. It required only a few minutes to register and Clark, who was master of ceremonies, assigned seats to us and we went ahead with our lessons as though we had not registered as college students.

Neither the list in the minutes nor the one in the college prospectus includes the name of Arthur W. Adams as enrolling on the day college opened. It has always been my belief that Adams and Oscar M. Morris enrolled that day.

Clark had taught several grades in the Stillwater schools and he might have brought some of the lower grades to the college. If he brought them, I am sure they did not register with us the first morning. It is my belief that President Robert J. Barker directed Clark to comb the Stillwater schools for any students who, in his opinion could keep up with the college class he was forming. A college could not be run without students. I noted some students taking a written examination to enter our class. I do not think Clark bothered to give many of them an examination to enter the class, so long as he felt they could make the grade.

In the college catalog Clark was listed as "Professor of English Literature and Mathematics," and his public school students became the first preparatory class in the college. He conducted all our classes until relieved by instructors in specialized fields, thus leaving him to head only the department of mathematics. He was a member of the faculty until 1898. Among the first instructors were Dr. James Clinton Neal, Alexander Covington Magruder, George L. Holter, Frank A. Waugh, and W. W. Hutto. President Baker was "Professor of Moral and Mental Science."[4]

All my training in the Stillwater public schools was of the one-room type. When college registration was completed on December 14, 1891, students were assigned seats in the church, as was practiced in any one-room country school, the larger and taller students at the rear. The desk of the instructor was in a corner of the room, surrounded by a few seats so he could conduct a class recitation while the remainder of the students were studying for their next classes. Three or four small blackboards were mounted on rollers so they could be moved to the most favorable light. A carpenter usually was employed to make desks and blackboards.

[4] Harry E. Thompson, "The Territorial Presidents of Oklahoma A. and M. College," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4 (Winter, 1954-55), pp. 364-368.

There were four or five movable wooden partitions, about eight feet high and twelve feet long, mounted on rollers. The partitions set apart the instructor's desk and the corner seats, thus making a small room with a blackboard or two. Persons in the improvised recitation room were not visable from the main room. The small room was lighted by windows and some light came over the partitions. In the Stillwater public schools partitions had been used in the same manner, especially when a teacher had more than one grade in the room. The college used only one church building the first year.

Parents bought all books, slates, and other supplies that we used in the public schools. When my class moved to the Congregational Church to enter college we brought our books along. This gave the college instructors a basis on which to complete our preparatory work so we could start a freshman class. Instructors promptly assigned in our books lessons which we had not completed under the direction of our public school teachers. We or our parents bought every textbook we used during our college course. We never used second-hand books, and we had no college bookstore. We handled our books carefully because most of us did odd jobs to help pay for them.

As I recall, the first day's assignment in the college was a sort of hurried review of the material covered in our public school instruction. We went to work at once. The first method of instruction in the college was a continuation of the procedure used in the one-room school. Students who were not reciting were expected to study lessons. The college instructors made no change from this primitive method until they were ready to form the freshman class. In the preparatory department we had very little afternoon work, except for an hour or two of military drill and study.

A serious matter for students was a written examination held for almost a week in the latter part of May, 1892. On the basis of the examination about a dozen students were named early in June to form the first freshman class. In September the class took over the entire Congregational Church and occupied it for college purposes until Old Central was completed in 1894.[5] Students who failed to pass the examination were placed in the preparatory department and moved to other buildings. They were the "goats." Additional students to the preparatory department were recruited from time to time by faculty members who examined their credentials from schools or colleges of other states. Some students presented teachers certificates.

My five years in Oklahoma A. and M. College were divided into three parts. (1) From December 14, 1891, to June, 1892, I was

[5] James K. Hastings, "Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College and Old Central," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1950), pp. 81-84.

in the preparatory department conducted in the Congregational Church (2) From September, 1892, to June, 1894, I did freshman and sophomore work in this church building. (3) From September, 1894, to June, 1896, I completed the junior and senior work in Old Central, called the college building.

The college differed from the public school in that we had better instructors, some change in textbooks, and new subjects added. Work was increased to where home study was required to make passing grades and I found much evening study necessary. We took notes in class and did our study periods at home. The freshman class recited as a unit, and there was little need for movable wooden partitions. The instructor in his little black book listed our grades on a percentage basis.

During my freshman and sophomore years at the church the instructors came at stated hours to conduct their respective classes. Occasionally we had a few minutes between classes for a study period. Classes were continuous from 8:30 a. m. until noon. In the afternoon we had two or three hours of practice in agriculture, chemistry, or other science, depending on the requirements of courses in which we were enrolled. Since we had no shops, the most of our practice was in agriculture. Sometimes we worked all afternoon on tracts of land on which Magruder was conducting experiments, and for part of the time we were paid ten cents an hour.

Our instructor in horticulture and landscape gardening was Frank A. Waugh who after being removed from the college joined the faculty of Massachussetts State College and won national fame in his field. Under Waugh's direction our class did the spade work or planting of nearly all the college orchards and vineyards. Some of our labor was paid for at ten cents an hour but most of it was given as credit for the B. S. degree. Since there were no large commercial nurseries near, we grew seedlings and then budded or grafted them with the best fruit wood from adjoining states. Stretching east and west near the site of present Morrill Hall were several acres of experimental varieties, mostly four trees of each variety. The effect of our experimental horticulture on the orchards of Oklahoma is a subject I have often pondered but never well understood.

When Old Central was occupied in September, 1894, a classroom was assigned to each instructor, and the students went there for recitations.

The six men who comprised the first graduating class at Oklahoma A. and M. College lived on farms close enough to hear the bell in the tower of Old Central. My classmates were Arthur W. Adams, James Homer Adams, Frank Elsworth Duck, Erwin G. Lewis and Oscar M. Morris. Stillwater had no highschool and I never attended one. Nor did Duck ever attend high school, for we

lived in the same school district in Butler County, Kansas, before we moved to Stillwater. If our four classmates attended high school, it was before they moved to Stillwater.

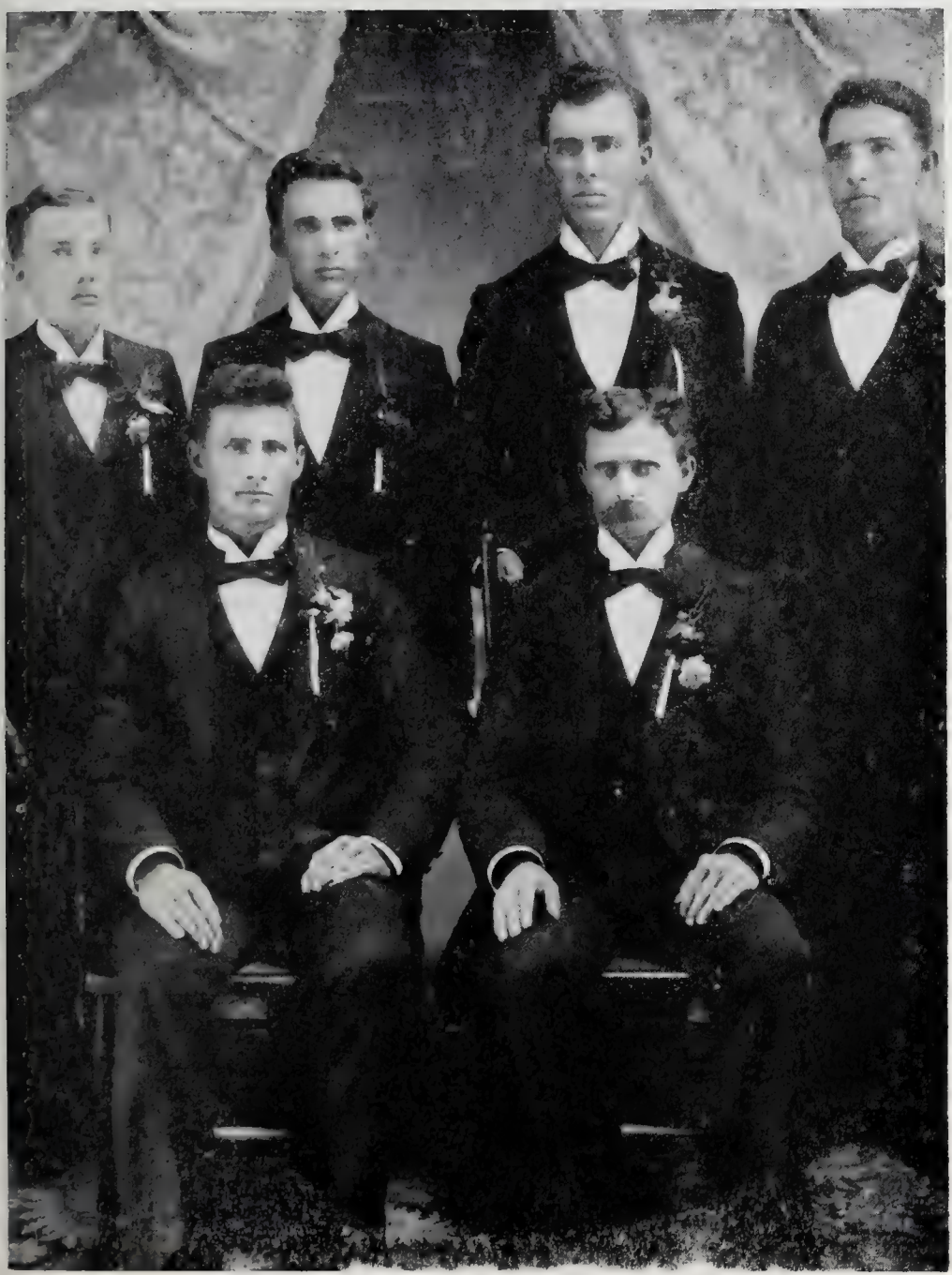
The question is sometimes asked if during our college days we went home for lunch. Positively no! We could not lose any of our precious noon hour filled with what we called townball, blackman, or a variation of Rugby football (when we were lucky enough to get a ball that would stay inflated or a baseball on which the cover was not entirely gone.)

Some baseballs sold in our stores were "dead" because they lacked a rubber center. If we could get a chunk of sponge or block rubber we used it for a center and applied the winding from the "dead" ball. If we needed more winding we used small strings sold at the grocery store. The cover was of buckskin, and some of us became quite handy with a needle.

We played town-type baseball. Suppose twenty-four students wanted to play. We would let the leaders make alternate choices of players until each leader had a twelve-member team. Frequently we rotated the nine players, allowing all students to participate in the game. We used the same method in choosing members of our Rugby-type of football. There were special rules. The ball could not be carried by players but must be drop-kicked or advanced by being kicked as it bounded along the ground, as long as the ball stayed within bounds. If the ball went out of bounds, the side making the recovery would drop-kick it toward the goal posts of their opponents. Using these rules provided plenty of exercise for all (there were no bench-warmers) and we had a whale of a lot of fun.

Prior to graduation of the first class in 1896, Oklahoma A. and M. College had no athletes in the modern sense of the word. We knew no more about a pep meeting than most people know about the Einstein theory. We had no gym, athletic coach, athletic association, or sports equipment and no money for such things. If a college student played baseball or entered the sports races at a picnic or Fourth of July celebration, he entered as an individual and not as a representative of Oklahoma A. and M. College. If he played on the Stillwater ball club against a neighboring town, it was understood that he represented Stillwater, not the college. This situation did not curb our full enjoyment of sports. We scraped off a diamond in the buffalo grass, divided players into two evenly matched teams and a faculty member, usually Holter or Harry E. Thompson, would referee the game.

There was no malicious damage of church property used to house college students prior to the dedication of Old Central on June 15, 1894. We students wore heavy shoes and quite often long hair, but all of us had been taught to respect the property of others as if it were our own. Church walls and benches were not damaged



(Photo, Courtesy of Oklahoma A. and M. Alumni Association)

First Graduating Class, Oklahoma A. and M. College, 1896. Seated left to right: Ed Jarrell, Frank Duck; standing, left to right, Homer Adams, Arthur Adams, Erwin G. Lewis, Oscar M. Morris.

by students, nor were the windows except for an occasional broken pane when a baseball went wild.

If the college paid a church rental, the sum must have been nominal. Church people were working to get the college in operation as soon as possible. The merchants, school board, in fact the entire community cooperated to get better educational facilities for children, just as my parents gave land and others donated time and paid their expenses on committees as they worked to organize the college.

In the Run of '89 Frank Elsworth Duck who had just passed his twenty-first birthday filed on a claim of 160 acres. On June 13, 1891, he commuted his homestead entry to cash, and on November 25 he gave the northwest 40 acres as a part of the college campus. The 40 acres is between Knoblock Street and Washington Street, and extends from College Avenue almost to Athletic Avenue. This portion of the campus was nearest Stillwater, and on it were erected the first college buildings, including Old Central.

I believe the first structure of a permanent nature erected on the campus was the college horse barn just northwest of Old Central. It was a two-story wooden structure. There Professor Magruder kept the first team of mules owned by the college. One could drive a wagon the full length on the ground floor. One side of the second floor was used for storing hay and grain, and the other side was a carpenter shop.

Shortly after the erection of the barn, a residence was completed for Dr. Neal, first director of the experiment station. It was a two or three bedroom house located northeast of Old Central. About the same time a little frame shack was erected southeast of Old Central for an experiment station. It was Professor Holter's chemistry laboratory. There Andy Caudell, a student who later attained distinction as an entomologist, kept his insect collection, and helped with soil analysis. These three buildings were on the tract Duck donated, and were erected before Old Central was.

On the campus there were no sheds or temporary buildings used as classrooms before we moved into Old Central in September, 1894. Prior to that time at the horse barn there was a small lean-to shed that served as a greenhouse. Our agriculture class visited it occasionally in the afternoon in our experiments in grafting and budding. A dirt road, nicely graded and used by wagons, came south on present Washington Street, crossed the campus near where Old Central stands and connected with Main Street.

On November 25, 1891, my parents, Alfred and Elizabeth Jarrell, deeded 40 acres of their homestead for college purposes. On this tract is Theta pond, Whitehurst Hall, and most of the College Library. The second college barn, the "cattle barn," was erected near present Whitehurst Hall, and was used in livestock experiments, mostly cattle and hogs, and a few sheep and poultry. The

VOLUNTEER ENLISTMENT.

STATE OF Indiana TOWN OF Indianapolis

I, Lewis J. Darnell born in Lewis Co in the State of Kentucky aged Twenty three years and by occupation a Farmer DO HEREBY ACKNOWLEDGE to have volunteered this Eleventh day of February 1862, to serve as a ***Soldier*** in the Army of the United States of America, for the period of *THREE YEARS*, unless sooner discharged by proper authority: Do also agree to accept such bounty, pay, rations, and clothing, as are or may be established by law for volunteers. And I Lewis J Darnell do solemnly swear, that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the ***United States of America***, and that I will serve them honestly and faithfully against all their enemies or opposers whomsoever; and that I will observe and obey the orders of the President of the United States, and the orders of the officers appointed over me, according to the Rules and Articles of War.

Sworn and subscribed to, at Indianapolis this 11th day of February 1862 Before Lewis J Darnell

W C Elstin 1st Lieut & Post Adjt

I CERTIFY, ON HONOR, That I have carefully examined the above named Volunteer, agreeably to the General Regulations of the Army, and that in my opinion he is free from all bodily defects and mental infirmity, which would, in any way, disqualify him from performing the duties of a soldier.

P. S. Bobbs
Phys. Surg.

EXAMINING SURGEON.

I CERTIFY, ON HONOR, that I have minutely inspected the Volunteer, Lewis J. Darnell previously to his enlistment, and that he was entirely sober when enlisted; that, to the best of my judgment and belief, he is of lawful age; and that in accepting him as duly qualified to perform the duties of an able-bodied soldier, I have strictly observed the Regulations which govern the recruiting service.

This soldier has Gray eye, Light hair, Light complexion, is 5 feet 10 inches high.

W C Elstin 1st Lieut

21 Regiment 2nd of Volunteers.

RECRUITING OFFICER. & Post Adjt

Certificate of the first military service of Lewis J. Darnell, appointed Commandant of the Cadets at Oklahoma A. and M. College, 1891.

famous Field "O" for wheat experiments was on land donated by my parents, until moved a decade ago for the erection of Stout Hall.[6]

I do not recall whether President Barker participated in literary programs.[7] In the public schools we usually had Friday afternoon programs consisting of readings, recitations, etc., and always had a big program on the last day of the school term. The first Oklahoma A. and M. College faculty followed pretty much the same system. President George Epsy Morrow taught our class in psychology and as I recall he was the only president who was one of my regular instructors.

The first drill instructor at the college was Captain Lewis J. "Jeff" Darnell. Some facts about him can be gleaned from war papers in the National Archives.[8] He was born in Lewis County, Kentucky, about 1839. At Indianapolis, Indiana, on February 11, 1862, he enrolled as a private in Co. H, 2nd Cav., 41 Regiment, Indiana Volunteers for a term of three years. In October in a skirmish with Confederate soldiers at Crab Orchard, Kentucky, he received a gunshot wound in the right foot. In early December he was captured at Hartsville, Tennessee, but was parolled a few days later. He then reported to Camp Levi Wallace. On June 20, 1865, he was promoted to 1st lieutenant, and was mustered out July 22.

At Prairieton, Indiana, on June 25, 1866, he married Miss Rachael Clark. To them were born one son and five daughters. The family came to Indian Territory from Silverdale, Kansas. On July 20, 1889, Darnell made homestead entry for a quarter section of land thirteen miles west of Stillwater. He was elected register of deeds of Payne County and took office March 9, 1890. On July 27, 1891, he qualified for a veteran's pension of eight dollars a month. He received a temporary appointment as tactician and commandant at Oklahoma A. & M. College on November 25.

In memory I can see him as he stood in a dust storm on an unimproved Stillwater street near the church where the college was organized. He wore his Civil War uniform with army belt, cap, and huge square-toed shoes that he used with great skill as he tried

[6] K. Starr Chester, "They Moved Field 'O'; Soils Men Saved Oklahoma's Oldest Test Plot; They Just Carried It—Soil, Stubble, Worms, and All—to Another Farm," *Farm Journal*, Vol. LXXI, No. 10 (Oct., 1947), p. 66.

[7] The best study on early literary activity at the college is by Willa Adams Dusch, *The Sigma Literary Society*, 1893-1897, published by the Research Foundation of the college in 1951.

[8] In 1892 Darnell was post commander of the G. A. R. post in Stillwater. He proved up on his homestead in 1893. Papers concerning him are in National Archives, War Dept., Lewis J. Darnell, No. 512, Co. H B, 2 Indiana Cavalry; NA, Gen. Land Office, Guthrie, Final Cert. 169; NA, Int. Dept., 7322 Lands and R. R. Div. 1892; NA, pension file of Rachael Darnell, widow of Lewis J. Darnell, box 46478, cert. No. 520345.

to teach a band of long-haired farm boys to execute, "About, face!"

Did you ever see a pair of red-topped boots with copper toes? I had a pair which I prized more than any other footwear I ever owned. When I entered the college heavy, square-toed shoes were highly prized, and several members of our class had them. This kind of shoe was excellent for our type of football.

We had no military uniforms the first two years, and anyone who has visited a one-room country school on Friday afternoon knows how we dressed. Military drill was a new experience for us.. We drilled one or two hours on regular school days and sometimes we had an extra drill on Saturday. According to modern standards each of us belonged in the awkward squad. The college could not draw funds from the government unless it was reported that a certain number of students were attending military drill. In the infancy of the college there was a "battalion of girls" because the law provided that all able-bodied students should take military training.[9] There was strict construction of the law.

About the third drill year, men in my class were measured for cap and gray uniform trimmed with black braid, and we thought we were getting up in the world even if we had to rustle the money to pay for uniforms. I think it was in the senior year that we were issued some discarded army rifles and then we practiced the manual of arms, but we had no firing practice. We had no band instruments or instruction, and no experienced army officer to teach us the ways of a modern army. Darnell taught us different forms of marching in single and double file.

Memory holds a remnant of those first lectures given at the college. Professor Holter came to us in April, 1892. He had graduated at Pennsylvania State College and had done post-graduate work in German universities, the world's leading institutions in science. He read German textbooks and had quite a large private library of scientific books. The first Aggies could not speak or write much without mentioning Holter. He was worth a hundred ordinary instructors. He gave us vision and inspiration and did all that a great teacher could do—he led us to the fountain of science where it was up to us to drink.

In his first lectures Holter did not seem to realize that he faced a class of long-haired country lads and that his position was not unlike that of one speaking to a tribe of Zulu head-hunters. I am glad he told us those fundamental truths on which all our progress is based, even though not one of our class ever grasped the full import of his words.

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[9] A classic description by Professor Holter is in *Selections from the Record Book of Oklahoma A. and M. College*, Vol. I, pp. 38-39.

Holter said "Every thing that moves and breathes on this earth is powered from a beam of light." Among many axioms he taught us were these: "For every action there is an equal and opposte reaction." "We have not the power to destroy any element." Among basic things he taught was that by changing the temperature and pressure, we can change some substances from solid to a gas, where they are invisible.

The six men who comprised the first graduating class should all be classified alike in one respect. We all attended the same classes and passed the same written examinations. We specialized all through college in theoretical and practical agriculture and horticulture, and theoretical science, and took as much practical science (chemistry and electronics) as our time and limited equipment would permit. Our correct listing was science-agriculture.

After graduation my classmates tended to drift away from agriculture. Sometimes I am asked why I went into industrial work and eventually railroading. On the Stillwater homestead we were growing first-class Concord grapes which much of the time would not sell for a cent a pound at the vineyard. I did not see how I could become very prosperous growing fruit when Hale peaches would go begging at two or three cents a pound, and perfect apples only a cent or two more. Other products of the farm faced the same market difficulty. At threshing time wheat was thirty or forty cents a bushel, fat corn-fed hogs one or two cents a pound, fryer chickens and hens about fifteen cents each with no market at those prices most of the time. Eggs were two or three cents a dozen in trade at the village grocery. In short, we could produce the food but we could not market it at a profit.

I was inclined to be somewhat lazy. There was too much hard work sighting down a rope line to a pair of long-eared mules as one followed a walking plow. My father gave me one of the best agricultural apprentice courses any boy ever had, and with adequate market and farm machinery I probably would have remained in agricultural work. I refused to fight the market problem with the 1896 horse and buggy equipment, but I still operate a commercial acre near Bakersfield, California.

A recent change at Oklahoma A. and M. College is the conversion of "hell week" to "help week." When I was a student no member of my class believed in hazing in any form. Had a member of the class taken part in hazing I surely would have known it.

There is a marked contrast between the college I knew and the present college with its fine library and similiar facilities. We had no shops where we could learn the working of wood or iron. We had no typewriter at school or home. Our instructors had few books and very limited laboratory facilities. They were teachers of sterling qualities and their attainment was such that I have often wondered how they did so much with so little.

CUSTER'S HUNTING HORSE

*By Mary Ellen Ryan**

Hunting Horse, a member of the Kiowa Indian tribe, was born on the wind-swept Kansas prairie near the present location of Medicine Lodge. The exact date is unknown but it was sometime during the winter of 1846. According to good authority, January 15, 1946, the date chosen for his one hundredth birthday celebration was "Pure Invention." In the world into which Hunting Horse was born, such things as dates didn't really matter. It was still a wild, free world. Hundreds of bison, elk, deer and antelope grazed across the great, shimmering, grassy plains, now neatly bound in steel wire; old man coyote, silhouetted against the sky, swung his muzzle upward at twilight and, with fangs bared, gave the surrounding universe both barrels. Even if the Indian was still in command of the plains, it was a difficult period, when teepees were destroyed by the intruding white man who was confined to a few forts and trading posts scattered here and there along the frontier.

Hunting Horse was not a full-blood. His father, Woman's Heart, was a Kiowa War Chief. His mother, of Spanish blood, had been kidnapped from Old Mexico when a child and reared among the Kiowas. Their baby received the Kiowa name of Tsa-To-Kee (pronounced Say-Toe-Kee by the tribe) meaning: The Young Man Who Hunts a Horse, or Horse Hunter by which he was known until years later when he became the famous Hunting Horse.[1]

The Great Spirit called; the child's parents "went away" when he was very young. Left all alone and broken-hearted, little Tsa-To-Kee went to live with a distant cousin and her husband. They were good to him and often came whispering back at twilight, the Indians time for thinking. They taught him the things a Kiowa brave should know: the religion, legends, rules, ways of his people and all about the "Happy Hunting Ground" where his parents had gone for eternal happiness, hunting the white buffalo. They made him proud of his ancestors. As time went on, his uncle taught him to use a bow and arrow, fire a gun, ride a mustang, hunt the buffalo and do other things that would insure him a happy and prosperous Indian life. In fact, they reared him to be a proper Indian; a worthy scion of his race. As a youngster, he ran around naked in the

* Mrs. Mary Ellen Ryan, formerly a teacher in Kansas Public Schools and a vocalist, violinist and artist, is a writer of non-fiction, living in Norman, Oklahoma. She is an active member and Historian of the Norman Branch of the National League of American Pen Women. Her contribution on the life of the noted Kiowa scout, Hunting Horse, appeared in brief story form in *True West* for February, 1956, and is here published in full for the first time in *The Chronicles*.—Ed.

[1] *The Lawton (Okla.) Constitution*, January 14, 1956.

summer, shooting holes into the air and into buffalo chips with his little bow and arrow. There was plenty to eat until the white man came: buffalo, deer, rabbit, geese, ducks, and other wild game, not to mention sand hill plums, wild grapes, lilly roots and choke cherries. All he had to do was guard against the fighting Indians and the dangerous white man.[2]

In his old age, Hunting Horse often stated that his toes still stiffened when he recalled his wanderings barefoot on aching, bleeding feet when, at the age of fifteen, he came with some friends to the banks of the Washita, near the Wichita Mountains. But he liked it there when it warmed up, and eventually settled there. While still a teen-ager, he married two Kiowa sisters, thereby following an old tribal custom.

The Hunting Horse saga is long and colorful—glaring red in spots, quiet at intervals but never dull. In addition to intermittent tussels with kinsmen, he had many a battle to the end with the white man who considered war something unpleasant. To Hunting Horse, war was a game—risky of course, sometimes pretty expensive, but it was life. It called for savage determination to charge, hold your own like your ancestors who put their whole manhood into it. Victory was their hope, like the young Indian football players of today.

Not long after settling near the Washita, Hunting Horse came in close contact with the foresighted, eloquent young brave, Kicking Bird, who, with a small band of followers had escaped to the Staked Plains.[3] His sojourn was short, however. After returning to his home tribe, he set up a village near Fort Sill, where he was a liaison agent between the Government and the Indians.[4] Kicking Bird clearly foresaw the changes that were coming due to the intrusion of thousands of blood-thirsty white men who were moving into the Indian's territory. He was a firm believer that the prophecies of the great chiefs would come to pass and the utter annihilation of the Indian would be accomplished unless a change was made. He sincerely believed in peace. "This we cannot achieve with bows and arrow," he warned in council. "So let us make peace with both the red man and the white, in some other way, as soon as possible."

After the battle with white buffalo hunters at Adobe Walls, the Kiowas gathered at the "End of the Mountains" on the North Fork of Red River, to hold the Sun Dance. That was July 3rd, 1874. The dance ended July 7th, 1874.[5]

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[2] Informants: Hunting Horse and Guy Queotone.

[3] Martin F. Schmitt and Dee Brown, *Fighting Indians of the West*, (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, and Charles Scribner's Sons, LTD., London, England, 1948), p. 77.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[5] Captain W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, (University of Oklahoma Press, 1937), p. 247.

On the evening of the day the dance ended, Kicking Bird persuaded three-fourths of the tribe to pack up, leave the camp at the "End of the Mountain," move to Fort Sill and, under his leadership, try to take up the white man's way of life.[6] The move was made, in part to steer away from Lone Wolf's brewing raid into Texas to avenge the death of his favorite son, Tauankia, who had been shot down by Lieutenant Charles D. Hudson, leading forty-one U. S. Cavalrymen in pursuit of a Kiowa raiding party. Quitain, a son of Lone Wolf's brother, Red Otter, was shot and killed by a cavalry man at the same time.[7]

Lone Wolf, leader of the more adventerous Kiowas, called, "Wild Indians" remained in camp with one-fourth of the people who had refused to move to Fort Sill.

Young Hunting Horse agreed with Kicking Bird on the question of peace with all men. Nevertheless, he realized that the Indian was fighting to retain his hunting grounds; for his own way of life and against the extermination of the buffalo, which to the Indian meant death—physically and spiritually. As a result, he remained in camp with the hostile element. In a few days, thereafter, he was headed for Texas under the leadership of Lone Wolf, Red Otter and Maman-ti, the medicine man and owl prophet. Wild with excitement, the raiders were starting out to avenge the death of Tauankia. This would be Hunting Horse's first real raid.

Due to Lone Wolf's criticism of many of the warriors' actions in battle, most of them refused to go out on the raid the morning it was ordered. However, late in the afternoon, the popular Maman-ti said he was ready to lead. This sent the raiders shouting and dancing like wild Indians; parading around the encampment. After dark they seated themselves before Maman-ti's tepee on top of a hill. Soon the rustle of wings attracted them. The eerie cry of a hoot owl followed. Maman-ti arose and interpreted the hoot: "The revenge raid will be a success. At least one enemy will be killed. Not one of us will die. Everybody get ready now."[8]

Immediately the raiders rushed to their tepee and began to put on their war paint and other ragalia.

In the group of around fifty warriors, Lone Wolf selected to go out on the raid under Red Otter and Maman-ti, Hunting Horse was the youngest and greenest. Most of the others were well seasoned veterans of many a scalping campaign. Among the experienced ones were: Red Otter, Pago-to-oodle, Mamaday-te, Komalty, To-Hauson, Tape-day-ah, Eonah-pah, Ye-ah-hau-tone, Ah-tape-te, Little Chief, Singing Tree and others.[9]

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 248.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 235.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 248-49.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

Everyone was ready by midnight. After traveling miles and miles, they camped on the side of a hill near Seymore. Maman-ti again consulted the owl. He reported that one or two white men would be killed; men on gray horses would do the work and the youngest member of the group (Hunting Horse) would receive, as his prize, a fine bay horse. Then he shouted: "That's all! Every brave get himself ready before sunrise!"

Long before sunrise, Hunting Horse was stripped to the waist and glaring in white clay, streaked with scarlet, armed with a primitive weapon; tugging at the bit of his old gray plug and crazy to head for the Red River.[10]

Led by Maman-ti, the raiders rode cautiously along a ridge until they ran into a small detachment of well armed Texas Rangers, part of the personal escort of the formidable John B. Jones, commanding the Texas Frontier Battalion.[11] With the speed and ingenuity of a wild man, Maman-ti thought of a trick scheme—an old Indian decoy—nothing new in strategy. He ordered his raiders to simulate flight; run to the hillside; drop; lie quiet as desert-wise coyotes and be ready to charge when conditions were right.

The braves scattered like quail. Acting as bait, Maman-ti and Ad-la-to rode down into the valley below the Rangers, dismounted, and in plain sight of them, commenced leading their horses slowly as if worn out and could not be ridden. The too-eager Rangers dashed in pursuit and suddenly ran right into the trap. The revenge warriors jumped to their feet, practically surrounded them and showered them with red-hot arrows. Since a complete revenge raid demanded that the Indians get two scalps or make two coups (master strokes) and return without losing a man, the raiders had to be careful not to get too close to their enemies.[12]

So far, no one had been killed. One Ranger had been knocked off his horse, but not a raider had the courage it took to close in and try to make coup. Red Otter got desperate. He called for volunteers. Hunting Horse told the writer. "Suddenly the prophet's promise shot through my mind and when Red Otter ran forward, I dashed after him. During the fox-and-goose chase that followed, I made coup. Several rangers were killed but not an Indian had a wound to lick."

The final outcome was, that, standing before his victorious braves, Lone Wolf declared the revenge complete and called a halt on the raid. He thanked his puffing followers for what they had done to satisfy his poor son's spirit. Having praised young Hunting Horse for his gallant dash against oferwhelming odds, he presented

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[10] Informant, Hunting Horse.
[11] Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
[12] Informant, Hunting Horse.

him with a fine bay horse that had lost its rider. Then, after singing a few verses of the Victory Song, they mounted their ponies and headed for home, still singing.

Hunting Horse did not sing as joyfully as he sang yesterday. Why? Because this fling at real warfare was an eye opener to him. Those bullets whizzing so close to his head had taught him that bows and arrows were no match for rifles. The warpath was not all fun and excitement. Aside from this, he was fighting against his better judgment. He realized that conquering the ever increasing number of white men was like trying to keep the stars from twinkling. Consequently, due to this thinking and Kicking Bird's council, the Indian sixth sense (intuition) took over and advised him to act.

He did. He moved to Fort Sill and joined the pro-white majority of his people. Later, as a reward for his decision, he was appointed as a member of a group of ten to go and try to persuade Lone Wolf and his hostile faction to surrender. Lone Wolf, several other leaders and "lesser" warriors soon arrived at Fort Sill and surrendered, thereby easing Kiowa resistance—not ending it—to the all-conquering white man. Among those who surrendered were: Lone Wolf, Big Bow, Gote-bo, San Diego, Gum-bi, Guot-sai, Tape-da-ha, Pohaw-ah, Se-loh and Go-ah-te-bo.[13]

Filled with hope of a new life promised by General Custer's recruiting officers, Hunting Horse threw off paint and feathers, enlisted in Custer's famous Seventh Cavalry and donned a scouting uniform. Later in life, he often related tales—fact and fiction—of those turbulent days and nights of scouting when it was his duty to "lay low"; locate the enemy and report to the officer in charge; days and nights when he was changing spots on the crawl right under the enemies nose, bullets whining over his head; times when he was riding all night, tracking like a blood hound on a hot trail and reporting to Custer ("Son-of-the-Morning-Star" to the Indians) after dark. Then he'd eat buffalo meat and slip into a crevice in a rock or duck down in the tall grass or brush and doze until daylight—snakes and rats permitting. According to historical records, the young brave was a good scout, dependable, brave and loyal, as the eagle-topped medal of merit awarded him affirmed. A morning star tattoed on his wrist when he enlisted, twinkled until the end. Hunting Horse was proud of his record.

Old historical files at Fort Sill, Oklahoma show that Hunting Horse's Government service ended August 5th, 1875.[14] The great days over, "Old Man Horse," as he was affectionately known around Fort Sill, settled down to live a peaceful, happy life. Al-

[13] Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 297; Old Files, Fort Sill Library.
[14] Informant, Colonel Charles F. Gallaher, Fort Sill, Okla.

though he gladly accepted and practiced many of the white man's ways, he did not learn to speak the language.

In a letter to the writer (written by a son) Hunting Horse stated:

> Although in the past years life went freely then, I consider the first hundred the worst. Now in modern times, in my old age, I see that life is better planned out for tomorrow. Everything is well planned for my future. I live thirty miles from Lawton on my U. S. Government land of 160 acres. The Government is caring for me now for my service in Indian Wars as a scout for General Custer. With a pension of $72.00 a month, all I need do is carry a little firewood, putter around on my allotment and enjoy the coming years.

A devout Christian since a young man, Hunting Horse was a member of the Mt. Scott Methodist Church of the Indian District of Western Oklahoma. He was a religious leader among his people and a youth leader, as well. The Boy Scouts loved to listen to him spin yarns about boyhood days. The local Boy Scout District was named for the famed Kiowa Scout.[15]

Respected and consulted by tribesmen, the proud erect, 5 foot 4 Indian lived comfortably in the shadows of the Wichita Mountains during his last years. With him was his wife, Poetomah, who is now bordering on the century mark herself. During recent years, a daughter, Mrs. Mamie Ike Johnny, shared the home and cared for the aging couple.

Hunting Horse was the father of three sons and three daughters, all living with the exception of Monroe, who was a talented internationally known artist. As an artist, he was Monroe Tsa-To-Kee. He painted a mural in the Oklahoma University and one in the State Museum, Oklahoma City. He was one of the two Kiowa artists who decorated the corridor of the Oklahoma State Historical Society Building, with life-sized Indian dancers. Born in 1906, he died February 3, 1956.[16]

Although seldom heard of when he was an army eye for Custer, Hunting Horse achieved national renown in his later years, when his colorful birthday celebrations became front page news. He was on a radio program in his 107th year. An interpreter assisted.

His one hundredth birthday, celebrated January 15, 1946, was a howling success, even if "Old Man Sun" was sulking above a roaring blizzard. By noon, one hundred guests had fought their way up

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[15] *The Lawton (Okla.) Constitution*, July 1, 1953. (For notes on the photograph accompanying this article, and a story told by Hunting Horse see *Appendix* at the end of this article.—Ed.)

[16] Willie Jordan, Misner, "An Evaluation of Art Activity in Oklahoma During Its First Thirty Years of Statehood," Thesis (M.F.A.) University of Oklahoma, 1940, p. 169; Oscar B. Jacobson, *Les Peintres Indiens d' Amerigue* (Nice, France, Editions d' Art, C. Scwedzichi, 1950).

the dangerous mountain road—once a rough buffalo trail—to the old scout's home. Ten Indian tribes were represented. His sons, daughters, grand children, great and great-great-grandchildren and other relatives and friends were there. Officers from Fort Sill, state leaders and ministers had fought the blast and had won. The most unexpected guests was the ninety-four-year-old Mrs. Emma De-Knight Sleeth, Arkansas City, Kansas, a friend of Horse's when she was a pioneer teacher at Chillocco Indian School.[17]

Hunting Horse strained his failing eyes through the swirling snow to see the mob—all like brothers; no arms concealed under blankets, as of old. When the laughing, shouting guests were a few yards from the porch, he leaped toward them with the agility of a young brave, and landed, waist deep, in a soft snowdrift. Scrambling out, he looked up with a puckered grin as if to say: "Huh! See what I can do!" Then turning his vigorous spirit free, he faced the crowd exploding a gutteral, Kiowa whoop of welcome.

The program was to have been staged in the open, but naturally that was out of the question. So, all togged out in a replica of the blue and gold uniform he wore when scouting for Custer, the gracious host bowed his guests into his five room house with as much dignity as if it were a palace. After every corner was crowded, all voices joined in thundering a "Happy Birthday to you!" It was intended that Hunting Horse would ride a pony, give demonstrations with his bow and arrow, lead the tribal dances and sing Kiowa songs. Instead, as if he wanted to rub elbows with all guests, he circled around in the rooms using the off beat Indian dance step in time with an old tom-tom some one was beating. He sang several songs in the Kiowa language as he danced.

Suddenly, his memory unravelling like a long western highway, lured him into a talking spree of by-gone-years—his head and his hands keeping time with his thoughts—a relative interpreting. He pictured a snorting, wild buffalo he had cornered in a shallow cave during his last hunt with "Sun-Of-The-Morning-Star." His puckered face beamed when he mentioned General Sheridan, whom he adored. He chuckled when he told of his old "Side Kick," General Sherman, "Red Whiskers" to him. So vivid were his gestures, that his actors were present and the snort of the frantic buffalo could almost be heard.

Dinner announced, the old host gave the Kiowa war hoop, and beckoning his friends to follow, scrambled through the soft snow to the tents where groaning tables were waiting.

The large tents for the celebration had been provided by the War Department. The Interior Department had presented a buffalo. Other gifts were too numerous to mention. Tribal women prepared

[17] *The Lawton (Okla.) Constitution,* January 20, 1946.

(Photo Public Relations Office, Fort Sill)

Hunting Horse singing the "Battle of Red River" song to Boy Scouts attending his birthday celebration in 1952.

and served the feast: buffalo meat, elk, fowl, wild game; squaw bread, beans, salads, vegetables and "what have you," along with coffee, tea and milk by the gallon. A birthday cake, ablaze with candles, "stole the show."

The following yearly celebrations were equally colorful. Even if the slender, arrow-straight host did reduce his physical antics toward the end, he led tribal dances and gave bow and arrow demonstrations until the last celebration.

Hunting Horse's health began to fail sometime before his death, but his amazing vitality kept him going on. One evening late in June, 1953, as he sat beside his barbecue pit enjoying his last visit with Mother Nature, suddenly the weird evening chant of "Old Man Coyote" snapped him out of the distant, smoky years. The old scout rose and limped to the house, and on into his room where he dropped half-conscious on his bed. He must have realized he was starting on that journey to pitch a tepee in the Happy Hunting Grounds. The family called his doctor who examined him as he lay there; turned to those waiting at the bedside with an expression that told them the Great Good Spirit was calling their loved one home.

Soon Hunting Horse lapsed into a coma which lasted several days before he answered the call of the Great Spirit on Wednesday morning, July 1, 1953.

Thursday evening the body lay in state at the home. Indian services were held at 10:30 a, m. in Saddle Mountain Mission. Two Christian ministers—a Methodist and a Baptist officiated.

Following the rites, a long processional of relatives and friends escorted the body to the New Post Chapel in Fort Sill. There, with a military guard of honor in charge, the body lay in state from approximately 1:00 p. m. until 2:30 p. m. when funeral services were conducted by a local Post Chaplain. Full military burial rites, conducted by Fort Sill personnel, took place in Post Cemetery. The Army furnished buses to transport members of the family from Saddle Mountain for the funeral services.

So Custer's 107-year old Hunting Horse departed from his tepee, his tomahawk and his peace pipe laid aside forever; his deeds of valor ended; his proud, old heart forever stilled. He was, no doubt, the last living Indian scout of the old Custer days, and with him ended an era of American history.

[18] *Ibid.*, July 1, 1953.

APPENDIX

The photograph of Hunting Horse surrounded by Boy Scouts, appearing in Mrs. Ryan's article in this number of *The Chronicles*, was made at the time of his birthday celebration in 1952, by the Public Relations Office at

Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in which Lewis E. Thompson, now of the Southwestern Engraving Company, Oklahoma City, was serving as Public Relations Officer while stationed at the post. The photograph has been verified by Mr. Thompson who has reported that when the picture was made Hunting Horse was singing the song of the Kiowa warriors at the "Battle of Red River," the story of which is told by Mrs. Ryan. The old Scout was over 100 years old in 1952 but he sang in his native Kiowa language, in a high, clear, sweet voice while a tape-recording was made of his song for the files of the Fort Sill Public Relations Office.

One of the many stories told by Hunting Horse made a deep impression, and has been retold at the request of the Editor, in a letter from Mr. Thompson. Once when Hunting Horse was a very young man before his marriage, he was stricken with total blindness but his sight was miraculously restored during a lonely vigil on the top of Mount Scott. Mr. Thompson's story is given here for its special interest and its significance in the life of Hunting Horse:

"A few days before his 106th birthday, I spent the afternoon talking with Hunting Horse through his daughter as interpreter. He told me many stories, one of which will always stand out in my memory.

"Hunting Horse was excellent in procuring horses, due to his gentleness with them, and it was customary for him to lead small foraging parties for this purpose. He was returning from one of these when just outside of camp his normally perfect vision began to fail him. A winter storm was brewing and thinking that it was this storm that hastened darkness, Hunting Horse went immediately to his tent and retired.

"But the following morning he still could not see. And in the days that followed all efforts by tribal doctors to restore his sight, failed.

"Finally, as was the custom, he was put on a horse and taken by a close relative to the top of Mount Scott, there to be left alone for three days in communion with the Great Spirit. If his sight should be restored, he would return on the horse. But if after three days he still could not see, he would release the tethered horse to return alone and thus signal the Kiowa people that he, himself had chosen death.

Much later then, as was customary, his closest relative would come to take up his bleached bones.

"A cousin accompanied Hunting Horse to Mount Scott and near the top turned back, leaving Hunting Horse alone to pray. For a day and a night, he did pray fervently, and then on the second day a freezing rain began to fall and the rain turned to sleet. Hunting Horse ceased praying, and huddled between bare rocks for warmth, feeling certain his situation was hopeless, that death would come quickly from freezing.

"On the third day, Hunting Horse was rising to release the horse and send him alone to camp when a sudden warmth touched him as from a great fire. The sun shown in his face and with its brightness and warmth came the voice of the Great Spirit.

"The voice told Hunting Horse that he had been chosen to become a peacemaker between the white man and his own people. Hunting Horse was commanded to open his eyes and view the plains below. 'This land is for everyone,' said the voice. 'Tell your people they must share it with all who come. Dedicate your life to this and you will have many years.'

"Hunting Horse told me that he did not bear arms again. That upon returning to camp that day, he immediately volunteered his services as scout to the cavalry at Fort Sill, that he was given permanent assignment in

that capacity, and that he was called on frequently after that to settle disputes at tribal council.

"Hunting Horse disliked Geronimo very much, and explained that he was a man who would not listen to reason.

"As I recall, Hunting Horse at 106 was tall, soldierly straight man with sensitive, almost saintly features. He spoke much of peace and war in a voice that was serenely clear and almost musical. His mind was keenly alert to the century past, to raiding parties, to frequent clashes with the white man, and only vaguely alert to the present, although he knew of Russia and Germany and of the Japanese. And he regretted very much that after more than eighty years as a peacemaker, his own great, great, great grandson and others his age should still be training to fight.

"This is the essence of what Hunting Horse told me that afternoon in 1952. . . . ."

—The Editor

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Monument to State Historian, Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn, Erected Under the Auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society

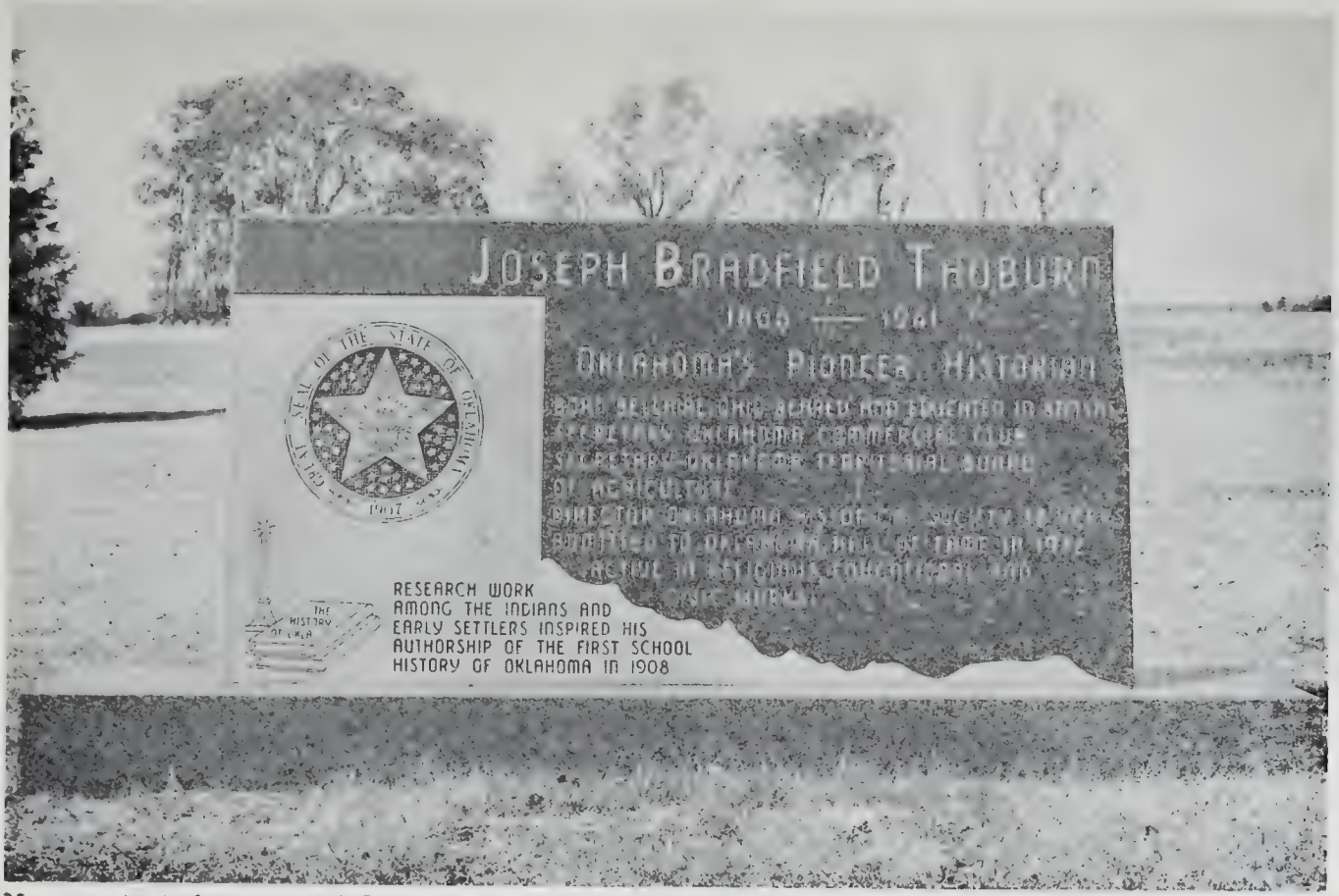
Tribute was paid to one of Oklahoma's noted historians on Thursday afternoon, July 26, 1956, when a handsome monument of rose granite was unveiled on the grave of Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn, in Rose Hill Cemetery in Oklahoma City. Persons from many parts of the state gathered at the graveside to honor a man who labored before statehood until his death to chronicle Oklahoma's past in published volumes, textbooks and museums.

General William S. Key, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, presided at the dedicatory ceremony. Judge Edgar S. Vaught, who headed the committee in the Board of Directors in erecting the monument, made the principle address. Mrs. Anna B. Korn, long time member of the Board of Directors, unveiled the monument. The invocation was by Judge Robert A. Hefner, member of the Board. Floral tributes were presented by the State of Oklahoma and the Governor represented by Mrs. Sue Ruble; the Oklahoma State Legislature represented by Cleeta John Rogers; the Daughters of the American Revolution, by Mrs. Harry Stallings, State Regent; the Oklahoma Memorial Association, Mrs. P. B. Vandament; School Children of the State, by Carolyn Looney; Daughters of Democracy, by Mrs. Willard Carver; the American Legion, by Dr. Charles W. Hoshall; United Daughters of the Confederacy, by Mrs. C. E. Cook, President of the Oklahoma Division; Oklahoma Press Association, by Mr. Ray J. Dyer; Grand Army of the Republic, by Mrs. Joe Williamson; and the Oklahoma Historical Society, by Mrs. Edith Mitchell.

The following notes on the life of Joseph B. Thoburn and on the erection of the monument were contributed by Judge Edgar S. Vaught:

Memorial to Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn

Joseph Bradfield Thoburn was born August 8, 1866 in Bellaire, Ohio. At a tender age he removed with his parents to the state of Kansas where he grew to manhood, and graduated from the Kansas A. and M. College at Manhattan. In 1899, he removed to Oklahoma City where he engaged in newspaper work at first. In 1902, he was elected secretary of the Oklahoma City Commercial Club, later organized as the Oklahoma Chamber of Commerce, and in the same year received a commission in the Oklahoma National Guard. The following year, the Oklahoma Territorial Board of Agriculture in its organizational meeting elected him as its first



Monument at the grave of Joseph B. Thoburn, in Rose Hill Cemetery, Oklahoma City, erected under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society, 1956.

secretary with offices at the Territorial capital, Guthrie. He was one of the prime movers in the establishment of Epworth University at Oklahoma City, opened under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South, in 1904, forerunner of present Oklahoma City University.

At the time of his death in Oklahoma City on March 2, 1941, Dr. Thoburn was a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, having been first elected as a member of the Board in 1902. He had served as a member of the Board through the years except for the period 1917-1930 when he was on the staff of the Society as editor, secretary and research director at different times. He wrote the first school history of Oklahoma used as a textbook in the public schools, published in 1908, and subsequently was well known for other published volumes and contributions on Oklahoma history. He also became known as a pioneer in the field of archaeology in this state.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1954, attention was called to the fact that the remains of Joseph Bradfield Thoburn were resting in an unmarked grave at Rose Hill Cemetery, in Oklahoma City. The Board felt that the contributions he had made to Oklahoma history should not go unappreciated. It was the decision of the Board that provision should be made to erect a suitable memorial to commemorate his services to the State to which he had contributed so much.

A committee consisting of Edgar S. Vaught, Chairman, Baxter Taylor, Mrs. Anna B. Korn and R. G. Miller, was appointed to make proper provision for erecting a suitable memorial. The committee was met by a regulation of the cemetery that because of Mr. Thoburn's remains occupying a single lot, nothing but a marker could be erected. A conference was had with Mr. John J. Harden, the owner of the cemetery, who stated that he knew Mr. Thoburn well and admired him greatly, and that he would donate a choice lot in the cemetery where a proper monument could be erected, and that he would remove the remains to the new lot, all without cost to the Society. He further expressed a desire to assist in providing a fund to meet the expense of erecting a suitable monument and gave the committee his check for $250.00 for that purpose. A sufficient fund was raised by private subscription to erect a beautiful monument costing in excess of $2,000.00 and also to pay for a portrait of Mr. Thoburn for the art gallery in the Historical Society Museum.* The Committee is proud of this accomplishment, and this beautiful granite monument constitutes a lasting tribute to an unselfish citizen of our state.

—Edgar S. Vaught
Judge U. S. District Court

* This portrait in oils is a fine likeness of Dr. Thoburn, painted by the Oklahoma artist, John Metcalf.—Ed.

The Oklahoma Senatorial Trees at the Nation's Capitol

On the grounds of the Nation's Capitol in Washington, D. C. are two Senatorial trees of great significance to the State of Oklahoma and its people. These trees were placed there by the Oklahoma State Society of Washington, D. C., in memory of the State's two first United States Senators, the Honorable Robert Latham Owen and the Honorable Thomas Pryor Gore. These two distinguished Senators died in the City of Washington within a relative short time of each other.*

Senator Robert L. Owen was the first to go. On his death the Oklahoma State Society was anxious to honor his memory in an appropriate and practical manner. The idea was hit upon of planting on the Capitol grounds and near the Senate side of the Capitol building, a memorial tree. A Committee composed of Mrs. Emmaline Samuel, the Society's President; Mrs. Philip (Charlotte) Smith; and Paul A. Walker was appointed to carry out the project.

The proper governmental authorities were consulted and arrangements were effected, through the Superintendent of the Capitol grounds, to plant a tree almost directly north of the Senate wing of the Capitol. Two restrictions had to be complied with: First, the tree was required to be of the type already prevalent in that part of the grounds where the tree was to be planted; and second, the marker must be placed flat on the ground so as not to interfere with the lawn mower when the grass was being mowed.

The tree selected to the memory of Senator Owen was the sweet gum. Appropriate planting exercises were arranged and the program was widely advertised so as to provide a large assembly of Oklahomans and other friends of Senator Owen. The Senator's daughter, Dorothea Owen, was among those present.

When Senator Gore was invited, he replied, "Yes, I will be there." He was there, but not as we all expected, as one of those to deliver a last tribute to Senator Owen, for before the day of the exercises, Senator Gore, too had answered the summons to the great beyond.

Arrangements were promptly made for a memorial tree to Senator Gore. The site available for this tree was east of the Senate side of the Capitol, where chesnut oak was the tree prescribed. Significantly enough, the types of trees thus selected were suited admirably to the character and tastes of the two Senators they were to honor.

At ten o'clock on the morning of April 16, 1949, members of the Oklahoma State Society, including the Oklahoma delegation

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* Robert Latham Owen died in Washington, D. C., on July 19, 1947 (*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV, No. 3 [Autumn, 1947]); Thomas Pryor Gore died in Washington, D. C., on March 16, 1949 (*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 [Summer, 1949]).—Ed.

in Congress and their friends, together with the families of the two deceased Senators, assembled at the sites of the two memorial trees and participated in the planting exercises. A prayer was offered by the Chaplain of the Senate, and brief addresses were made by members of the Oklahoma delegation in Congress.

An incident in connection with the repairing or remodeling of the Capitol building indicates the importance of watching and guarding these trees. A truck had been backed over the sweet gum tree planted in memory of Senator Owen and had damaged the tree. However, when the attention of the Superintendent of the Capitol grounds had been called to the damaged tree, it was soon thereafter replaced by a larger and more beautiful tree.

For Oklahoma and other visitors to the Capitol in Washington, a view of these two memorial trees is worth while. At the foot of each tree is a bronze plaque, not easily seen by the casual visitor because it is placed flat on the ground. The plaque at the Senator Owen tree reads:

Robert Latham Owen
1856-1947
United States Senator
1907-1925
One of the two first
United States Senators
from Oklahoma
Sweet Gum
(Liquidambar Styraciflua)
This tree planted in his
memory, April 16, 1949, by
the Oklahoma State Society
of Washington, D. C.
Emmaline Samuel, President
Paul A. Walker, Chairman
of Committee.

The bronze plaque at the foot of the tree planted to the memory of Senator Gore and which stands just east of the Senate wing of the Capitol reads:

Thomas Pryor Gore
1870-1949
United States Senator
1907-1921; 1931-1937
One of the two first
United States Senators
from Oklahoma
Chesnut Oak
(Quercus Prinus)
This tree planted in his
memory, April 16, 1949, by
the Oklahoma State Society
of Washington, D. C.
Emmaline Samuel, President
Paul A. Walker, Chairman
of Committee.

Visitors to the Nation's Capitol grounds will be interested in visiting the location of these two Oklahoma Senatorial trees.

—Paul A. Walker
Washington, D. C.

Organization of the Seminole Light-Horse

The following notes on the organization of the Light-Horse of the Seminole Nation have been contributed by Mrs. Grant Foreman, of Muskogee, well known for her many historical articles that have appeared in *The Chronicles*:

SEMINOLE LIGHT-HORSE

Seminole Agent Samuel M. Rutherford reported on August 29, 1859, that the Seminoles had no national fund to defray the expenses of government, and as a consequence there was a great laxity in the execution of the laws; that these Indians needed an efficient "Light-Horse" to execute their laws and if those officers were expected to perform their duty, they must be paid. The funds could be withdrawn from the annuity and used for that purpose. Evidently no move was made at that time to establish the Light Horse. The Civil War was on the horizon before the Seminoles were well established in their new home after their removal from Florida, and all efforts at carrying on any government among them was destined to await the end of the conflict.

After the Indians returned to their homes at the close of the Civil War, and times improved, a body of light-horse like those that served so efficiently among the other Civilized tribes, took charge of administering the law in the Seminole Nation. They maintained law and order, and like the celebrated Canadian "Mounties," they always got their man.

Very little concerning these officers is to be found in print, but the volumes of the Indian-Pioneer History, Foreman Collection, in the Oklahoma Historical Society contains a number of interesting accounts by pioneers, telling of the efficiency of the Light-Horsemen. Most of the following statements are taken from that collection.

A. Q. Teague at the age of nineteen, arrived in the Indian Territory from Fort Worth, Texas in 1876, with a drove of cattle for the Seminole Nation. He decided that he would prefer some other work and he was engaged by Governor John F. Brown of the Seminole Nation as a laborer on his farm for the following nineteen years.

The youth evidently proved himself efficient as Governor Brown asked him how he would like to become a light-horseman. "I told him that I couldn't be a light-horseman, but he said, "Yes you can. You just do what I tell you to do."

"I said, 'Yes, but you might tell me to kill a man and I couldn't do that."

"He said, 'Yes, you just kill him if I tell you to."

"A light-horseman was just the same as a policeman. So I was made a Light-horseman."[1]

A. P. Shaw was born November 5, 1860, at Bates, Missouri, arrived at Wewoka in September, 1894. He was employed on trial by Governor Brown

[1] Interview with A. Q. Teague, 108 E. Alabama St., Anadarko, Oklahoma, Vol. 46, p. 242.

for one month and as he gave satisfaction he was given charge of all of the saws and other machinery in the Governor's mills at Wewoka and Sasakwa.

Mr. Shaw related that the Seminole Light-Horse numbered about twelve at that time and the captain was Jim Larney. Court was held in the old Council House at Wewoka, and "prisoners were punished by the lash law, their feet being tied together with a long pole between the feet. A light-horseman would sit on each end of the pole. The prisoner's hands were tied together with a long rope thrown over a high limb of a tree and the two light-horsemen would then pull the prisoner until his body was stretched to full length and when he would be given his lashes on a bare back. After he was whipped, he would put on his shirt with back bleeding and go on his way, with nothing being done for his wounds. . . . ."[2]

Joe M. Grayson, Henryetta, Oklahoma, was of the opinion that Governor Brown was a very smart Indian. Like all merchants in the Territory he sold his goods on credit, trusting to make his collections when the Indians were paid their "head rights."

The money for the Seminoles was hauled in wagons and they were paid every three months. Two light-horsemen rode in the wagon, one rode in front, two on each side, and two behind. All were heavily armed and no one ever had the courage to attack them so they always arrived at their destination without trouble.[3]

Among other Seminole light-horsemen were Pomp Davis and Caeser Payne who frequently accompanied members of their tribe to Wewoka for trial. Chapone Moses of Wewoka related that when he was a youth he made his home with an uncle of the name of Harrison who was a light-horseman.[4]

During a drunken fight between Pul-musky and John Factor the last named was killed, and Pul-musky was sentenced to death. He was freed until the day appointed for his execution and "when the time, day and hour, came the prisoner was there among the crowd and he walked forward. He was blindfolded, and he sat on a rock by a tree; a white paper heart was cut and placed over his heart and then two light-horsemen were selected to shoot him. Cumsey (Tecumseh?) Bruner and Caeser Payne were the ones and they were negroes."[5]

Another description of punishment by the light-horsemen was given by John Alexander Frazier of Elk City, Oklahoma. He stated that when he arrived in Wewoka the Seminoles had their own laws and executed their criminals. "They brought out an Indian and took off his shirt, then they tied his hands and feet together with ropes. Then these Indians took a long lariat rope and tied him to a rail and took him to a log cabin, the roof of which had almost rotted off, and threw the rope over one end of a log that was sticking out . . . Two men got on the rail and five or six men got hold of the rope and stretched the criminal up in the air.

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[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. 9, pp. 244-45. During the Green Peach War Tuckabatchee Harjo, a nephew of Opothle Yahola, with his insurgent Creeks and Seminole volunteers, were traveling in the direction of Nuyaka when they met Captain Jim Larney of the Light-Horse and Tulwa Fixico, judge of Wewoka District, who were on their way with the men of their district to join the mobilization at Okmulgee. In the fight that ensued the insurgents won and seven of the constitutional party were killed, but Tuckabatchee Harjo withdrew to the west and was later recognized as second chief (Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* [Norman, 1941], p. 275).

[3] *Indian-Pioneer History*, Vol. 26, p. 373.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. 61, p. 429, Vol. 71, p. 456.

[5] *Ibid.*, Interview with Robert Johnson, Spaulding, Oklahoma, Vol. 86, pp. 180-81.

"Then the Indian Chief ordered the light-horsemen all to fall in line and walk up to the criminal. Each light-horseman had a hickory stick three or four feet long in his hand. There were ten light-horsemen in line and the Indian chief gave orders that they should step up one at a time and each should give the culprit ten licks.

'If The light-horseman dropped his whip he had to fall out of line . . ."[6]

In an interview for the Indian-Pioneer History project Carrie Cyrus, a Negro woman of Wewoka, related that she was brought to the Seminole Nation as a child in 1878.

"Her husband, Dennis Cyrus, was a wide-awake man, was brave and wanted to keep peace" so he was appointed one of the light-horsemen and served in the organization for thirty years.

In her story she related that she had seen many exciting events in the Seminole Nation as it was the rendezvous for notorious outlaws, who, after making their hauls came there to divide the spoils. One of their main hideouts was about nine miles north of Wewoka on Big Creek near Chimney Mountain; another was west of Konawa, Oklahoma.

When the light-horsemen captured a man they would take him home with them and tie him until the day of his punishment. When wanted for a minor crime he was turned loose and ordered to report on a certain day for punishment.

"If a bad outlaw came in the Territory that they wanted to catch, the Light-horsemen would gather with what they called the Snake Doctor, who would mix a quanity of herbs together; such as, Devil shoe string, Conquer John and others not known. He would put these in a big kettle and put a fire under it and boil all this together until it looked like tea. Then the Light-horsemen would gather around the fire and spit till they put the fire out. But during this time the Snake Doctor was spitting in their faces with the medicine that was in the pot. This was supposed to carry them through battle without getting shot.

"During hostile times the ones that wanted peace wore a corn shuck in their hats and at home there would be a white sheet or something white hanging on the porch or the side of the house, so the others could tell how they stood."[7]

W. Frank Jones, a deputy marshal under United States Marshal S. M. Rutherford, advised that in 1897 when the Rock Island Railroad was built from McAlester to Holdenville the latter place had been laid out and building had begun in advance of the arrival of the railroad.

Deputy Jones recalled that a huge payment was to be made at Wewoka. The Indians preferred silver money and it was sacked and put aboard a freight car. The car was filled with sacks and Jones was put in charge at McAlester to guard it until delivered at Wewoka. Indian light-horsemen were also on guard.[8]

In Wewoka, I. T. on March 22, 1899 an order was made to "Pay to Toluf Harjo, or order the sum, One & 50/100 Dollars for services rendered as Acting Light-horseman and charge to account of Seminole Nation.

"Nuthcup Harjo
"2nd Chf. Seml. N.[9]"

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[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. 91, pp. 459-61.
[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. 21, pp. 399-401.
[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 494.
[9] Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives Division, No. 39514 in "Seminole-Miscellaneous File."

"To the Treasurer
Seminole Nation"

Chapter six of the *Seminole Laws*, as furnished by the U. S. Indian Inspector for Indian Territory, and translated by G. W. Grayson, July, 1906, contains the following fifteen sections:

Sec. I

The Seminole Nation shall have a force of Lighthorsemen.

II

The Company of Light Horse shall consist of one Captain one Lieutenant and eight privates, in all ten men.

III

The Company of Light Horse when installed in office shall serve for the term of four years.

IV.

If by reason of death, or the violation of any law of the Nation by any member of the Company, his place on the force becomes vacant, it shall be the duty of the National Council to fill such vacancy or make any other arrangement that shall be satisfactory.

V.

If any member of the Light Horse company shall resign his office, the chiefs shall report such resignation to the National Council, when it will become the duty of that body to fill the vacancy.

VI.

The Light Horse company when in charge of a prisoner under arrest, shall exercise due humanity and care in the treatment accorded him during his imprisonment.

VII.

If a Light Horseman shall, through neglect of duty, or flagrant carelessness, suffer a prisoner in his charge to escape from his custody, he shall be deemed guilty.

VIII.

If it shall be proved that any Light Horseman by drinking whisky or any other intoxicant, had become intoxicated, he shall be deemed to be guilty.

IX.

Power and authority are hereby vested in the chiefs of the Nation to issue warrant for arrest; and the Light Horsemen shall make no arrests without first having received such a warrant from the chiefs.

X.

The chiefs shall first be fully satisfied that an act of violence of law has been committed before issuing a warrant for arrest.

XI.

In making arrests, the Light Horsemen shall exercise due care that no unnecessary physical pain or other injury is inflicted on the person being arrested.

XII.

If the Light Horseman shall proceed to effect the arrest of any person, abiding by and observing the requirements of the foregoing section of his official acts; and if, notwithstanding the orderly deportment of the officer, the person to be arrested shall make resistance by force of arms, then the arresting officer shall have the right to kill him.

XIII.

Such a killing shall be deemed to be the legitimate result of the operation of law.

XIV.

The Chiefs are hereby authorized to engage a posse to aid the Light Horse when necessary, who shall be subjct to the laws governing the Light Horsemen.

XV.

The posse so engaged shall be paid the per diem of one ($1.00) dollar by the Nation.

Passed by the National Council January 28th, 1903.

OKFUSKEY MILLER
Chairman

T. S. McGiesey, Clerk.

Approved January 28, 1903.
HULBUTTA MIKKO
Principal Chief Sem. Na.
THOMAS LITTLE,
2nd Chief, S. N.[10]

—Carolyn Thomas Foreman

Biographical Notes on the Life of Hon. Howell Cobb

The following notes on the life of Hon, Howell Cobb, Secretary of the United States Treasury, 1857-1860,* for whom the military post of Fort Cobb in Western Indian Territory was named in 1859, are presented to give some details on the life of this noted leader of the State of Georgia whose work and influence in the halls of Congress were far-reaching in the history of the Southwest. The notes here are excerpts from a biography of Howell Cobb appearing in *Men of Mark in Georgia* (Vol. III, pp. 566-581) a history of that state in six volumes published at Atlanta in 1907 (A. B. Caldwell, Publisher). The complete copy of this biography now on file in the Library of the Society and the portrait of Howell Cobb appearing in this number of *The Chronicles* were contributed through the kindness and interest of Dr. Herman K. Smith, Professor of Mathematics in Oklahoma A. and M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

HOWELL COBB

Howell Cobb, Solicitor-General; six times Member of Congress; Speaker of the United States House of Representatives; Governor of Georgia; Secretary of the [U. S.] Treasury; President of the Provincial Congress of the Confederate States; Colonel, Brigadier-General and Major-General in the Confederate Army; was born at Cherry Hill, Jefferson County, Georgia,

[10] Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives Division Seminole Laws 1906.

* Inadvertantly, an error was made stating that Howell Cobb was appointed "U. S. Secretary of War by President Buchanan." in the Spring (1956) number of *The Chronicles* (Vol. XXXIV, No. 1), page 56, footnote 10, of the article "A History of Fort Cobb" by Muriel H .Wright. The statement corrected should read: "Howell Cobb was appointed U. S. Secretary of the Treasury by President Buchanan."—Ed.

September 7, 1815, the son of Colonel John A. Cobb, and his wife, Sarah Rootes, a daughter of Judge Thomas Reade Rootes, of Fredericksburg, Virginia.

His early life was surrounded with every advantage that could come from wealth and culture. His father conducted planting operations on an extensive scale. His uncle, Howell Cobb, after whom he was named, and of whom he was the legatee, was a Member of Congress from Georgia during the War of 1812. Thomas W. Cobb, a cousin and intimate friend of his father, and after whom Cobb county is named, was a Member of Congress from 1817 to 1824, and later United States Senator from Georgia. Another cousin was the compiler of "Georgia Statutes and Forms." So, he grew up in a family of public men and in an atmosphere which made him naturally take to public life. Fortunately he was of that inherent sound mind and heart which was neither enervated nor spoiled by advantages, but rather thereby stimulated to worthily use the means thus ready at hand.

At the time there were few school facilities in Georgia, and in order to give his children educational advantages, Colonel Cobb moved to Athens, where later his son, Howell, entered college and graduated in 1834. Immediately after graduating, and before he was twenty, he married Mary Ann Lamar, daughter of Zachariah Lamar, a planter of Middle Georgia. As there were no law schools in the State, he entered the office of General William Harden, a distinguished lawyer, with a large and varied practice. Under the custom which then prevailed, he could, no doubt, have obtained a license within a few months, he did not, however, as was then too often the case, seek immediate admission to the bar, but continued his studies for two years, so that when he was admitted, in 1836, he was unusually well prepared. His thorough drilling in the rudiments of the law, aided by natural gifts of the highest order, at once put him to the front. He resided in Athens, but business on the circuit came to him rapidly, and the vigor and maturity of his arguments before juries gave him an immediate reputation. The isssue over nullification had been joined between Jackson and Calhoun; young Cobb was a Jacksonian Democrat, and as that party had a majority in the General Assembly, he was in 1837 elected Solicitor-General of the Western Circuit."

The office of Solicitor-General with us has been the nursery of public men, and the Western Circuit, in 1837, was an especially fine training school. Charles Dougherty, who presided as Judge, was a lawyer of learning, ability, and firmness. The circuit was large and embraced within its territory counties which were then considered comparatively populous and wealthy and extended into the thinly settled region which was almost a pioneer territory in the mountains of Northeast Georgia. The geographical variety of the district was equaled by the variety of the population. So that during the three years in which he filled this office he was brought into contact with almost every phase of Georgia life. The Circuit was so large that he was at work almost the entire time, and had to go from county to county without opportunity to make that preparation of each case which is now regarded as essential. There were few books and no time to read them. He had to rely on himself and this developd slf-confidence, quickness to seize a point, and strength to press it. He was a terror to evildoers and made an eminent success of the Solicitor-Generalship . . . . .

In 1840 the Whigs had a majority in the Legislature, and, therefore, and fortunately for him, he was not re-elected. But the people in the Western Circuit had learned to know him, and when barely twenty-five years of age he was elected as a Democrat to the Twenty-eighth Congress. In December, 1842, he arrived in Washington and found himself in the midst of those currents which were already forming the vortex, soon to draw the country into civil war. . . . .

When Howell Cobb entered Congress James K. Polk was President, and dealing with the certainty of war with Mexico on the south, as the result of the annexation of Texas, and threatened war with England, on the north, as a result of the dispute over the line between Oregon and British Columbia. . . . .

The custom of having a stenographic report of all speeches in Congress and publishing the same in the Congressional Record did not then obtain, and hence there is no complete record of Mr. Cobb's speeches in Congress, but from the contemporary writers and the *Congressional Globe*, it can be seen that at first the natural modesty of the man, and his youth, restrained him from taking an active part in the debates. But his speech in 1844 on "the motion of Mr. Black of Georgia for the re-adoption of the celebrated twenty-first rule against receiving petitions for the abolition of slavery"; his speech in May, of the same year, advocating free trade; his speech in January, 1845, defending the constitutionality of the annexation of Texas, with other occasional arguments in running debate, had fixed the eye of the House on the young Representative from Georgia. His speech in 1846 on the Oregon boundary question showed familiarity with the historical facts, a mastery of the question of international law involved, and the force of his appeal to his Southern colleagues to sink all sectional sentiments, pointed him out even more distinctly as a coming leader.

* * * *

In 1848 Cobb defended Polk's administration against the attacks of the Whigs because of his action in declaring war, showing that the Whig vote for the annexation of Texas was itself equivalent to the declaration of war with Mexico. The speech made a deep impression on the public and was appreciated by the administration. It placed Mr. Cobb high in the estimation of the President, and secured for him the permanent and proud position, for so young a statesman, of being the leader of his party . . . . . and ultimately resulted in Mr. Cobb's being elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. . . . . When Congress met on the first Monday in December, 1849, and the clerk called the roll on the election of Spaker there was a precipitated one of the historic contests of the American Congress. . . . . When the sixty-third ballot was taken, December 23, 1849, Winthrop received 99 votes, Cobb 102; and thus at the age of 34 he was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives—the third highest position in the gift of the people of the United States.

The (Thirtieth Congress) session lasted from December 3, 1849, until September 30, 1850. It was not only one of the longest, but one of the most exciting in our history, for during that Thirtieth Congress Mr. Clay, on his return to the Senate, introduced what has since been called the "Compromise of 1850.". . . . This compromise was supported by Daniel Webster in his celebrated 7th of March speech, and opposed by Calhoun and Jefferson Davis and other Southern Democrats.

Occupying the Speaker's chair, Mr. Cobb was precluded from taking an active part in the debate in the House on this question, but he warmly supported the compromise measure, and gave it the powerful support of his position as presiding officer. It finally passed, and the opponents of the compromise prepared an Address, which was signed by all of the Southern Democrats except Boyd and Clark, from Kentucky, and John H. Lumpkin and Howell Cobb, from Georgia.

Howell Cobb was requested by these other three Democrats to prepare a reply to this Address, and he did so. The storm burst on the head of Mr. Webster in Massachussetts, because his 7th of March speech was charged to be an abandonment of the position of the North, and a storm of like fury

HOWELL COBB

burst on Mr. Cobb in Georgia because his support of the compromise measure was charged to be a surrender of the rights of the South. The criticism in Georgia of his Union sentiments was so sharp that Mr. Cobb, with the highest honors of the nation before him if he continued his Congressional career, announced that he would not be a candidate for re-election to the House, but as a candidate for Governor would submit to the whole people of the State the propriety of his conduct. The issue was submitted; he was joined by Stephens and Toombs, who, up to this time, had been political opponents. Although, according to Judge Andrews, in his "Recollections of an Old Georgia Lawyer," such a thing had never before been done in a gubernatorial campaign, he took the stump, and, face to face with the people, gave his reasons for supporting the "Compromise of 1850." His course in Congress was not only vindicated, but triumphantly vindicated, for he received the highest popular majority which, up to that time, had ever been given a candidate for Governor. He was inaugurated at Milledgeville; had two quiet and almost uneventful years after the stormy scenes in which he had for ten years participated in Congress, bringing to bear upon the State questions the same clear judgment that he had given his Congressional duties.

* * * *

At the expiration of his term of office as Governor, Cobb entered upon the practice of law, to which he devoted himself for the next three years, though at the request of party leaders he made several addresses at the North in support of Franklin Pierce, Democratic nominee for President. He was not, however, allowed to remain in private life, and in 1855 was re-elected to Congress, serving on the Committee of Ways and Means, and putting forth all of his energies and influence in an attempt to avert the threatened conflict between the two sections. He supported Buchanan, and in September, 1856, made a speech at Westchester, Pennsylvania, in which he contended for the right of Kansas and Nebraska to determine each for themselves whether slavery should or should not be recognized within its limits.

On his election in 1856 President Buchanan tendered Mr. Cobb the position of Secretary of the Treasury, an appointment which was heartily approved by the party and the public in the confident expectation that he would be the master spirit and dominating mind of the Cabinet.

* * * *

For half a century the question as to the right of secession was mooted; time and again threats to secede had been made by various parties in various sections, but the country realized that now at last the day of theory and of threats had passed, and that it was face to face with it as a practical question.

In December, 1860, when President Buchanan read the message which he proposed to submit to the approaching session of Congress, a difference arose in the Cabinet because of the President's denial therein of the right of secession. Mr. Cobb objected to that portion of the message. Jeremiah Black, and other members of the Cabinet, supported the President, who sent the mesage to Congress December 4, 1860. Mr. Cobb, on December 8, 1860, tendered his resignation as Secretary of the Treasury, and thenceforward history was rapidly made.

* * * *

South Carolina seceded December 20, 1860. From day to day Southern Congressmen withdrew from Congress. Senator Toombs made his last speech the occasion for stating the demands of the South and her reasons for secession, and withdrew from the United States Senate January 7, 1861. Georgia seceded January 19, 1861, and five days later the Georgia Convention elected

Howell Cobb one of her delgates to the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, to be held in Montgomery, February 4, 1861. He was unanimously elected President of the Provisional Congress. The Crittenden Compromise was finally defeated, March 2, 1861. On the ground that South Carolina ceded Fort Sumter to the Government because she was a member of the Union, and that on her secession therefrom she was entitled to regain possession, South Carolina demanded that the fort should be evacuated and delivered to the State. Negotiations over this question were prolonged until April 12, 1861, when the gun of Sumter was fired and the Civil War began.

Like his distinguished brother, Thomas R. R. Cobb, feeling that as he had given his voice, he must also give his arm, Howell Cobb raised a regiment; was elected Colonel, assigned to duty in the Virginia Peninsula under General Magruder, though, at the same time, he continued to act as President of the Provisional Congress until the ratification of the Confederate Constitution by the Southern States, the election of Congressmen and Senators, President and Vice-President, and the permanent organization of the Confederate Government on February 22, 1862. In the meantime he passed back and forth from his regiment to Congress in the discharge both of civil and military duties. He duplicated the experience of many in both armies, who not having been trained to arms, were in middle age, and at a moment's notice, plunged into the midst of the greatest war in history, doing the work which theretofore had only been done by men trained for the service. He took part in the battles of Seven Pines, the second battle of Manassas, the Seven Day's fight, capture of Harper's Ferry, Crampton's Gap, Sharpsburg; was named in general orders for gallant service in battle, and later made Major-General. He supported the Confederate government in the issues between it and the State government of Georgia, and was assigned to the district of Georgia, in the hope that he might bring about a greater co-operation between the State and the Confederate authorities.

All of the writers of the time gave Mr. Cobb the reputation of having been one of the most popular men of his day, and the idol of his party. But his was a popularity that was founded upon solid claims to the respect and affection. It was the popularity of one who is really led, and not of one who merely outran the people to their desired goal; his was the popularity of one moulded public opinion rather than one who sought to adjust himself to popular views of the day . . . . . In forming an estimate of his real character and ability, it will be best to use the calm and judicial language of Alexander H. Stevens, who in his "War Between the States," in discussing the suggestion that had been made in Montgomery to elect Mr. Cobb President of the Confederacy, says: "Mr. Cobb is a man of very marked and positive character.*** His convictions are always strong, and his actions is governed by them. When he determines upon any line of policy, he pursues it with all of his energies, openly and boldly, without regard to opposition, and with very little inclination to win by conciliation, those who differ with him, whether in or out of his own party.*** We have often been thrown in concert of action politically, and often in opposition. In all of our differences I considered him a truly honorable and magnanimous opponent, and not only esteem him personally very highly, but regard him as one of the ablest men in the United States. His election as President of the Confederate States would have received my cordial approval."

In the many addresses on Mr. Cobb's life and character, reported in Boykin's Memorial, runs the strong note not only of admiration but of affection for Mr. Cobb as a man. Indeed, he seems to have been as great at home as in public station. His domestic life was charming, almost ideal. To him and his wife came a large family of sons and daughters, who honor his name: Major Lamar Cobb and Judge Howell Cobb, for years successful and distinguished lawyers in Athens; Honorable John A. Cobb, a Representative from

the county of Sumter; Andrew J. Cobb, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia; Mrs. Mary Ann Lamar Erwin, of Athens, and Mrs. Sarah Cobb Rucker, of Atlanta.

At the termination of the war, and his release on parole, he returned to his family, who were then in Macon, and formed a partnership with James Jackson, afterwards Chief Justice of Georgia, for the practice of law.

Following in the wake of the war and the destruction of property, there was an unexampled amount of litigation brought about by the upsetting of old institutions, and the creation of new problems. Although Mr. Cobb had long been out of the active pracitice of the profession, he soon had an immense business, and gave to it the same thoroughness of attention that had characterized him throughout his life. In the few years left him, he made a number of able arguments, among which probably the most notable was in the Supreme Court on the Stay Law, which Chief Justice Lumpkin declared to have been among the greatest of the many arguments to which he had listened while on that Bench.

And thus, at fifty, he had again taken up his early profession, turning aside only to make his celebrated "Brush Arbor Speech" in Atlanta, July 23, 1868, when he, General Toombs, R. J. Moses, and Senator Hill spoke to one of the greatest audiences that ever gathered in Georgia on the issues arising out of the war. This was his last appearance before the people he had so long served. He went North on a business trip, and while in conversation with his wife and Bishop Beckwith, in the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, he was suddenly stricken with apoplexy, and died October 9, 1868, without a word. His death was a shock to the State and the South. In every way possible the people of Georgia in public meetings voiced their love and respect for Howell Cobb, who with William Crawford and Alexander H. Stephens had received the greatest distinctions ever conferred upon any of her sons.

—J. R. Lamar.

A Letter from Stillwater, Written in 1885, by one of the Oklahoma "Boomers"

The fine philatelic collection of Indian Territory covers owned by Colonel George H. Shirk, of Oklahoma City, has recently acquired an old cover with an 1885 U. S. postage 2¢ stamped envelope, showing the cancellation "Pawnee Agency, Ind. T. Jan. 13," addressed to "D. E. Shaw, Savannah, Ohio," with the return address "C. H. King, Pawnee Agency, Ind. Territory, Oklahoma." But it is the two page letter inside the envelope, showing the date line, "Stillwater, Oklahoma, Ind. Ter. Jan. 9, 1885," that is a decided addition to Stillwater, Oklahoma, history never before brought to light and published. The letterhead gives the name "C. H. King, General Agent for Penn'a.-Offices 2½ Main St., Mansfield Ohio," with the additional heading in lines above, Whissemore Manuf'g Co. Manufactures of Toilet Looking-Glasses, Ladies' Work-Baskets, Paper Racks, and Parlor Decorations." Evidently, the third page of the letter, bearing the signature of the writer, has been lost since there is only one sheet penciled front and back as follows:

Stillwater, Oklahoma, Ind. Ter., Jan. 9, 1885

Mr. David E. Shaw

Dear Sir Yours duly received when Charlie came. We are still at this place. Have been informed that Gen. Hatch has ordred 7 companies to come here and "*turn the rascals out.*" Maybee they will; but I doubt it.

The majority of "Old Boomers" prefer going to the Canadian 75 miles farther on by the rout (sic) we go. We are located on Sec. 22 and 23 Town 19 Range 2 East. If you have a government map of the Territory you can locate us. I have not yet located my claim certain. The "proxey business"[1] has troubled us greatly. I go out today again. Think I will take one cornering with the town. There are about 90 acres of bottom, and two bottom [s]. Fifty of good upland Prairie. Stone crop [s] out in two places. One a light sand stone. The other a very heavy stone; looks something like Scotch granite. Probably contains Iron.

About 10 or 15 acres of the stoney part will be excellent orchard land. The land just crosses the creek in two places. Some timber along the stream. It corners at NW in a small stream. Can make three watering places.

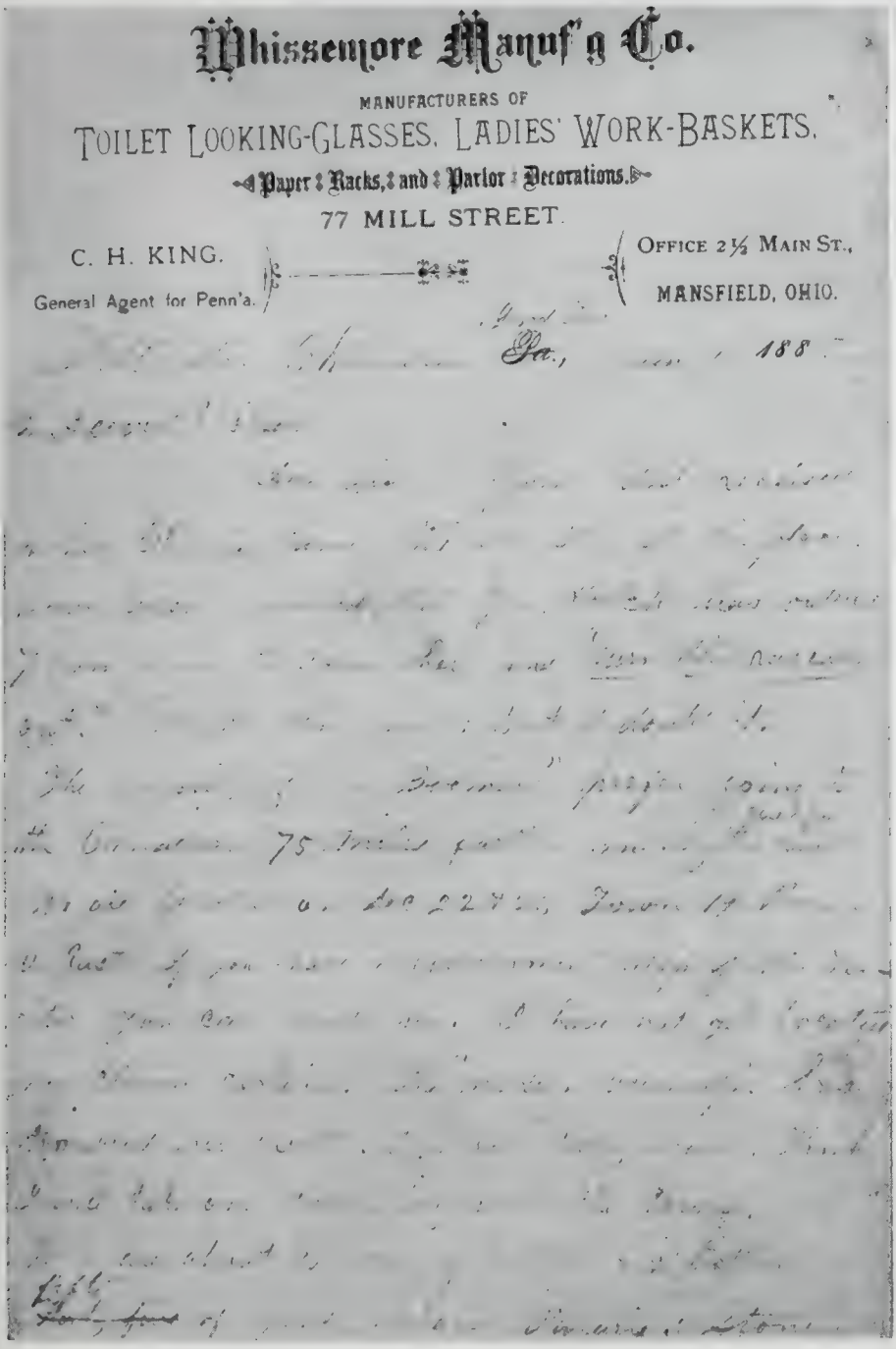
I am one of the town company. Eighty of us. In drawing for business lots (they are 25x140) I drew fifth choice and selected No. 11. It is east side and on north side of an alley (20 ft.) and south of the center sixth lot. I expect to put up a building 14x16. Will have to haul the lumber from Arkansas City about 75 miles the way we go.

If we get to stay: I make a good thing of it; if not will lose my time and $40.00. if all goes right I expect to realize $3000 to $5000 within the next two years. Charley just came in with a very fine Turkey. He was lucky in getting here, after staying so long in Arkansas City.

Dr. B. B. Chapman's excellent history, *The Founding of Stillwater* (Oklahoma City, 1948), devotes several pages to the "boomer" settlement of Stillwater in 1884-5. After the death of David L. Payne, his associate, William W. Couch, led a group of "boomers" south from Kansas early in December, 1884, his account of the expedition stating, "We reached Stillwater, Dec. 12, and concluded to stand there, and again test the validity of our claims." A town company of eighty men was organized. The route to Stillwater was called the "Payne Trail," Arkansas City via the Ponca Agency and the Oto Agency to a location on Stillwater Creek, about a mile southeast of the present City of Stillwater. This boomer settlement was located in a bend of Stillwater Creek, a half mile above its juncture with Boomer Creek. The name "C. H. King" is among the 154 signers of a Memorial sent to Congress (Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15) by the Stillwater claimants, setting forth their rights to settlement.

The "boomers" remained at Stillwater until their leader, Couch, gave up further opposition on January 26, 1885, and surrendered to Colonel Edward Hatch. U. S. Cavalry. The letter given

[1] Dr. B. B. Chapman has read this Stillwater letter, and makes the following comment here: "The 'proxey business' which troubled the 'boomers' greatly may have had reference to selecting lands for members of the company not present, or perhaps to the problem of settlers dividing the lands among themselves. Lieutenant Day, on Jan. 1, had reported on the difficulty that W. L. Couch experienced in keeping settlers from straying off in search of better lands. 'Proxey Business' is not a common term in land office jargon."



First page of pencilled letter written from "Stillwater, Oklahoma, Ind Ter., Jan. 9, 1885."

above shows there was a drawing for business lots prior to January 9. It shows what C. H. King as a boomer hoped to acquire by his part in the settlement; and, according to a further note by Dr. Chapmen after reading the letter, it helps to explain Colonel Hatch's telegram of January 27: "No question they will fight."

—The Editor

More Notes Concerning George William Featherstonhaugh

In a recent letter to Mrs. Grant Foreman, Dr. James H. Gardner, of Tulsa, expressed his interest in her article, "An Early Account of the Cherokees", in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXIV, No. 2 (Summer, 1956), pp. 141-58, and gave more notes on George William Featherstonhaugh whose visit to the Cherokee Nation East in 1837 is set forth in Mrs. Foreman's article. Someone familiar with the name in England once remarked that "Featherstonhaugh" is pronounced by the English as if it were "First-to-know."

Featherstonhaugh made his home in America, and his first number of *Monthly American Journal of Geology and Natural Science* appeared in July, 1831. It may be added here that his report as "U. S. Geologist," *Geological Report of an Examination Made in 1834, of the Elevated Country between the Missouri and Red Rivers,* is one of the rare publications bound in book form in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society. This report was published by order of both houses of Congress, and was addressed to Lieut. Col. J. J. Abert, U. S. Topographical Engineers, dated Washington City, February 17, 1835. Featherstonhaugh examined the Ozark Mountain region, and made Hot Springs, in Arkansas Territory, his headquarters for a time, mentioning the "efficacy" of the mineral waters of the springs that "annually perform very admirable cures of chronic complaints incident to southern climates . . . . ." On page 71 of this *Report,* he expressed his interest in making the journey west from Hot Springs to visit the mountain country of present Southeastern Oklahoma, as follows:

> During my stay here, I endeavored in vain to procure a guide to cross the country with me to Cantonment Towson, on Red River, opposite the confines of the Mexican Territory; in this direction, except for a short distance, there is not even a bridle path; all roads terminate here, and the passes are only known to hunters; but heavy rains had set in, and the mountain streams were excessively swollen; the hunters, too, were averse to break off from their favorite pursuit of bear-hunting, which commences at this season. Deeming it imprudent to run the risks to which, under these circumstances, and at so late a period of the year, and without a hunter to provide me with food, I should have been exposed, I reluctantly gave up my intention of further exploring the hills in that direction . . . . .

Dr. Gardner pointed out the following excerpt from George P. Merrill's "Contributions to the History of American Geology," in *Annual Report,* Smithsonian Institution, 1904:

Featherstonhaugh was a man of English birth and some means who came to America when quite young, apparently from love of travel. Being of good presence—standing more than 6 feet in height, well educated and an accomplished musician—he easily procured admission into the best of society, married an American girl and established himself at Duanesburg in New York, but was, apparently, never naturalized. He appears to have taken an active interest in agriculture, scientific and political affairs and, in company with Stephen Van Rensselaer, became one of the directors of the railroad from Albany to Schenectady, a charter of which was granted in 1826. The death of his wife and two daughters, however, caused him to leave Duanesburg and turn his thoughts toward exploration and science. He therefore removed to Philadelphia where he established in 1831, the journal above mentioned.

A special note from Mrs. Foreman on Stephen Van Rensselaer mentioned above is from J. Franklin Jameson's *Dictionary of United States History* (Boston, 1897), p. 675: "Stephen Van Rensselaer (1765-1839), was a member of the New York Senate . . . . . He represented New York in the U. S. Congress from 1822 to 1829. He founded the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, N. Y."

—The Editor

The Name of General Stand Watie of the Cherokee Nation

Among the most frequent inquiries that come to the Oklahoma Historical Society are how is Stand Watie's last name spelled, and how is it pronounced. His surname is found variously spelled in different publications, such as *Waite, Waitie, Wattie,* probably appearing inadvertantly as an error, like that in the Summer (1956) number of *The Chronicles* (Vol. XXXIV, No. 2) pages 137 and 139, paragraphs 1 and 2 respectively, where the name should appear *Watie* instead of *Waite.*

This surname is properly spelled with one *t* — *Watie.* The name is pronounced with the long ā sound—*Wā'tĭĕ.* Both this spelling and pronunciation follow the original Cherokee word from which the name is derived: *'e'tĭ,* meaning "old" or "long ago", the *e* given as in they (phonetically in English, as if *ā'tĭ,* long ā sound). In Cherokee, the *e* in *eti* is given an aspirate or breath in its pronunciation ('e'tĭ), according to Mooney's word list found in the *19th Annual Report* (Bur. Amer. Ethnol., 1897-98).

The name of Stand Watie's father is found in the records in English as *Oo-wa-tie,* a personal name in Cherokee, meaning "The Ancient." This name is pronounced phonetically *ŏŏ-wā'tĭ,* the *oo* with the *w* representing the aspirate on the *e* in the orignial *'e'tĭ.*

Major Ridge and Oo-wa-tie were brothers, full blood Cherokee of the Deer Clan, born in Hiwassee Town in the Cherokee Nation East, sons of Oganstota. Ridge married Susie Wickett, a half blood English-Cherokee. He was a major of the Cherokee troops allied with the United States armed forces in the Creek War of 1813-14. He and his son, John Ridge, signed the Cherokee Treaty of New Echota in 1835, and in the political feud that followed, both were

assassinated about the same hour on June 22, 1839, in different parts of the country, Cherokee Nation West.

Oo-wa-ti married Susannah Reese, a half blood Welsh-Cherokee. Both became members of the Moravian Church at Springplace, Georgia, about 1811, at which time he was christianed "Christian David Watie" and his wife, "Susanna Charity Watie," the *oo* of his Cherokee name having been dropped to form the surname then written *Watie.* Their children kept the surname Watie, with the exception of their second son, Galagina (Cherokee for "The Buck"), known as "Buck" Watie until he adopted the name of Elias Boudinot, his benefactor at Cornwall Mission School in Connecticut. The children and their descendants of Elias Boudinot of the Cherokee Nation have kept the surname Boudinot.

Stand Watie's Cherokee name was *Degataga,* meaning "standing together," the origin of his given name "Stand." He was born near Rome, Georgia, in 1806, and was also a signer of the New Echota Treaty of 1835. He escaped assassination at the time that his brother, Elias Boudinot, and his uncle and cousin were killed during the political feud of 1839. He became noted as the leader of the Confederate Cherokees during the War between the States. In 1861, he organized the Cherokee Mounted Rifle Regiment, in which he served as colonel, Confederate States Army, and was commissioned brigadier general in 1864, the only Indian who attained this rank in the Confederate Army. He and his wife, Sarah Caroline Bell Watie, have no living descendants, their five children having died without issue. He died on September 9, 1871. A handsome stone marker can be seen at General Stand Watie's grave in Polson Cemetery, west of the Oklahoma line in Delaware County, two miles northwest of Southwest City, Missouri, erected to honor his memory, by the Oklahoma Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

—The Editor

The Collection of Relics and Artifacts from Ferdinandina, Oklahoma's First White Settlement

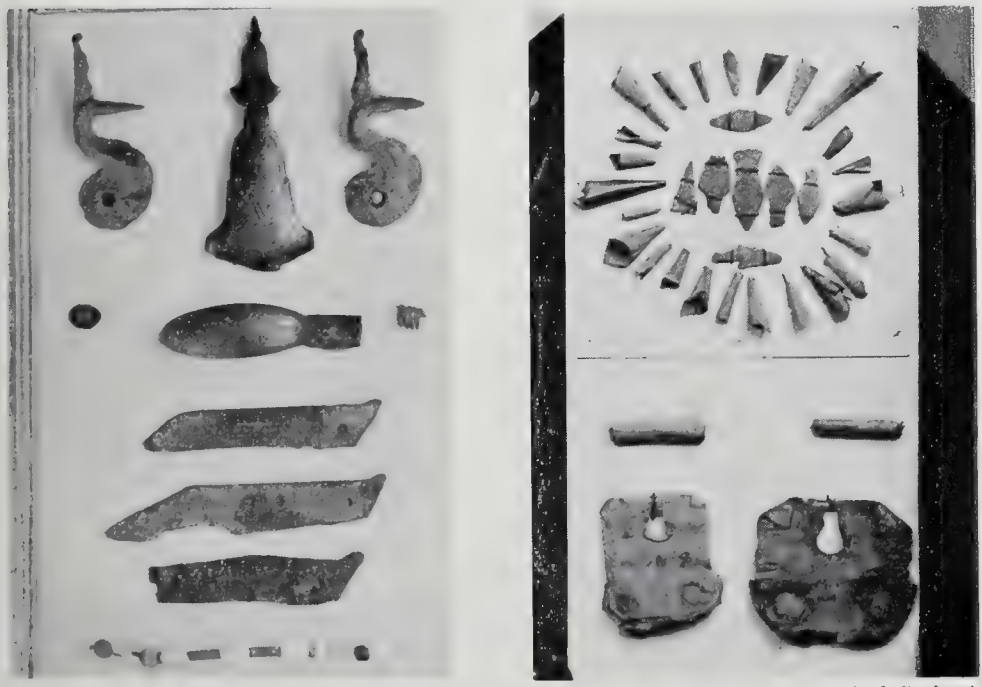
The fine collection of relics and artifacts, approximately 5,000 pieces of iron, brass, copper, lead, flint, stone, bone, glass, and potsherd, from the site of the French trading post referred to as *Ferdinandina* by historians and archaeologists, was recently given over to the Oklahoma Historical Society where it will be placed on exhibit in the Museum. The history of French trade in the Arkansas Valley points to the establishment and the naming of Ferdinandina in the 1740's but all notice of this post as an industrial center planted among the Caddoan tribes was lost, in what is now Oklahoma during a period of over 150 years. It was of such importance, however, in early foreign trade, that maps printed in England and Scotland long before the War between

the States, showed the location of this post as "Fernandina" on the west side of the Arkansas River just south of the Kansas line, in what is now Kay County, Oklahoma. The name "Fernandina" is given at this location on a rare map published in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1873, now in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Ferdinandina Collection may be divided into two parts for descriptive purposes: (1) objects of the French trade such as different parts of flint-lock guns, flints, lead bullets, gun trim, wood working implements (adzes, axes, knifes,) porcelain beads, scissors, copper bells and dress-trimmings, besides copper and brass mountings and locks for leather bags and pouches used in shipping goods for the Indian trade; (2) objects and artifacts of Indian manufacture such as weapons, implements and utensils of flint, stone or bone, besides potsherd (of clay mixed with mussel shell), some of the larger pieces showing incised designs and colors through the slip process employed by early Caddoan tribes. Many pieces of clay pipes and one perfect pipe bowl, all of the double cone type, prove that a Caddoan tribe lived in the Indian village where Ferdinandina was located. This fine collection was found through a period of fifty years by the late Mr. Bert Moore, of Winfield, Kansas, on an ancient Indian village site on the south side and at the mouth of Deer Creek, just west of the Arkansas River, about 5 miles northeast (Sec. 15, T. 28 N. R. 3 E.) of present Newkirk in Kay County Oklahoma. Most of the flint stone scrapers, used by the Indians in dressing buffalo hides, were found on the old site of a second village, now referred to as the "Buffalo Cliff Village," about a mile and a half north of the Deer Creek location (Sec's. 1 & 2, T. 28 N., R. 3 E.) The first discovery by Mr. Moore at the Deer Creek site was found about the time of the opening of the Cherokee Outlet in 1893, a small stone, owl effigy, one of the interesting and perfect objects of Indian origin in the Ferdinandina Collection. It was through the kind interest of Mrs. Bert Moore that the collection has been brought to the Oklahoma Historical Society since her husband's death.

It was not until 1926 that the location of the French trading post of Ferdinandina, unknown in Oklahoma history up to that time, was announced through the work of the Marland Archaeological Expedition, directed by the late Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn and financed by the late Governor E. W. Marland of Ponca City. During the summer's excavations at the Indian village site on Deer Creek, press reports on the work there carried the story on the location of Ferdinandina at this place, released to the papers by Dr. Thoburn. He knew Mr. Bert Moore who came down from Kansas to visit the work at Deer Creek and told of the many pieces that he had found on this site. By pre-arrangement with Mr. Marland, all artifacts and objects discovered by the Marland Expedition were divided: some given over to the Oklahoma Historical Society, some to Chilocco Indian school where the exhibit is still

Upper left: small stone idol, owl effigy found in 1893, center earth-house mound, Deer Creek Indian village site; upper right, pipe bowls (Caddoan double-cone, clay type above, and Wichita red pipe stone lower corner, left), flint spear and bird points from Deer Creek Indian village site.



(Photos of Moore Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society)

Lower left: Relics from trading post area at Deer Creek site, French flint-lock gun triggers and gun-plate, knife blades, and porcelain beads; lower right, brass and copper trim for fringe, metal arrow points, copper tubes, brass mounting for locks with key hole.

seen in the Chilocco Museum, and a part to the Ponca City Library. Deer Creek in Kay County was partly on Chilocco school lands where the Indian students used to go fishing in the 1880's. One of them, an old man now, reported recently that he and other Indian boys often walked over the old Indian village site where many mounds or ruins of Indian earth covered houses could still be seen but no one knew of their origin or history. The Oklahoma Historical Society's collection from the site of Ferdinandina is now the finest in this country.

The Indian village on Deer Creek on the west side of the Arkansas is generally accepted by historians as that first reported by the French explorer, Claud Charles du Tisne, on his expedition southwest in 1719, from the mouth of the Osage River in present Missouri traveling 120 leagues[1] and crossing the Arkansas into Northern Oklahoma. He arrived at a large village of the *Pani,* the name applied by the French to the Wichita (*Pani Pique*) and sometimes to related Caddoan tribes of the Arkansas River region. Du Rivage said that the Pani Village was on the bank of a creek on a hill surrounded by elevated prairies, and that there was another village a short distance away. This description fits exactly the site of the Deer Creek village site, northeast of Newkirk in Kay County, today. Du Rivage found the Pani villagers owners of many horses which they valued highly. He assured the people of his friendly visit, traded with them for two horses and a mule marked with a Spanish brand, and set up a white flag[2] between the two villages here on September 27, 1719, thus laying claims to the country for the King of France.

There was much activity by French traders up the Arkansas and the Canadian rivers, out of Arkansas Post (near the mouth of the river just west of the Mississippi) in the 1740's, among the more prominent being the Mallet brothers, especially Pierre Mallet who made several trips into the Oklahoma region during this period. Some of these traders must have planted the trading post at the Indian village on Deer Creek where the remains of a circular moat or ditch with an embankment above can still be clearly seen. This embankment is now very low having weathered through two centuries but upon this height once stood a tall stockade and within such a barricade the traders erected log cabins and a blockhouse from which one could look out here over the many Indian, earth house dwellings that can now be seen as countless low mounds over the village site. The French traders remained in this location, at least long enough

[1] Du Tisne's 120 leagues would be a distance of 360 miles according to the English translation today. However, the distance may well have been longer, the league as a measure of distance having varied for different times and countries. In English-speaking countries it is estimated at three miles (*land league,* 4.83 km., and *marine league,* 5.56 km. or 3.49 mi.).

[2] The royal French flag that was generally used by early French explorers in laying claims to lands in North America showed either a white field or a blue field sprinkled with many golden fleur-de-lys.

for the place to become well known as an industrial center in the fur trade, with its name carried on foreign maps long after it disappeared in history of the Arkansas River region. The name is probably more correctly spelled *Ferdinandina* (sometimes found *Ferdinandino*), possibly having been given in honor of the French Bourbon King Ferdinand, who ascended the throne of Spain in 1746. In 1748 the Comanche and Wichita formed a friendly alliance through the French interests clearing the way for the Indian trade in the West. These dates are calculated to have approximated the time that Ferdinandina became well known as a trading center in Oklahoma, along the Arkansas.

—The Editor

American Indian Life Portrayed in *American Heritage*

The October, 1956, number of *American Heritage* (Vol. VII, No. 6) has a special place in the field of Oklahoma history, in presenting the beautifully illustrated article, "Myths that Hide the American Indian," by Oliver La Farge. The author reviews broadly the development of the American Indian at the time of his discovery, pointing out the variations in culture of the many tribes on this continent. A splendid map shows in colored shadings superimposed upon the outlines of the United States and Southern Canada eight general cultural areas of Indian life in 1650. Mr. La Farge centers his discussion around the three areas that achieved the highest development—Southeast, Southwest and Northwest Coast. The Southeast area included the ancestors of the Five Civilized Tribes that are well known in the history of Oklahoma where they have had an important place since their removal from their ancient homelands east of the Mississippi. The very interesting discussion in this article is heightened by the many illustrations of Indian art and life, most of them either in color photography or reproductions in color of paintings of the American Indian scene by famous artists. There is a lovely color print of a skin painting that hangs on the Museum wall of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the original of which is done in vegetable dye on soft doeskin painted by Naiche, son of the famous Chief Cochise, in turn himself a chief of the Apache "Prisoners of War" and associate of Geronimo for many years at Fort Sill. There is also a superb color reproduction of Miller's dramatic painting "Snake and Sioux Indians on the War Path" that hangs in the Gilcrease Museum at Tulsa.

The American Heritage Reader, is just off the press (Dell Publishing Co., New York), a paperback anthology (50¢) containing twenty articles by the best-selling authors and historians that have appeared in *American Heritage,* with eight pages of full-color illustrations to help evoke and make real America's rich and exciting past. This is a book for the whole family to enjoy. It should be in every library.

—M.H.W.

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NECROLOGY

ROBERT BRITTON BUFORD

1879 — 1956

Dr. Robert Britton Buford, prominent pioneer editor and civic leader of McIntosh county, died at his home in Eufaula, Oklahoma, July 13, 1956, at the age of seventy-seven years. Funeral services were held at the First Baptist church in Eufaula, with the Reverend Marvin Gennings, pastor of the church, officiating.

The Buford family with a lineage tracable to the feudal days of France and England came to this country in 1635, settling in Virginia. One branch of the family migrated to Tennessee, then to Louisiana and finally into East Texas in 1835, where Dr. Buford's father, John Christopher Buford, was born. As a young man, the father engaged in farming on his own account in Texas, and he was active in that connection until his death. He was but eighteen years of age when he enlisted in the Texas infantry under his father Captain W. R. Buford, for service in the Civil War, and participated in many of important battles of that conflict, serving the entire four years. In 1867 in Sulphur Springs, Texas, John Christopher Buford married Miss Elizabeth Askew a native of Georgia. Robert Britton Buford was born in Sulphur Springs, Texas, April 23, 1879. the sixth of a family of ten children.

His early education was received in Sulphur Springs, Texas. Later he enrolled as a dental student at the University of Tennessee at Nashville. Young Dr. Buford came to Eufaula as a practicing dentist in 1899. He returned to Dental school and received his D. D. S. degree in 1905, returning to Eufalua to continue his practice.

On April 16, 1906 he was married to Miss Marcella Fossick of Sheffield, Alabama, daughter of Thomas Lancelot and Mary Ellis (O'Reilly) Fossick, the former a native of England and the latter of Mississippi. Mr. Fossick operated a stone quarry during the greater part of his life.

In 1909 Dr. Buford gave up his dental profession and became editor and owner of the *Indian Journal*, a stock publishing company, which was owned by the merchants of the town. Dr. Buford purchased all of the newspaper stock in a short time. He continued his activity on the Eufaula paper until 1944 when he retired from the business.

The Indian Journal, the oldest Oklahoma newspaper with continuous publication, recently celebrated its 80th birthday, May 31, 1956. Dr. R. B. Buford was publisher for the longest period. One of the highlights of his newspaper career was his successful fight over a long period of years in making Eufaula a better city and a more prosperous community. He achieved this mainly by constantly boosting civic activities in both his news and editorial columns. Keenly interested in politics and active in religious and civic organizations, Dr. Buford served his community well.

In the early 1900's before statehood, he was a member of the Eufaula baseball team for several years. He served as mayor for six terms. His first term was in 1907 prior to statehood. The subsequent terms covered a period from that time to 1935. During his tenure as mayor the city's waterworks and sewer systems were built. The city streets were paved with concrete. The original white way system was built and the first motorized fire-fighting equipment was purchased.

ROBERT BRITTON BUFORD

In 1910 he was appointed County Treasurer of McIntosh county to fill an unexpired term. He was chairman of the McIntosh County Exemption board in World War I, now referred to as the Draft Board. In 1934, he was named county administrator of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and in 1935 he was named a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, which nominated President Roosevelt for a second term.

Dr. Buford recently resigned as chairman of the County Excise Board in Eufaula after serving the past twelve years and he was a director of the State National bank of Eufaula at the time of his death. He was a fifty-year member of the Eufaula Masonic lodge, and a charter member of the Lion's club of Eufaula which was organized in 1919. He was also a member of the First Baptist church and served as deacon for many years. On April 16 of this year, he and his wife celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary.

Besides his wife, Marcella, he is survived by two sons; John Buford, Checotah, publisher, Robert B. Buford Jr., Eufaula; a daughter, Margaret Buford, Eufaula; a brother, M. Z. Buford, Terrell, Texas; a sister, Mrs. J. C. McDonald, Sulphur Springs, Texas; and two granddaughters, Lynn and Margaret Ann Buford, Checotah.
Eufaula, Oklahoma

—E. C. Hopper

Eufaula, Oklahoma

CARRIE HOWELL ABERNATHY

1878 — 1956

Mrs. Carrie Howell Abernathy, widow of the late Judge George Carl Abernathy, of Shawnee, died in a Shawnee hospital, June 19, 1956 after an illness of several months.

In the death of Mrs. Abernathy Shawnee lost one of its most beloved and cherished women, who for more than fifty years had given freely of her time and talents for the promotion and upbuilding of the best interests of the city, and community. Her passing leaves an irreplacable vacancy in the religious, and social life of the community. The imprint of her character has left a splendid influence that will be felt by future generations.

Mrs. Abernathy was born October 21, 1878, at Austin, near Lonoke, Arkansas, the eldest daughter of Julius Franklin Howell,[1] and his wife Ida Hinton Howell. Her parents had moved from Suffolk, Virginia, to Austin where he was superintendent of schools. Later he served as superintendent of schools at Morrilton, and at Arkadelphia, Arkansas. In 1885 he became Professor of History at the Arkansas Industrial University at Fayetteville, (later known as the University of Arkansas), and moved his family there.

As there were no grade schools in Fayetteville at that time, Carrie Howell received her primary education from private school, and tutors, until she entered the Preparatory School of the University. There she grew into womanhood, surrounded by the educational, and cultural life of the institution—nurtured in the fine traditions of Southern womanhood of the Victorian era. She graduated from the University of Arkansas in 1900.

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[1] An interesting item relative to Mrs. Abernathy's father, Julius Franklin Howell, was that he joined the Army of the Confederacy at the age of fifteen. He was wounded in action and captured by Federal troops in the battle of Abbeyville, three days before the surrender at Appomattox Court House. He was the last surviving member of the Army Corps of General Longstreet, and served as Commander of The United Confederate Veterans from 1938-1940 inclusive. He died at his home in Bristol, Virginia, June 10, 1948, being 102 years old.

During the school year of 1900-1901 she taught elocution at the Baptist College at Mountain Home, Arkansas. Later she took a course in the Columbia School of Oratotory, in Chicago, and accepted a position as instructor in Expression, and Eolution at the Southwest Virginia Institute, at Bristol Virginia, (Known as the Virginia Intermont College) where her father had been named President, and the family had moved.

It was while her father was connected with the Univesity of Arkansas that she met George Carl Abernathy, who graduated from that school with her class, in 1900. Young Abernathy was a frequent visitor at the Howell home, and their acquaintance ripened into on engagement, and a mutual devotion that lasted throughout their lives. But it was not until Abernathy had received his L. L. B. Degree from the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, that they were married, on October 1, 1903, at the home of her parents in Bristol, Virginia. He was practicing law at Warren, Arkansas at that time.

The couple moved to Shawnee Oklahoma July 2, 1904 to make their home, and since that time have been identified with the cultural, social and religious interests of the city. Their home held the very essence of hospitality, and friendship. Judge Abernathy died May 18, 1954, and until her death she maintained the family home. All the years were busy ones for Mrs. Abernathy —Besides raising her family of four children she took active part in the work of the First Presbyterian chuhch for over fifty years: She had been the longest continuing member of the Hawthorne study club, dating membership since 1907: She was a charter member of BB chapter of the PEO sisterhood: She was a Daughter of the American Revolution tracing her membership through her mother's ancestor Hillery Willey. In her youth Mrs. Abernathy was an accomplished musician, and was widely known for her dramatic readings and book reviews.

Survivors include Mrs. Abernathy's four children: Kenneth Abernathy, an Attorney, of Shawnee: Dr. Ruth Abernathy, Professor of Health and Physical Welfare of the University of Calif. Jack H. Abernathy Vice-President of the Big Chief Drilling Co. Oklahoma City, and George C. Abernathy Jr. Attorney, Boston, Mass.

Also surviving are her two brothers: Edward Howell, of Oklahoma City, and Barnes Howell, San Antonio, Texas. Two sisters: Mrs. Tom C. Smith, Bristol, Virginia, and Mrs. Will Bowen, LaCrosse, Virginia.

Services for Mrs. Abernathy were held at the First Presbyterian Church in Shawnee with Rev. La Verne Ross conducting.

—Florence Drake

Shawnee, Oklahoma

WELCOME CECIL MOORE
1884 — 1956

Welcome Cecil Moore, better known as Cecil Moore, well known citizen, lawyer and public servant, former resident of Muskogee, Tulsa and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, departed this life at St. Anthony's Hospital at Oklahoma City on May 16, 1956 at the age of seventy-one years. Funeral services were conducted by Reverend Don Schooler in St. Paul Methodist Church at Muskogee, and interment was in Green Hill Cemetery at Muskogee.

His ancestors, Scotch, Irish and Welch, were early settlers in colonial days in what is now Marlboro County, South Carolina, and active patriots against the royalists in the American Revolution. After the battle of Culloden 1746 many of the people of Scotland migrated to America, and others migrated from Europe, to escape from the restraint of conscience, and their indignant souls were stirred to energetic action when civil oppression lifted its ugly head in the home of their adoption.

CARRIE HOWELL ABERNATHY

Thomas John, Jesse John and Azel John, brothers, were soldiers in Colonel Lemuel Benton's Regiment supporting General Francis Marion in the Revolution and war along the Pee Dee section in South Carolina. Thomas John[1] married Elizabeth Pouncey and their son, Daniel John (1796-1876) married Mary Spears, and their daughter, Mary John (1828-1801) married John Cottingham Woodley (1828-1891) and Mary Ann Woodley, their daughter, married Welcome Andrew Moore, and their son was Welcome Cecil Moore.

Benjamin Moore (1769-1846) son of James and Drusilla Moore, married Frances or Fanny Stubbs, daughter of William Stubbs (1757-1839), a patriot of the Revolution, and William S. Moore (1808-1863), their son, married Mary Adams (1810-1904), and Welcome Andrew Moore (1849-1911), their son, married Mary Ann Woodley (1851-1887) and their son was Welcome Cecil Moore. The Bureau of Pensions, Washington, D. C. records William Stubbs as having served in the U. S. Navy.

Jonathan Adams, a revolutionary patriot, had a son John Adams (1777-1840) who married Celia Cook (1779-1853) and Mary Adams (1810-1904), their daughter, married William S. Moore (1808-1836), and their son Welcome Andrew Moore (1849-1911) married Mary Ann Woodley (1851-1887) and their son was Welcome Cecil Moore. "Jonathan Adams, the first of the name to place his feet upon Marlboro soil, came from Ireland prior to the Revolutionary War, and was of Scotch-Irish descent. He married Miss Mary Robeson and lived not far from the 'burnt factory' a few miles above Bennettsville. He fought through the Revolutionary War as a Whig, and after the struggle had ended, and when within two days march of home, sickened and died. He left three sons, William, Shockley and John to perpetuate the name, and a daughter Divinity."[2] The story is told that one day Mrs. Jonathan Adams sent her little boy to the mill and he was captured by the Tories who tried to make him tell where his father and folks were but the boy refused to tell so the Tories put a rope around his neck and threatened to hang him, when Mrs. Adams showed up with a shot gun and the Tories fled.

Gully Moore and Jeremiah Moore were soldiers in Benton's Regiment in the Revolution. They were brothrs of James Moore, the great great-grandfather of Cecil Moore. James Moore is listd as the first Sheriff of Marlboro County, South Carolina in 1786, and Gully Moore, a man of wealth, signed his bond.[3]

Cecil Moore's father and mother were both college educated, cultured people, trained in the fine customs and manners of the Old South. They knew the glory of the aristocratic South before the War and they saw that glory pass with the coming of the War. His father was only fifteen years old when the Civil War closed, but he was busy carrying provisions to his older brother, Benjamin F. Moore, then with Sparks' Cavalry at Charlston, South Carolina. His father lost two brothers in that strife. Sherman's army camped on his grandfather's plantation and the soldiers ate everything on the place that was eatable and shot and killed all the livestock and cattle and hogs, leaving the dead carcasses lying in the barnyard for the home folks to bury. Cecil heard the story from his parents and grandparents about the useless and senseless destruction of property by the Union Army, about "carpet bag" rule, and he was always a bitter partisan in favor of his beloved southland and her people.

Welcome Cecil Moore was born at Bennettsville, Marlboro County, South Carolina, October 29, 1884. When he was three years old, his mother having died, his father moved to a plantation near town and on that farm Cecil grew up. He was educated at a country school, Pine Grove, at McColl, in Marlboro

[1] Gregg's *History of the Old Cheraws*, p. 409.
[2] Thomas's *History of Marlboro County, S. C.*
[3] Gregg, *op. cit.*

County, and at sixteen years of age he went to Charlotte, North Carolina, where he took a course in business administration and telegraphy. The next year he was employed by the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company as telegraph operator and depot agent at Maxton, North Carolina, and later at Dunn and Wilmington. In 1903, he followed his brothers west, first stopping in Kansas City Missouri, where he was employed by Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway Company as telegraph operator, being next up for train dispatcher when he quit, to accept a position with the Dawes Commission at Muskogee, Indian Territory, upon the recommendation and endorsement of Senator B. R. Tillman. In 1908, he left the federal service and became Deputy County Treasurer of Muskogee County, Oklahoma, undr Connell Rogers, the County Treasurer. In 1916 he was elected County Treasurer of Muskogee County, and was re-elected to a second term. Leaving the office of County Treasurer, he was elected to two terms as County Commissioner of Muskogee County, and later was City Manager of the City of Muskogee, Oklahoma. Later, for three years he was Conservation Officer with the State Corporation Commission.

A student of law in his brothers office, he was admitted to the Bar of Oklahoma in 1927, and after practicing law for a few years in 1933 he was appointed Deputy Revenue Collector at Muskogee. In short time he was promoted to the office of Deputy Revenue Agent, Bureau of Internal Revenue, in the estate and gift tax work, which position he held for about twenty years and until he retired on January 1, 1955 to become Assistant State Treasurer of the State of Oklahoma, under John D. Conner, the efficient and popular State Treasurer, which position he held until his death.

He made a fine record as a public official and had many friends. As County Treasurer, his office was considered one of the best kept offices in the state. As Deputy Revenue Agent, he handled many complicated and difficult cases for the Government with intelligence, efficeincy and fair dealing. His duties called for the attention of one versed in the law and accounting. The Treasury Department of the United States conferred upon him the Gallatin award for his long, faithful and meritorious service.

The writer knew him personally and in the conduct of his official duties and feels that no person ever held office in Oklahoma who performed the duties of the office with an eye to the public good more zealously than he did. Similar expressions from many of his friends have been heard since his untimely departure.

He was a member of the Democratic party, Modern Woodmen of America, Yoemen of America, Oklahoma Bar Association, and the St. Luke's Methodist Church of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. For a time he was a member and officer of St. Paul Methodist Church at Muskogee, Oklahoma.

His family surviving him are his widow, Bessie Bob Moore; sisters, Mary Celia Sauls, Bennie Leal Cope, Mozelle Smoak; and brothers, William Belton Moore, Lauriston Hill Moore and James Gibson Moore. On the 6th day of December, 1916, at Marshall, Missouri, he married Bessie Bob Taylor, of a prominent and artistocratic family of Missouri. Their only child died in infancy.

Welcome Cecil Moore passed from this world on the 16th day of May, 1956. Tender and loving hands bore him to his last resting place beneath a great blanket of flowers offered by his many friends as a token of their esteem. He was a good man, of a good family, an efficient public servant, and he gave to his generation the best in him. Like the words of Socrates in the play, "Surely, surely, to a good man there can come no evil in life or in death."

—Fred P. Branson

Muskogee, Oklahoma

WELCOME CECIL MOORE

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING JULY 26, 1956

Members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met in the Board's room at 10:00 a. m. on Thursday, July 26, 1956. The meeting was called to order by President General W. S. Key.

Board members present were: Judge George L. Bowman, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Joe Curtis, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Dr. Wayne Johnson, Gen. W. S. Key, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, R. G. Miller, Mrs. Willis C. Reed, Miss Genevieve Seger, Col. George H. Shirk, and Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

It was moved by Judge Cole and seconded by Judge Hefner that all members of the Board who had so requested be excused. The motion was carried, thus excusing Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Mrs. Jessie Moore, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mr. H. B. Bass, and Mr. H. Milt Phillips.

Dr. Harbour moved that the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting be omitted. Upon the second of Judge Bowman, the motion was adopted.

General Key called attention to the fact that the Thoburn Memorial had been completed and that dedication ceremonies were to take place in the Rose Hill Cemetery that afternoon at 2:00 p. m. He expressed the hope that the Board members would be present for the services. That Judge Vaught and the members of the Thoburn Memorial Committee again be thanked for the fine work they had done was made in the form of a motion by Mr. Harrison and seconded by Miss Seger, with the Board unanimously approving.

In making his final report on the Thoburn Memorial, Judge Vaught pointed out that $2,452.50 had been collected for the fund and that this was somewhat short of the total cost for the memorial and the portrait. Judge Hefner, Mr. Curtis, Judge Cole, General Key, Mr. Harrison, Mrs. Reed and Mrs. Korn thereupon offered further contributions to the fund. The money they contributed left the fund only $22.50 short. Judge Vaught moved that the Secretary be authorized to issue a check for $2,125.00 to the Oklahoma Monument Company as full payment for the monument, with the Society making up the $22.50. The motion was seconded by Judge Hefner and unanimously accepted by the Board. In his final remarks concerning the memorial, Judge Vaught said, "This is the nicest job of its kind that I have ever seen."

Turning to the dedicatory program of the Thoburn Monument, Judge Vaught said that General Key would preside at the afternoon's program and that Mrs. Anna B. Korn would unveil the monument. Floral tributes, he stated, would be presented by the State of Oklahoma, represented by Mrs. Sue Ruble; the Oklahoma State Legislature, represented by Cleeta John Rogers; the Daughters of the American Revolution, Mrs. Harry Stallings; the Oklahoma Memorial Association, Mrs. P. B. Vandament; School Children of the State, Carolyn Looney; Daughters of Democracy, Mrs. Willard Carver; the American Legion, Dr. Charles W. Hoshall; United Daughters of the Confederacy, Mrs. C. E. Cook; Oklahoma Press Association,

Mr. Ray J. Dyer; Grand Army of the Republic, Mrs. Joe Williamson; and the Oklahoma Historical Society, represented by Mrs. Edith Mitchell.

Judge Hefner moved that the Secretary write a letter of thanks to all those who made floral offerings at the time of the ceremonies and this was seconded by Judge Bowman and carried.

General Key then said, "When the public has forgotten a man, it is a great accomplishment to collect a sum of money like that now available in the Thoburn Memorial Fund. I want to thank Judge Vaught, and his committee from the bottom of my heart, both personally and officially, for carrying this task through to successful completion." In addition to Judge Vaught, the members of the Thoburn Memorial Committee were Mrs. Korn and Judge Baxter Taylor.

The Administrative Secretary, Elmer Fraker, read the following telegram from Miss Mary E. Thoburn, daughter of Joseph B. Thoburn, who now lives in Santa Fe, New Mexico:

"Nothing his friends could have done would have pleased J. B. more than your memorial. From his first sight of it Oklahoma, the land and the people, were his entire life. Appreciate your invitation, but due to physical and financial circumstances regret inability to attend."

Inasmuch as there was no report or action that could be taken on the Jack Walton monument, General Key thanked the Walton Committee for its fine work and announced that no further work would be required of it.

In his report, the Administrative Secretary stated there were now 890 life members in the Society and 1,723 annual members, making a total of 2,613. He pointed out that the great increase in life membership had come about largely due to letters sent out to annual members telling them that life membership costs would soon be doubled.

Mr. Fraker observed that the grounds were being better kept than in any previous time within his knowledge. He also complimented the janitors working in the Historical Society Building for the more efficient work they are doing.

He related that the Budget Office had called for the Society's requests for capital improvements, and that after consulting with the President of the Board and the chairman of the House and Grounds Committee, a tentative budget for such improvements had been filed. The total capital improvement requests, as thus listed, amounted to $61,000.00. He said it was also being requested that $10,000.00 be appropriated to the State Highway Department for use in erecting historical markers in conjunction with the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Administrative Secretary then submitted his list of remommendations for the budget for the next biennium. This included the $61,000.00 previously mentioned for capital improvements; $27,110.00 for operating expenses; $46,247.00 for personnel services; and $20,000.00 for air conditioning of the offices, library, and museum rooms. Judge Vaught made a motion, which was seconded by Mrs. Korn, that the Legislative Committee of the Board be instructed to secure air conditioning for the entire Historical Society Building, if at all possible. The motion was adopted.

It was then moved by Colonel Shirk and seconded by Judge Vaught that the Secretary's general proposals be accepted. Dr. Johnson offered an amendment to the motion that the personnel items be excepted so further raises might be considered. Judge Vaught stated that the purpose of Colonel Shirk's motion was merely to form a backing for the Legislative Committee. Dr. Johnson then withdrew his amendment, with the understanding that the

recommendations were all subject to modification by the Legislative Committee of the Board. Colonel Shirk's original motion was adopted by the Board.

Colonel Shirk then recommended that the Secretary's request for the purchase of a tape recorder and camera be approved. Upon a motion by Dr. Harbour and a second by Judge Hefner, the Secretary's suggestion was placed in the form of a motion and approved.

It was moved by Mr. Harrison and seconded by Mrs. Reed that the printing of the completed cumulative index for the Chronicles be authorized. The motion was unanimously adopted.

Colonel Shirk moved and Miss Seger seconded that the Board go on record as thanking Mr. Miller and his Tour Committee for conducting such an interesting and successful tour. This motion was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Miller briefly outlined his ideas of the Tour for 1957. He said that he thought this tour should be in the eastern part of the state and that the Sequoyah Park Lodge could be used as a central point from which the tour might be conducted. He also stated that attention should be given to retracing a portion of the old Butterfield Route. General Key expressed approval of the ideas advanced by Mr. Miller. Judge Vaught moved and Mrs. Korn seconded that Mr. Miller be authorized to proceed with making arrangements and plans for the 1957 Tour. This motion was unanimously approved.

General Key stated that Governor Gary had named him to represent Oklahoma at the Historic Sites Commission meeting in Montpelier, Vermont on September 27 and 28, with Mr. Fraker being designated as alternate. He said that inasmuch as he would be unable to make the trip, he was recommending that the Secretary be authorized to attend this meeting with expenses be paid by the Society. It was moved by Judge Bowman and seconded by Judge Vaught that Mr. Fraker be granted his expenses by the Society to attend the meeting in Vermont.

The announcement was also made by General Key that plans were under way for erecting a marker at the Commandant's quarters in Fort Sill. He said this house was erected in 1870-71 and was still used by commanding officers as their residence. General T. H. De Shazo, now Commandant of Fort Sill, had agreed with General Key on plans for erecting the memorial. The military at Fort Sill will furnish the marker from their own quarries and the Historical Society will see that the inscription is placed on the marker. General Key said that a dedication ceremony is contemplated for sometime during the Fall months.

Mr. Miller suggested that during Oklahoma's fiftieth anniversary various civic clubs be invited to devote at least one of their meetings to viewing the exhibits of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Secretary presented a list of the gifts to the Society and the names of new members. Upon proper motion, the gifts were accepted and the new members' names ordered placed on the membership rolls.

Before adjourning General Key requested that the entire Board rise and stand in silent prayer as a tribute for Mrs. Jessie Moore and Judge Baxter Taylor, members of the Board of Directors who were ill and could not attend the meeting.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:00 noon and retired to the Indian Grill for lunch. Following the luncheon the Board members attended the ceremonies for the Thoburn Memorial at Rose Hill Cemetery in Oklahoma City.

W. S. KEY, President

ELMER L. FRAKER, Secretary

Elmer L. Fraker
Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED

LIBRARY:

Additions to Foreman Collection in Library: Approximately 320 items including many valuable books, documents, magazines, historical papers maps, and newspapers.
Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee

Miscellaneous material including club programs, pamphlets, and music; 317 books.
Donor: Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Oklahoma City

Pictorial brochures, maps, and documents; post cards; History of Colorado Springs; Story of Old Creek Council House at Okmulgee. Total of 104 historic items.
Donor: Mr. John B. Fink, Oklahoma City

Collection of postage stamps in journal scrap book made by Mr. Blair Staunton Williams.
Donor: Mrs. B. P. Chamberlain, Charlottesville, Virginia, daughter of Mr. Williams

Eight scrap books of Oklahoma history, with complete information as to dates and locations of various events.
Donor: Mr. Floyd R. Bull, Oklahoma City

Folder containing 3 large maps which had been used by Junius B. Moore in geological survey of 1898.
Donor: Mrs. Cherrie Adair Moore, Tyler, Texas

Early Oklahoma Legislative documents; railroad map of Oklahoma made in 1917 by Corporation Commission; newspapers and historic clippings; miscellaneous reference items.
Donor: Mr. Stuart A. Rice, Oklahoma City

Family history of Rev. Richard Baxter Foster entitled, "Lifelines," written by his daughter, Mrs. Grace Foster Brown, and wife, Lucy. Included in the manuscript is the story of his move into Oklahoma during the Cherokee Strip opening and his organization of the First Congregational Church at Stillwater.
Donor: Mrs. R. W. McGeorge, Stillwater

"Kansas-Missouri Floods of June-July, 1951." U. S. Dept. of Commerce.
Donor: Col. George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

Pictorial History of St. Louis prepared by First National Bank of St. Louis on the occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the founding of its predecessors, The Southern Bank and Mechanics Bank.
Donor: First National Bank of St. Louis, Missouri

Words of Wisdom, Volume 3, compiled by J. G. Puterbaugh.
Donor: Mr. J. G. Puterbaugh, McAlester

Necedah, The Story of First Fifty Years (1853-1903) of the Village, Juneau County, Wisconsin, by Arthur Murray Kingsbury.
Donor: Mr. Ralph Hudson, State Librarian

Large historical map showing territory served by Philadelphia Electric Co., 1950.
Donor: Philadelphia Electric Company, Philadelphia

MUSEUM:

Collection of toys consisting of 58 articles.
Donor: Myrtle Lucille Brown, Oklahoma City

Miniature covered wagon, presented when Historical Society Tour of Chisholm Trail stopped at Kingfisher.
Donor: Kingfisher Chamber of Commerce

Knife used to cut the 1000 pound cake given by The Daily Oklahoman to the Oklahoma Memorial Association on occasion of the 21st birthday of the State of Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. John J. Volz, Oklahoma City

Collection of 21 pieces of antqiue blue glass, formerly the property of Mrs. Kenneth C. Kaufman.
Donor: Mrs. Ralph Hudson, Oklahoma City, daughter of Mrs Kaufman

Seven pieces of Chinese money.
Donor: R. F. Remmers, Oklahoma City

Saddle bags used by Dr. Pocock in War Between the States.
Donor: Dr. C. A. Palme, Oklahoma City

French coin, 50 francs.
Donor: Bert Tyler, Wynnewood

Nightgown and shawl used prior to 1850.
Donor: Miss Katherine Long, Stillwater

Piece of wood picked up at Belleau Woods after World War I; stone from old Dwight Mission in Arkansas; piece of salt kettle from Bean Salt works; souvenir buttons, souvenir feathers with Gen. Leonard wood's name on them.
Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee

Oil portrait of Dr. Lewis J. Moorman.
Donor: Mrs. Lewis J. Moorman, Oklahoma City

Oil photographs of Coleta Lou McAllister and John Thornton, outstanding 4H girl and boy for 1955.
Donor: Ira Hollar, A. & M. College, Stillwater

Large framed water color of original building at Northwestern State College, Alva; program of dedication of building.
Donor: T. J. Mercer, Denver

Large framed photograph of Dr. Fowler Border.
Donor: Capt. George F. Border, San Pedro, California

Picture of Good Roads Convention in Muskogee just after statehood.
Donor: Cherrie A. Moore, Tyler, Texas

Two post cards, pictures of projectile points.
Donor: H. L. Shorter, Welch, Oklahoma

Five lithographs.
Donor: John O. Thompson, Oklahoma City

Photograph of Gen. George Crook; picture of oil town and oil field; Album of pictures of early Indian Territory; album of pictures of Fort Gibson and Colorado.
Donor :Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee

ARCHIVES:

Addition of nine cartons to Grant Foreman Collection in Archives: letters to and from Dr. Foreman; newspaper articles concerning activities of Dr. and Mrs. Foreman; clippings about historical events and prominent persons in state; etc.
Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee

Reprint of "Federal Indian Policy and the Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes, 1887-1907," by Dr. Donald Berthrong, appearing in *Ethnohistory*, vol. 3, No. 2.
Donor: Dr. Donald Berthrong, University of Oklahoma History Department, Norman

CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL HALL:

Silk flag with fringe, The Stars and Bars of the Confederacy, which was used as the official flag of the Stonewall Jackson Chapter No. 40, McAlester, for over fifty years.
Donor: Mrs. W. E. Gotcher, McAlester

Brass Trivet, a copy of the Great Seal of the Confederate States of America.
Donor: Mrs. Joel D. Rhodes, Tulsa

Small plate with painting of Confederate Battle Flag, in color.
Donor: Mrs. Frank Milner, Oklahoma City

Picture, ambro type, of Major Jonathan E. Mann and wife, Mary Ann Brosious Mann, and Mrs. T. F. Gorman.
Donor: Mrs. E. R. Lindley, Stanberry, Missouri, grandaughter of Major and Mrs. Mann

Picture of group of Confederate veterans taken at home of Capt. John Wheeler Dickey in Roxton, Texas on June 29, 1926. Occasion was Captain Dickey's annual reception and dinner for veterans of Lamar County.
Donor: G. M. Robinson, Oklahoma City, grandson of J. W. Dickey

Piece of cedar about twelve inches long from General Albert Pike Tree. Additional information has been requested about this exhibit.
Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee

Printed sketch of Margaret Mitchell.
Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee

Post cards: copy of the original score of "Dixie;" chair used by President Jefferson Davis at Montgomery; east door of the old White House of the Confederacy.
Donor: Foreman Collection

UNION MEMORIAL HALL:

Collection of G. A. R. items, including a piece of stone cut from a window sill at Libby Prison by a union soldier imprisoned there.
Donor: Miss Bess G. Clapp, Kansas City, Missouri

LIFE MEMBERS:

Dr. Sam A. McKeel	Ada, Okla.
Dr. O. H. Miller	"
Dr. Clarence P. Taylor, Jr.	"
Mrs. Leo D. Chamberlin	Afton, Okla.
Mrs. Josie E. Hickman	Altus, Okla.
Dr. Wayne Anthony Starkey	"
Dr. Forest D. Harris	Ardmore, Okla.
Dr. H. E. Williams	"
Mr. David P. Farrington	Bartlesville, Okla.
Prof. Fred Floyd	Bethany, Okla.
Mr. W. A. Porter, Jr.	Bixby, Okla.
Dr. Leland Claire Brandt	Cherokee, Okla.
Miss Jeffie D. Young	Chickasha, Okla.
Dr. Wm. S. Anderson	Claremore, Okla.
Mrs. Philip H. Viles	"
Mr. Mathies Wharton	Clayton, Okla.
Mrs. E. O. Martin	Cushing, Okla.
Mr. H. L. Sparks	"
Mr. D. M. Tyler	Dewey, Okla.
Mr. J. G. Clift	Duncan, Okla.
Dr. Alfred T. Baker	Durant, Okla.
Mr. L. J. Gregg	"
Dr. W. K. Haynie	"
Prof. James D. Morrison	"

Mrs. John Allen Phillips II	"
Mr. Rector H. Swearengin	"
Mr. David Earl Webb	"
Mr. Paul Hughes	Elk City, Okla.
Mr. Joe D. Hurt	Edmond, Okla.
Mr. Arthur Gaillard McComas	Elk City, Okla.
Mr. William Dow Gumerson	Enid, Okla.
Mr. Russell H. Harbaugh, Sr.	"
Dr. Frederick A. Hudson	"
Mr. Henry J. Miller	"
Mr. Kay Peters	"
Mr. George M. Sturdevant	"
Miss Genevieve Seger	Geary, Okla.
Mr. Marvin Eugene McKee	Goodwell, Okla.
Miss Anna Redel	Guthrie, Okla.
Mr. Raymond H. Fields	Guymon, Okla.
Mr. Columbus E. Price	Lawton, Okla.
Dr. Finis E. Walker	Lone Wolf, Okla.
Mrs. Leta Sexson (Mrs. W. Mark)	McAlester, Okla.
Mrs. Mary Caroline Bodinot	Muskogee, Okla.
Mrs. Bida R. York	"
Mr. W. O. Wethington	Nash, Okla.
Mrs. J. L. Garretson	Norman, Okla.
Mrs. Alpheus L. Spencer	"
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THE GREAT SEAL OF THE CHICKASAW NATION

The replica of the Great Seal of the Chickasaw Nation appearing in colors on the front cover of this winter issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is a reproduction of the original painting among others of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society.[1] This Chickasaw Seal shows a native warrior of ancient times, standing with two arrows in his right hand, a long bow in his left and a buckskin shield on his left shoulder. This design is significant in the history of the Chickasaws referred to in the records from the beginning of the historic period as a nation of warriors.

The central device in the Great Seal, showing two arrows in the Indian warrior's right hand, represented guard over the two phratries or divisions of Chickasaw tribal society. These divisions were known as the *Koi* and the *Ishpani*, given in English, respectively, as Panther (or Tiger) Phratry (from *koi* in the native language meaning "panther" or "tiger"); and Spanish Phratry (from *ishpani* which some have translated as "Spanish"). The Chickasaws were governed by a hereditary ruler or chieftain, referred to as the "King," from English colonial times, selected from the Ishpani division in tribal society. There was also a tribal war chief who was often more influential and powerful in the councils than the "King." The last Chickasaw "King" was named Ishtehotopa who came west with his people in the Removal, and died in the Indian Territory in 1846. The last "War Chief" was the venerable Chief Tishomingo, who died on the way west and was buried near Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1838, at the age of 102 years. He was looked upon with deep affection and held in high regard by his tribesmen. The capital of the Chickasaw Nation West was named "Tishomingo City" in 1856, honoring him in history as the last war chief of the old tribal regime in power before the Chickasaws purchased a home among the Choctaws, their cousin tribe, in the Indian Territory, and moved from Mississippi to this new country. The figure of the warrior in the Great Seal commemorated the courageous Chickasaw of old times, represented in the person and character of Chief Tishomingo.

The Great Seal of the Chickasaw Nation was provided by law in a constitution adopted by the Chickasaws in 1856, when they had separated from the Choctaws and organized under their own constitution and laws in the region lying west of the Choctaw line to

[1] The upper ray of the central star in the Oklahoma State Seal shows the warrior from the Great Seal of the Chickasaw Nation. For further reference on the history of the Seal, see "Official Seals of the Five Civilized Tribes," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (December, 1940), pp. 361-63.

Home of Governor Cyrus Harris, Chickasaw Nation, near Mill Creek, early 1870's.

Home of Governor Douglas H. Johnston, erected in 1895. This old residence, known as the "White House of the Chickasaw Nation," still stands on its original site at Emet, in Johnston County.

Douglas H. Johnston, last Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, 1902-1939.

Cyrus Harris, first Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, 1857.

Dougherty "Winchester" Colbert, second Governor of Chickasaw Nation, 1866.

Edmond Pickens, Chickasaw leader and Delegate to Washington, 1866.

the 98th Meridian. When the manuscript of the constitution and laws was sent to Louisiana to be printed, it was lost on the way, necessitating the adoption of another draft of the documents. The law providing an official seal and its use is found in the constitution adopted in "Convention at Camp Harris," August 16, 1867, under Article V, Executive Department, Section 10 and 11, respectively, as follows:

"There shall be a seal of this Nation, which shall be kept by the Governor and used by him officially; and shall be called 'The Great Seal of the Chickasaw Nation.'

"All commissions shall be in the name and by the authority of the Chickasaw Nation, and be sealed with the Great Seal, signed by the Governor, and attested by the National Secretary."

The impress of the Great Seal is seen on official papers out of Governor Cyrus Harris' office in 1872, showing the Indian warrior with the arrows in his right hand and a bow in his left, but there is no copy of a law of the Chickasaw Nation available at this writing which describes this design.

The Chickasaw constitution adopted in 1867 remained in effect until Oklahoma became a state in 1907, which closed the government of this Indian nation. The constitution provided a "Bill of Rights," "Rights of Suffrage," three departments of government—legislative, executive and judicial—and special provision for "Public Education." "Article V, Executive Department," Section 1 provided: "The Supreme Executive power of this Nation shall be vested in a Chief Magistrate, who shall be styled 'The Governor of the Chickasaw Nation.'" This was a departure from the constitutions and laws of the other Indian governments in the Indian Territory, in which the chief executives were styled "Principal Chief." The first governor of the Chickasaw Nation, elected under the constitution adopted in 1856 was Cyrus Harris (1856-58), who was followed in office by Dougherty (or "Winchester") Colbert, elected 1862-66 as the second governor. The last Governor of the Chickasaw Nation elected to this office was Douglas H. Johnston who continued in the office until his death (1939), in the settlement of original tribal properties and claims before the United States. The present Chickasaw Governor is Floyd E. Maytubby appointed to this office by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, beginning in 1939. The Oklahoma State Constitution adopted in 1907 provided the organization of present Johnston County, named for the Chickasaw Governor, Douglas H. Johnston, with Tishomingo as the County Seat, where the last Chickasaw capitol building still serves as the County Court House. On this same site, the first brick capitol building of the Chickasaw Nation had been erected in 1858.

This same year four boarding schools were in operation, substantial buildings having been erected by the Nation, and the schools

opened in 1851 and 1852, under the supervision of different Protestant mission boards: Chickasaw Manual Labor School for boys (Methodist) about three miles southeast of Tishomingo City; Wapanucka Institute for girls (Presbyterian), site about five miles northwest of present Wapanucka, Johnston County; Bloomfield Academy for girls (Methodist), site about five miles southwest of Achille, Bryan County; and Colbert Institute for boys and girls (Methodist), located at Perryville, about five miles south of present McAlester, Pittsburg County.

The Chickasaw people have the distinction of bearing the same name as it was given in the narratives of the De Soto Expedition that discovered one of the villages of the tribe in 1540, in what is now Polk County, Tennessee. The name in these narratives is given *Chicaca* or *Chicaza*. The great John Wesley on his visit to Georgia in 1736, gave the name *Chickasaw*, the approved form. The tribe was a part of the Choctaw before its discovery, and the language of the two is the same except for a few dialectal expressions. The Choctaws called this cousin tribe *Chikasha,* an abbrevaiation of the phrase *chikkih aschachi,* signifying "they left as a tribe not a very great while ago," from the old Choctaw expression *chikkih,* "not a very great while ago," and *aschachi,* in the plural sense referring to a group or tribe. In those days, the Chickasaw country included large parts of present Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi. English traders had met the Chickasaws by 1700, and James Adair was living among them in 1744 when he was writing his book describing their life and customs, published as *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775).[2]

The Chickasaw remained allied with the English interests during colonial times to the end of the American Revolution. The great victories in battle against De Soto's forces in 1541, and in the Battle of Actia (present Lee County, Mississippi) against the French and Choctaw allied forces in 1736, justified the later reputation of the Chickasaws as fighting men. The names of traders besides that of James Adair, listed in the records of the British Colonial Office at London in 1766, include Michael Cheadle, James Colbert, Benjamin Sealy, William Kemp, and William James. These men and others—Thomas Love, John McLish, E. Pickens—reported as British loyalists in the period of the American Revolution married among the Chickasaws, and became the progenitors of families well known in the history of the nation in the Indian Territory.

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[2] The following are sources for Chickasaw history: James H. Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation* (Louisville, 1922); Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932) and *Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934); John R. Swanton, "Social and Religious Beliefs and Usages of the Chickasaw Indians," 44*th Annual Report,* Bur. Amer. Ethnol. (Washington, 1928); Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma,* (Norman, 1951).

Governor Douglas H. Johnston (center front row) and members of the last Legislature of the Chickasaw Nation, 1907.

Last Capitol of the Chickasaw Nation, erected of granite stone in 1898, at Tishomingo.

First Chickasaw Capitol at Tishomingo, erected of brick in 1858. (Cupola not visible in this print from old photograph in the Oklahoma Historical Society Museum.)

The last of the Chickasaw country in Mississippi and Alabama was ceded to the United States to be sold in public sale, the proceeds to be credited as a trust fund for the Nation under the supervision of the Federal Government, by the terms of the Chickasaw Treaty of Pontotoc in 1832. The sum of $530,000 was applied out of these funds for the purchase from the Choctaws of the right of settlement and citizenship in the Choctaw Nation by an agreement made in a treaty at Doaksville in 1837. The Chickasaw District, western part of the Choctaw country, was organized for their benefit under the Choctaw constitution and laws. Isaac Alberson, Edmund Pickens, Benjamin and Henry Love, Pitman Colbert, Holmes Colbert, and Jackson Kemp were prominent Chickasaw leaders before the Treaty of 1855, that provided for the separation of the Chickasaws from the Choctaws and the right to organize their own government. Edmund Pickens had served as Chief of the Chickasaw District, Choctaw Nation, in 1848; he was one of the Chickasaw delegates who signed the Treaty of 1855 at Washington, and later was one of the Chickasaw delegates who signed the treaty of alliance with the Confederate States in behalf of the Nation. A county was named for Edmund Pickens when the Chickasaw Nation was divided into four counties and their boundaries established by the Chickasaw Legislature in 1859: Pickens, Pontotoc, Tishomingo, and Panola counties. Pickens covered the widest area lying between the Washita and the Red rivers to the 98th Meridian or western line of the Nation. This old county is now included in nine counties and parts of counties in Oklahoma, and was noted many years before statehood for its fine farms and ranches in the Washita and Red river valleys and the Arbuckle Mountains. Panola ("Cotton") County lay in the western part of present Bryan County and a narrow strip of Johnston County, the smallest of all the counties in the Nation. The rich country south of the Island Bayou, along Red River in Panola County was the location of large cotton plantations owned by the Loves, the Colberts and Isaac Alberson, beginning in the 1840's. Here, too, Chickasaw girls were educated for two-thirds of a century at old Bloomfield Academy which had been named by the early missionaries for the beautfiul, flowering prairies of Panola County.

Many of the old records in Oklahoma bear the impress of the Great Seal of the Chickasaw Nation, recalling the history of the courageous Indian people briefly reviewed here.

—*The Editor*

JESSIE ELIZABETH RANDOLPH MOORE OF THE CHICKASAW NATION

By Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma has lost one of its best loved and revered pioneer women in the passing of Mrs. Jessie R. Moore. Proud of her Chickasaw ancestry and the people of the Indian Territory that was her birthplace eight-five years ago, Mrs. Moore was known far and wide over the state for her devotion and her contributions to the history of Oklahoma, which all hold in high regard. By chance, this issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* commemorates her life since it still carries her name among the officers and members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, her name and title, "Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Treasurer," having appeared in every issue of *The Chronicles* since the second number of Volume 1 published in October, 1921, a period of exactly thirty-five years to the time of her passing on October 7, 1956. This is a unique record in the annals of Oklahoma, now beginning its Semi-Centennial of Statehood, for her contributions to public life made her one of this State's leading women in its development as well as a guiding spirit in the attainments and the growth of the Oklahoma Historical Society. These words in review merely indicate the fine executive ability and staunch loyalty that were hers yet her talents lay in her incisive mind and her choice of words in expressing her thoughts.

Mrs. Moore was a poet at heart, even her recent contribution "The Five Great Indian Nations," the part played by the Chickasaw, Cherokee, Choctaw, Seminole and Creek in behalf of the Confederacy in the War between the States, that appeared in *The Chronicles* (Autumn, 1951) was poetic expression in its summary. Her "Lines Written on an Indian Face" will long be remembered as a prose poem with these words in a closing paragraph: "Your face has given me a message of Old Indian Territory—the glory of her days, a breath of the past from across the river of Lethe—of sorrow, and joy, and sweet life."

Jessie Elizabeth Randolph Moore, a daughter of William Colville Randolph and his wife, Sarah Ann (Née Tyson) Randolph was born in Panola County, Chickasaw Nation, near the home of her grandmother, Mrs. Charlotte Love Tyson Coffee, in the Coffee's Bend country in what is now Southwestern Bryan County, Oklahoma. Mrs. Coffee (née Charlotte Love) was of the prominent Chickasaw family of Loves for whom Love County was named at the time of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention; and was the daughter of Henry and Sarah (or Sally) Love, the great grandparents of Mrs. Moore,

who lived in Mississippi and were the parents of seven children before the removal of the Chickasaws to the Indian Territory.[1] Henry Love was an influential tribal leader, a signer of the Treaty of 1834 in Washington, D. C., as a Chickasaw delegate sent from Mississippi to the National Capital, and served as member of the Chickasaw Commission in charge of tribal business for many years. The daughter, Charlotte, married James Tyson, a native of North Carolina, in Mississippi, and after coming west to this country in 1844, the young couple made their home near Fort Washita where their daughter, Sarah Tyson, married William Colville Randolph, a native of Virginia and a son of Isham Randolph of Roanoke.

William Colville Randolph served as an officer in the Confederate Army, under General Douglas H. Cooper, commander of the Confederate Indian forces in the Indian Territory during the War between the States. As a successful cattleman, Mr. Randolph moved his family in 1874, to the White Bead Hill region north of the Washita in what was then Pontotoc County, Chickasaw Nation, where he was a neighbor to some ten other intermarried Chickasaw-white families that settled there at the same time, all of whom established homes and ranches. The log schoolhouse built on the Randolph ranch was the first school attended by the daughter, Jessie Elizabeth. The family moved a few years later to Gainesville, Texas, where she went to school, and still later was sent to St. Xavier Academy at Denison, and then to Kidd's Seminary at Sherman, subsequently known as Kidd-Key College, the Alma Mater for the daughters of many prominent families from the Indian Territory.

The Randolphs returned to the ranch in the Chickasaw Nation where their daughter Jessie, was a charter member of the Presbyterian Church first organized at White Bead Hill in 1886. She taught a year in Pierce Institute, a Methodist school established in the community (1884), before her marriage in 1889 at Pauls Valley, to E. M. Moore of an old southern family of Tennessee. Mr. and Mrs. Moore made their home on a ranch south of Purcell for ten years, after 1890, during which he served for a time as U. S. Deputy Marshal of the District. Mr. Moore died in 1925. In 1901, they had

[1] Henry Love, his wife (Sarah or "Sally" Love) and his brother Benjamin Love (and his wife, Lotty) were members of the Martyn Mission Presbyterian Church established among the Chickasaws in Mississippi. Martyn Mission was located 60 miles northwest of Monroe Mission which was 24 miles west of Cotton Gin Port, Mississippi, Monroe having been established in 1821 by the Rev. Thomas C. Stuart, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina and Georgia. Mrs. Sarah Love was the first of the family that joined the Martyn Mission Church on March 22, 1828. Her husband, Henry Love, was received into membership on August 23, 1828, and on the following day their six children were baptized: Amanda, John, Elvira, Overton, Charlotte and Frances. On April 30, 1831, their infant son, David, was baptized at Martyn Mission. The Presbyterian Mission stations among the Chickasaws had been transferred to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in December, 1827, to be more closely affiliated with the missions among the Choctaws.—E. T. Winston, *"Father Stuart" and the Monroe Mission* (Meridian, Miss., 1927).

moved to Pauls Valley where Mrs. Moore was a leader for many years in club, civic and church life. She was president of the Pauls Valley Alternate Saturday Club, and a member of the Eastern Star. She remained a member of the First Presbyterian Church—the old White Bead Presbyterian Church that had been moved to Pauls Valley—, in which she taught a Sunday School class. Members of this class, among them Mac Q. Williamson, now Attorney General of Oklahoma, still remember and praise Mrs. Moore as a wonderful teacher and Christian leader.

In 1914, Mrs. Moore was appointed Deputy Supreme Court Clerk, with the office in Oklahoma City, the State capital. She studied law and was admitted to the Bar in 1923. The following year, she was appointed Assistant Commissioner of Charities and Corrections for Oklahoma. She was nominated in the Democratic primaries in 1926, as candidate for Clerk of the State Supreme Court, and won by a handsome majority in the statewide elections, the second woman in Oklahoma history elected to a State office. At the end of her term of office at the beginning of the nationwide depression, Mrs. Moore was appointed to head the Women's Division of Emergency Relief in Oklahoma County. In this work, she initially planned and organized the entire set-up for this Emergency Relief on a statewide basis, her plan of organization for Oklahoma being adopted and put into force on a nationwide scale by the Federal Government in 1933. Active as a leader in the Democratic Party, she headed the Indian organization of the Party in the campaign for the election of Governor Robert S. Kerr in 1942. She was elected in both 1940 and 1944 as Presidential Elector from Oklahoma, and made the trip to Washington in the duties of this office in the election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

For her outstanding contributions in both private and public life, Mrs. Moore was inducted into membership in the "Oklahoma Hall of Fame" by the Oklahoma Memorial Association in its annual Statehood Day Banquet on November 16, 1937. At the time of her passing last year, she had been a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society consecutively for thirty-seven years, except a very few times always present at the meetings of the Board in this long period.

Mrs. Moore was a member of the Chickasaw Council for many years both during the office of the late Governor Douglas H. Johnston of the Chickasaw Nation and that of the present Governor, Floyd Maytubby. Her last great pleasure and honor, in the Indian historical interests was when she served as an official representative of the Chickasaw Nation in the ceremonies at Memphis, Tennessee, dedicating the newly formed "Chickasaw Wing of the United States Air Force" on September 26, 1954. She made the flight to Memphis in a special plane for the event, with other members of the Chickasaw Governor's party. Her report on these ceremonies at Memphis to-

JESSIE ELIZABETH RANDOLPH MOORE

gether with some notes on Chickasaw history was published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* for Summer, 1955, a significant contribution to the history of this Indian nation.

After an illness of more than a year, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore passed away in October, 1956, at the McCurdy Memorial Hospital at Purcell. She is survived by one daughter, Mrs. Roy Rockwood (née Imogene Moore) of Wayne, Oklahoma; one grandson, Lewis Rockwood, a graduate of the University of Oklahoma; and one great-granddaughter, besides nephews and many relatives in the Love family. Burial was made in the old White Bead Cemetery west of Pauls Valley, beside the graves of her children who had died many years ago. Funeral services for Mrs. Moore were held in the First Presbyterian Church at Pauls Valley, during which Mr. Haskell Paul, of the pioneer Paul family of that City, gave her tribute from the memories of her fellow citizens and host of old friends. The following are excerpts from Mr. Paul's remarks:

JESSIE RANDOLPH MOORE

1871-1956

We have assembled today to render honor and pay a last tribute to Jessie Randolph Moore, one of Oklahoma's heroic women. The meeting place in The First Presbyterian Church at Pauls Valley is most appropriate for such an occasion for Mrs. Moore was the last survivor of the charter members of this church which, according to her own words, was first organized in the year 1886 at Whitebead Hill and moved the following year to Pauls Valley . . . . . It is here that Mrs. Moore was first recognized for the great character she was, later to be appreciated by all the people of Oklahoma. Courage, generosity, humility and a strong intellect were some of her attributes . . . . .

Mrs. Moore was always proud of her Chickasaw blood, as much so as she was of her paternal ancestry. She requested that at her last rites her pall bearers should be selected from persons of Chickasaw descent. Each of her pall-bearers, today, at this service are Chickasaws, and included among them are Honorable Floyd Maytubby, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, and Mr. Justice Earl Welch of the Oklahoma Supreme Court.

We people of Pauls Valley loved Mrs. Moore and revere her memory for the wonderful person she was in private life when she lived here and as we knew her . . . . . Concerning her private life, I must say I was quite young when Mrs. Moore moved from Pauls Valley. I remember her though when I was a very small boy and, of course, I knew her in later years. But concerning her private life here at Pauls Valley I requested my mother, Victoria Paul, who knew her for almost sixty years to characterize Jessie Moore for me. This is what she said:

"She was in every part a lady. She could look the world in the face with a clear conscience. In all the years I knew her I never heard her speak, even once, any evil of anyone; and she was a friendly woman. She visited the sick, no matter if they had a contagious disease, and would stay and help if they needed her and carry food if they needed it, which was often the case in early times."

What a wonderful tribute that is for one old pioneer to extend to another.

Henry Van Dyke, the author who was himself an octogenarian, once said:

"Four things one must learn to do
If he would make his record true:
To think without confusion clearly,
To love his fellow man sincerely,
To act from honest motives purely,
And trust in God and Heaven securely."

The old friends of Jessie Moore and the people here in Pauls Valley feel that her entire life is an inspirational example of Van Dyke's great rule of human conduct . . . . .

MISSIONARY TOUR IN THE CHICKASAW NATION AND WESTERN INDIAN TERRITORY

*By Reverend Hilary Cassal**

Introduction

The first permanent Catholic Institution in Oklahoma was The Sacred Heart Monastery, founded in the Pottawatomie Nation, in the year 1877. It was aptly termed "The Cradle of Catholicity" in Oklahoma, by the late Very Reverend Urban de Hasque the historian of Catholic Missions in Oklahoma, in a series of articles on the early church published in 1928.[1]

Sacred Heart was the residence of Father Isidore Robot, O. S. B., the first Prefect Apostolic of the Indian Territory, and of a community of Benedictine Fathers, who by their educational work at Sacred Heart College and their missionary activities, extended Christian civilization to all sections of the Indian Territory.

The Reverend Father Hilary Cassal, O. S. B., was born in France in 1848, became a Secular Priest in 1872, joined the Benedictine Order in 1879 and came to Sacred Heart Monastery, Indian Territory, on September 15, 1884. His first charge was that of missionary to the outlying western Army posts and stations.

In 1925, Father de Hasque, on a research visit to Sacred Heart Abbey, expressed regret that so little had been written about the early history of Catholic missionaries in Oklahoma. It was then that Father Hilary put into his hands a copy book containing his hand-written relation of a missionary tour of the western military posts, made in 1885. Realizing its historical value, Father de Hasque asked permission to transcribe the manuscript. It was obtained in writing only four years later after Father Hillary had been transferred to the Monastery of Montebello, California. But at that time the cahier left at Sacred Heart could not be located. However, after Father Hilary's death on October 7, 1930, at the age of 82, another search was instituted. The orginal manuscript was finally discovered, transcribed, and is preserved now at St. Gregory's Abbey, Shawnee, Oklahoma.

Father Hillary's account of his missionary experiences follows.

—Velma Nieberding

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* A transcript of Reverend Father Hilary Cassal's *Journal* of his missionary Tour in the Indian Territory in 1885 was contributed by Mrs. Velma Nieberding for publication in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Mrs. Nieberding has also supplied the "Introduction" for this article here presented and some of the footnotes indicated with her initials "V.N." Other footnotes throughout the article are by the Editor.—Ed.

[1] Dr. Urban de Hasque, "Early Catholic History," *The Southwest Courier,* 1928, (Oklahoma City). The site of Sacred Heart Mission is 2 miles east of Asher in Pottawatomie County.—V.N.

Tour in Indian Territory, 1885

From Sacred Heart to Johnsonville.[2] The first trip I made in the Indian Territory was in 1885. I started from the Sacred Heart mission Oct. 1st and returned Oct 31st. Rt. Rev. Father Isidore Robot gave me letters of introduction for the commanding officers of Ft. Sill and Ft. Reno, which I was to visit on my trip. An old military ambulance, heavy but comfortable, two mules (Kate and Katy), an Indian driver, Pete Wano, constituted my outfit. Good Father Felix, our cellarer, saw to the provision boxes for our spiritual and corporal needs. Vestments, chalice, candles, wine, altar breads, were carefully packed in the mass box. In the other, the mess box, he put bread, bacon, coffee, tea, sugar, etc. We were well taken care of.

Our first stop was at Johnsonville on the other side of the S. Canadian river. There we met a half-breed who inquired about our errands. When he learned that I was a priest, he took me to his house and his wife showed me her little new-born baby, asking me to baptise it. She was a Catholic. I opened my mass box and found everything I needed, except the ritual—good Father Felix had forgotten to include it with the vestments.

We drove as far as White Bead hill where Mr. Garvin was kind enough to lend us a pony.[3] Then Pete, the Indian driver, rode back to the mission to fetch the missing book. In less than 24 hours he returned with the ritual. A ride of sixty miles. "That is

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[2] "Johnsonville" was named for Montford Johnson, a prominent rancher of the Chickasaw Nation, whose wife was a Catholic. The Johnsons were well known for their hospitality which was always extended to missionary priests who were traveling to and from the Potawatomie Reservation, now included in Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma. The interesting history of Johnsonville located near present Byars, McClain County, dates back to the establishment of old Camp Arbuckle, the site of which is about one mile northwest of the Johnsonville community. Camp Arbuckle was established by Captain R. B. Marcy, Fifth Infantry, in 1850, and was occupied as a temporary military post until the location of the post was moved about fifty miles southwest to Wildhorse Creek where it became well known in the history of the Indian Territory as *Fort Arbuckle.* A post office called "Johnson" was established at Johnsonville, with William W. Walker as postmaster October 5, 1876, and except for a short period was continuously operated until after 1907 when Oklahoma became a state (George H. Shirk, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVI, No. 2, Summer 1948, and "The Site of Old Camp Arbuckle," *ibid.,* Vol. XXVII, No. 3—Autumn, 1949.

[3] The "Mr. Garvin" mentioned here by Father Cassal was Samuel J. Garvin for whom Garvin County, Oklahoma, was named at the time of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention in 1906-07. He was a native of Kentucky who had come to Fort Arbuckle soon after the Civil War period, and married a Choctaw girl, the daughter of Sam Muncrief who was a well known cattleman living in this vicinity in the Chickasaw Nation. In 1889, Mr. Garvin purchased the mercantile interests of James Rennie at White Bead Hill, and soon afterward established branch trading stores at Paoli and Beef Creek (present Maysville, Garvin County). Mr. James Rennie had been appointed postmaster at White Bead Hill when this post office was reopened on January 15, 1877, having been closed for a month. The first post office at White Bead Hill had been established on May 5, 1876, with Albert Smith as postmaster; the name of the post office was changed to White Bead on April 26, 1895 (Shirk, *op. cit.*).

Home of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Murray at Erin Springs, Chickasaw Nation, erected in 1883.

a fine pony'' is all he said. I thanked him and Mr. Garvin and we started for Erin Springs, a distance of twelve miles from White Bead.

Erin Springs. A nice little town located near the Washita river —the home of Mr. Murray, a wealthy cattleman.[4] He had fenced in over 20,000 acres of land. Some of his renters being Catholic I stayed there two days to celebrate Mass and to administer the Sacraments. I heard six confessions, baptised two children and preached. The step-daughter of Mr. Murray (Anita) received the Sacraments but Mrs. Murray could not, being still a Gentile. She received instructions however, and a year later, baptism. Ever since she has proven herself to be a sincere and practical member of our church. One of her sons, Frank, a pupil of our school, was baptised and made his first Communion at Sacred Heart. The other son, John, died unfortunately after being thrown from his horse. I met at Erin Springs two daughters of Dr. Shirley of Anadarko. One was married to R. Fryrear, a cattleman, the other was the wife of a storekeeper called Clayton.[5]

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[4] This was Frank Murray, a native of Ireland, who owned a store at this location. The first post office established here was named "Edgewood" on March 15, 1875, with Emmett McCaughey as postmaster; the name of Edgewood was changed to "Erin Springs" on November 3, 1875, with Thomas S. Grant as post master. Mr. Grant purchased the government improvements at Fort Arbuckle for $75.00 when the old post was abandoned, and his descendants still own the site in Oklahoma. Frank Murray, born in Ireland in 1832, came to America at the age of 18; from New Orleans, he made his way to Sherman, Texas, and thence to Fort Washita where he was employed as the U. S. mail carrier to Fort Arbuckle in the 1850's. He served as foragemaster in the Union Army during the Civil War, at the close of which he settled at Pauls Valley. He was married to Mrs. Alzira McCaughey Powell on April 30, 1871, who was the daughter of John McCaughey, a native of Ireland, and his wife (née Sophie Dibrell) who was of Choctaw descent in the noted Folsom family of the Choctaw Nation. Mrs. Frank Murray had attended Mississippi Female Seminary in Mississippi, and at the age of eighteen, had married William Powell, a native of Ireland, who died not long afterward leaving his young wife with an infant daughter, Anita Powell, who became the wife of Lewis Lindsay, for whom Lindsay, Oklahoma, was named. Frank Murray, successful as a cattleman and in farming operations, erected a handsome residence, in 1883, where Father Cassal visited on his tour of the region. "Erin Springs" was named for Erin Murray, a daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Murray, who graduated from St. Xavier Academy at Denison, Texas.

[5] Dr. John Shirley, a native of Ireland, went to Texas after his marriage to Jane Patillo of Dardanelle, Arkansas, and was employed as U. S. Government physician at Fort Concho, Texas, and thence came to Fort Arbuckle, Indian Territory, where he also served the Wichita Agency Indians near Fort Cobb, established 1859. He later engaged in the trading business with government contracts both at Fort Cobb and Fort Sill after that post was established in 1869, subsequently making his home at Cherokee Town on the Washita River. At this site, about 2½ miles s. e. of present Pauls Valley, Garvin County, Dr. Shirley erected the first bridge on the Washita. When the first post office was established at Cherokee Town on August 17, 1874, he was appointed the postmaster. He died suddenly of ptomaine poisoning at Anadarko, Indian Territory, and was buried at Phantom Hill, near Pauls Valley. His daughter Kate, who married R. Fryrear, a cattleman in this vicinity, died in Oklahoma City in 1956 where she had lived with her daughter, Mrs. Nora Agnes Eggleston, for the past several years.

Rush Springs.[6] Twelve miles from Erin Springs I stopped with a Catholic family called Coyle. The wife had taught school at Erin Springs where she had the name of a "No. One Catholic." She was that. I said Mass at her house and instructed her boys in catechism. In the afternoon she and her stepdaughter, Mary, took me to a neighboring farm occupied by the Callaghans. They had six children and none was baptised yet. Mrs. Coyle offered to stand as godmother for them, but it was not an easy matter to settle. One of the boys refused to be baptised and hid himself under the bed; one of the smaller girls cried and ran off. Finally I succeeded in baptising the oldest girl who was about ten years old. Next came one of the boys, who refused however, to swallow the salt.[7] He spit it out with disgust. Then I gave each one a fine apple—Mr. Garvin had given me a sack-full of them. As soon as the other children saw the apples they all came to be baptised. That is how I solved the difficulty—Adam and Eve's story and love of apples.

Alex (Washita). Near the river is a pretty large store and postoffice called Alex. Near Alex's store lives a rich cattleman called Fitzpatrick.[8] He is a Catholic and an Irishman from Weatherford. When I arrived at his place I found him in a bad humor. Later on I was told that his son had been arrested, put in jail at Ft. Smith, Ark., and that Judge Parker had threatened to hang the son. The poor father felt very miserable over it. When I mentioned to him the object of my visit he said he could not assist at Mass the next morning nor prepare himself for Communion. "I have to be at Fort Smith tomorrow at 10 A. M. tomorrow" he said, "You must excuse me, Father."

When I heard that he tried to absent himself just when I arrived to say Mass for him and his family, I felt a little sore so I decided promptly to push eight miles farther and to give my services to another Catholic family who had eight children at our school. "So long Mr. Fitzpatrick" I said "I will come to see you some other time" and I left his house, although the old man seemed to be rather disappointed at my sudden departure.

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[6] Hobart D. Ragland, *History of Rush Springs* (Rush Springs, 1952).

[7] Salt, mentioned so often in the Bible, is used in the Catholic ritual of baptism in a symbolic manner to add savour to the graces bestowed by baptism. The priest says, "Receive the salt of wisdom. May it be for you an assurance of God's favor unto life everlasting."—V.N.

[8] "The Fitzpatrick family seems to have been the first white settlers in Stephens County, coming over from Fort Arbuckle. One of them settled immediately after the Civil War on Fitzpatrick Creek near the present location of Lake Duncan. His father moved from Fort Arbuckle to a point about one miles east of Duncan about 1868, and put in a store at that point on the Chisholm Trail".—J. G. Clift, "Notes on the Early History of Stephens County," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 1 (March, 1942); and *ibid.*, "The First Dairy Herd on the Chisholm Trail," Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1956). Alex post office, Chickasaw Nation, was established on December 2, 1885, with William V. Alexander as postmaster (Shirk, *op. cit.*). Fitzpatrick Creek east of Duncan in Stephens County perpetuates the name of this pioneer family in this part of Oklahoma.

I was heartily welcomed by the Huntleys who lived on the beautiful creek, named Rush Creek. The waters were as clear as crystal and flowed abundantly on their ranch. Half a mile from Hentleys lived another Catholic family, the Burkes. They all came to Mass, and went to confession and Communion. I had a large assistance. I said Mass on the piano. After Mass I preached and baptised a baby of the Burke family. We were splendidly entertained by Mrs. Huntley and her sister Aunt Lee. From the Huntleys I went to Fort Sill.[9]

Fort Sill is an important military post built on the Military Reservation near Cash Creek. I made my call at the office of the Commanding Colonel R. who received me very civilly and offered me a lodging at the officers quarters. I told him I was invited by Sergeant Hewitt to stay at his house and this settled the matter.

I stayed three days at Fort Sill, visiting the hospital first. There I found a Catholic nurse and several Catholic soldiers among the patients who numbered nearly a hundred. The drinking water was very bad at the Fort and caused severe intestinal trouble to the troops. There were several officers at the Fort, like Capt. Bell, Capt. Scott and others who later became Generals.[10] The chaplain was absent when I came but the Colonel sent me the key of the chapel where I managed to celebrate Mass on a Sunday. I had a fair congregation, especially of Colored men. They were chiefly from Louisiana and Mississippi and spoke good French. All of the French Negroes went to their duty. The Commissary Sergeant, the wife and children of Sergeant Scott and Sergeant Hewitt and

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[9] Fort Sill was established January 8, 1869, by Major General Philip H. Sheridan who named the new post in honor of his classmate General Joshua W. Sill killed in action in the Battle of Stone River, Tennessee, December 31, 1862. General Sheridan was in command of the military expedition against the Cheyenne Indians in the fall of 1868, into Western Oklahoma, of which Colonel George Custer's Seventh Cavalry troops were the active fighting force in the field. The founding of Fort Sill (first called "Camp Wichita") was less than two months after the so-called "Battle of the Washita" in which Custer led the attack against and destruction of Chief Black Kettle's Cheyenne village (site near present Cheyenne, in Roger Mills County, Oklahoma). Fort Sill was west of the Chickasaw Nation in the old Choctaw "Leased District."

[10] "Capt. Scott" mentioned here was Hugh L. Scott, a native of Kentucky, commissioned Major General in 1917. He is well known in the history of Fort Sill, as Lieutenant in the Seventh Cavalry having been appointed quartermaster at this post in 1890, in which position he served seven years. He was a graduate of West Point (1876), was held in great respect and popularity among the Plains Tribes of Oklahoma and was generally known as a peacemaker during the reservation period before statehood.

"Capt. Bell" was James Franklin Bell, a native of Kentucky and graduate of West Point (1874). He was commissioned Brigadier General, United States Army in 1901, having been awarded a medal of honor for distinguished gallantry in action (1899) during the recent Philippine War.

family came to Mass.[11] Also the tailor of the Regiment, the shoemaker, a little Irishman from Cork, the butcher, Geo. Garvey. and some others who were present received the Sacraments.

After the sermon, Sergeant Franklin, who was a preacher for Colored men (Baptists and Methodists) took up a collection and brought me $18.00. "I enjoyed your sermon very much" he said "I think your sermon was the best ever preached in this chapel." After Mass I shook hands with all the men present at the service and made preparations to go to another Fort located forty miles northeast.

Fort Reno. This fort in my opinion was better located than Fort Sill and a good deal larger.[12] Colonel Sumner, son of General Sumner, was in command. He and his wife were members of the Episcopal church, but their reception was extremely civil and very kind. Their cook was an Irish girl, and Mrs. Sumner added, "A very good girl and a very good Christian." There was a famous regiment of cavalry then at Fort Reno, the 5th and two companies of Colored troops, same as at Fort Sill. I visited all the barracks and talked to every soldier asking them to come to Mass and to their duty next morning. The bugle was to give the church call at eight a. m. and all the men were excused from duty until ten by order of the Colonel.

I called at the chaplain's house at the request of the Colonel, to make arrangements for the use of the church. The chaplain was absent but came in the evening to see me. We made our arrangements very satisfactorily. He was a learned Anglican minister, very well educated and a great admirer of St. Vincent of Lerins.

The next question was to find quarters for myself and driver. It was not easily solved. Fortunately I met a soldier on the street and asked him where the hotel was. He showed it to me. I had made up my mind to go there but the soldier looked me up carefully

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11 "Sergeant Hewitt" was John C. Hewitt, Post Quartermaster Department, who was stationed at Fort Sill for many years. He served as the telegraph operator for the first telegraph at Fort Sill in 1876. He died while on duty at Santiago, Cuba, in 1898, and was buried in the National Cemetery at Arlington, Virginia. His daughter, Hope, became the wife of the late Judge Frank Bailey of Chickasha, Oklahoma.

12 The first gravestone at the old cemetery at Fort Reno bears the date 1874. In the summer of this year, four companies of infantry and one of cavalry from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, encamped in the vicinity of Darlington for the protection of Indian Agency during threatened trouble with the Cheyenne Indians on the reservation here. General Philip H. Sheridan in 1874 recommended that a new military post be established at this point. The site for this post was selected by Agent John D. Miles and Captain Theodore Wint, and the buildings were erected and the post named Fort Reno in 1876, in honor of General Jesse L. Reno who had been killed in action at the Battle of Antietam, September, 1862, during the Civil War. Major John K. Mizner, 4th Cavalry, was the first regular commandant at Fort Reno in 1876 (William B. Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* [Oklahoma City, 1936], pp. 146-7).

and said "Are you a Catholic priest?" I said "Yes." "My name is Sergeant Hall" said the soldier. "I am the Commisary and will do all I can to assist you. My wife is a Catholic and we live right over there. If you call on her she will be glad to see you."[13] So I went to see Mrs. Hall and she told me that the best thing for me to do was to stop at Captain Woodson's house. The wife was Catholic and I would be well received. So I did. But the Captain had gone hunting and would not be back before Monday. I hated to stay at his house in his absence. What might the officers not say or think? However, there were servants in the house; and one of them a Catholic. So I decided to remain, although reluctantly. I advised the Colonel and his wife of my decision. They did not seem to disapprove of it. In fact nobody did find fault, not even the Captain whom I met the next day on the prairie, on his return to the Post.

The next morning I went to the church where Mrs. Hall and her son, John, were expecting me. A young, handsome soldier was there too, also the Colonel's housekeeper. Then came Mrs. Captain Woodson and her maid. They all went to confession and Communion. A few more soldiers, White and Colored, assisted at Mass, two sergeants and a corporal. (no officer)

After Mass I was called to a house to baptise a baby. It was the child of a dairyman. Miss McCormick stood as godmother and the butcher, a Catholic, as godfather. To my surprise the godmother handed me a $5.00 gold piece after the ceremony and so did the godfather. Then the father of the child put his hand in his pocket and brought out a bill of $5.00. Nor was it all. The mother, a robust red-haired Irish woman, walked down to her trunk and got another $5.00 bill which she gave me with a pleasant smile, saying "Thank you Father, for christening my little boy. I hope he will be a good Christian." "God bless your little boy," said I, "and may he bless you also and your husband." I never had received so much money for a baptism in my life. It was just one hundred francs in French money. When I was assistant in Alsace, I used to get twenty-five cents!

The most difficult and also the most dangerous part of my trip was to follow. The commanding officer advised me strongly to give it up. "The Indians are on the warpath," said he, "And God knows what they may do to you if they meet you on the road to our camp. We are there to fight them."

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[13] Father Hilary became acquainted with Sergeant Hall, Mrs. Hall, and son, John, at Fort Reno. The older son, Frank, was away in school. Both sons became priests in the Diocese of Oklahoma. Frank died in Oklahoma City in October, 1907. The Reverend John T. Hall, served as chaplain with Oklahoma's Forty-fifth Division until 1943. He held pastorates at Hennessey, Capitol Hill in Oklahoma City, Okmulgee, Tonkawa, Ponca City and Tulsa where he died February 27, 1947.—V.N.

I answered that my orders were to go to Cantonment and that I had decided to go, danger or no danger, as it was a matter of duty for me. "Well," said the Colonel, "If you look at it in this light you will do as we do, obey and run the risks. Meantime I will give you a letter for Captain Hayes who is in command at Cantonment. So he will treat you well." And he added—"Goodbye and good luck."

To Cantonment.[14] The same day I started with Pete, my driver, across a prairie fifty miles wide. We met no Whites, no Indians, until six P. M. when coming near the South Canadian river, there to the dismay of Pete, my Indian, we saw a tepee, and another tepee. It was getting dark; we needed some water for our team and for ourselves. I decided peremptorily to camp right there and told Pete to unhitch. He hesitated, explaning, "Father, these Indians are bad and they will kill me if they see me. Pottawatomies and Cheyennes have always been hostile to one another."

"No," said I "They will not kill you. I will protect you. If they find out I am a priest I am sure they will not harm us." So Pete obeyed. We were only two hundred feet from the next tepee and right close to the river. We watered the mules and then built a fire to cook our supper. When supper was finished I spread my buffalo robe on the ground and prepared to go to bed. But Pete insisted on sleeping near me on the same buffalo robe. He was terribly afraid. So I had him on my side all night. I do not think he slept a wink. I slept well until about three o'clock in the morning when I heard footsteps coming near our hack. I rose immediately, shook myself a bit and walked straight in the direction of my visitor. It was a Cheyenne Indian and some kind of Chief, judging

[14] Cantonment was established on March 6, 1879, by Colonel Richard I. Dodge in command of six companies of the Twenty-third Infantry, when an outbreak of the Northern Cheyenne ("the Dull Knife Raid") brought demands from white settlers in Kansas for another military post to guard against possible further trouble with the Indians on the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation in the Indian Territory. The post was garrisoned until June, 1882, and was never given any other name than "Cantonment," having been listed by the War Department as "Cantonment on the Canadian River, Indian Territory." Immediately after the troops were withdrawn, the buildings were turned over to Mennonite missionaries who opened and maintained a boarding school for the Indian children on the Reservation for many years. Cantonment is a noted historic site in Western Oklahoma for it was here that Colonel Richard I. Dodge wrote his book *Our Wild Indians* published in 1882. Also, the late Reverend Rodolphe Peter, Mennonite missionary and noted scholar, wrote the *Cheyenne Dictionary* at Cantonment, one of the greatest and most scholarly works in American Indian languages, a copy of which as a rare volume has just been acquired by the Oklahoma Historical Society (1956). The Reverend Rodolphe Peter spent twenty-four years in a study of the Cheyenne language, during which he also produced the *Cheyenne Grammar* (published, 1952) and translated the New Testament into Cheyenne (published, 1934), both books having been also recently acquired by the Oklahoma Historical Society. The name of "Cantonment on the Canadian River" is perpetuated by the town of Canton, Blaine County, near which the site of this well known post of Indian reservation days is located.

from his dress. "Hello" I said, "Come on" and I showed him a place to sit down. Meantime, Pete had covered his face with his blanket so the Cheyenne did not see him. First of all my visitor went to see what I had in the hack. He saw a jug, a box and some oats. He looked for a gun. There was none. He lifted the cover of my box and saw the vestments. My crucifix was on top of the vestments. He grew serious and looked very solemn. "Who are you?" he said "Where you go—what you doing here?"

"Me going to Cantonment" I said, pointing out to the North "Me a priest—a Catholic priest" and I lifted up my eyes to Heaven and joined my hands in an attitude of prayer. He understood immediately. "You man prayer?" he asked. "Yes," I said "Sit down and eat breakfast with me. Me no bad friend. Me good friend of Indians." He sat down and drank some coffee with me, ate some bacon and eggs. Then I went to my box and brought some medals and some crucifixes tied to red and blue ribbons. I hung one of the crucifixes around his neck. "Good medicine," I said. He looked at the crucifix much puzzled, but much pleased. Then he left me and went back to his camp. Pretty soon I saw him return with a young squaw, his wife, another squaw, his mother or stepmother, and three papooses and three more Indians. They all looked friendly and began to point to the crucifix I gave the Chief. "You give me," and they extended their hands. I gave a medal to the squaw, some smaller medals to the papooses, and to all the others a medal a trifle larger. But they did not seem satisfied. "You give me like him," they said, showing the small crucifix of the Chief. "No," I said, "crucifix only for chiefs—me only give to him because he Chief" They could not answer to that, and the Chief said "All right. He gave you something. Now you go." And they went all except the old squaw. She began to make gestures which I understood very well, for the purpose of riding with me to Cantonment. She wanted to see her boy who was sick at the Mennonite school. Her husband was there already. He went to see the doctor for his eyes. He had very sore eyes and the doctor gave him black glasses to wear a month ago and he told him to come back. All these things she managed to tell me by signs and the signs were nearly the same as those we used at Pierre Qui Vire. I could fairly understand her, but to take her along with me in my hack, I would not. So I made a compromise with her. "You stay here" I said, "and I will bring back with me your buck (husband) and the papoose if he can travel." "When?" she asked. I showed her the sky, traced a line from the East to the West and showed her at the same time my two fingers, which meant two days. She understood and agreed to wait and strange enough, about ten miles further I met her husband on horseback. He wore black glasses. I stopped him and said: "How is your boy at school—your sick boy?" (I spoke by signs) "He all right. He good now," he said striking his breast with his hand as we do, or did formerly, in our monastery.

"You go home now?" I said making the sign of house with both hands, "Yes, your squaw," I said, "Is waiting for you down there," pointing to the Southeast, "In big tepee, with big chief, two hours ride from here. Keep to the left—you get there by noon" showing the sky just above my head. He caught on and rode to the Chief's tepee where he met his wife, near the place that I had occupied the night before. So I was told, afterwards.

Trouble Between Cattlemen and Indians.[15] Toward noon we reached a creek and found some brush just enough to build a fire. We cooked our dinner, bacon and eggs, had crackers and cheese and coffee; the coffee was delicious. Five miles further we saw a ranch, that is a corral. a barn and stacks of hay but not a head of cattle nor any signs of human beings. I understood that there was no white men on the Reservation. They had all been killed or driven away on account of a battle between the Cheyenne Indians and some cowboys. It seems that the Indians had stolen three head of cattle from a white man's ranch. His boys were determined to find the culprits. They rode all over the prairie and examined all the tepees until they came to a tree where hung three hides bearing the brand of their boss. Next to the tree was a small Indian camp where half a dozen Indians were smoking their pipes after their feast. The bones and part of the meat were in sight. As soon as the Indians saw the cowboys they jumped on their ponies but too late. Three of them were killed and the rest wounded. Three men were killed for three cows. The Indians thought that the life of a man was worth more than that of a cow, and the war began. A great council was held at Cantonment, in which all the chiefs swore to do away with all the White men on the reservation—kill them and burn their houses. And so they did. Uncle Sam had to interfere; without success at first, until General Sheridan came in person. The Indian chiefs had faith in him. They would trust him but nobody else. The great General called for a truce, which was granted by the Indians but not by all. Some bad customers were still exciting the people, young and old, to clean the country from all intruders. "Let us be free and be at home. Let the White man do the same. This reservation is ours. Let us live here by ourselves. We do not need White men." Had good Father Robot, my superior, known the circumstances, he would not have sent me to Cantonment. But I had no fear of the Indians and my obedience, I suppose, saved me from all dangers.

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[15] An interesting account of the trouble between the cattlemen and the Indians is found in "Ranching on the Cheyenne Arapaho Reservation" by Dr. E. E. Dale (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 1, March, 1928). Father Hilary visited Fort Reno during his missionary tour in 1885. It was on July 10 of this same year that President Cleveland had ordered General Philip H. Sheridan to go to Fort Reno and assume personal control of situation during the trouble between the cattlemen and the Indians.—V.N.

I had to spend another night in the wilderness and no Indians to surround me this time. Pete felt good. He was only sorry he could not kill some of the prairie chickens that flew all around us. There were hundreds of them but no gun! No six-shooter. I had a surprise in the morning when I got up. I found a tarantula in my blanket. The night had been cold and the poor thing found a comfortable place, near me, and for this reason perhaps, it never bothered me.

Arrival at Cantonment. We arrived at the camp on the evening of the second day, a distance of about sixty miles from the Fort. Captain Hayes was in his office with the doctor. They were just going to supper and of course, I was invited. They had a fine roast and I must say that I enjoyed it after my bacon at every meal. Pete, the driver, went to the corral and I slept in the doctor's office. They made me as comfortable as they could. Both admired my courage in coming, and Captain Hayes gave orders immediately to fix up a temporary chapel for me. His orderly was an Irish boy and a good Catholic. The hour of nine was fixed for my Mass. From seven to nine I heard confessions. I had sixteen which I thought was fine! The boys were all present, fine fellows. They sang during Mass. Hughes, the orderly, answerer at Mass to Latin. Capt. Hayes, Dr. Scott were present also. I gave a short sermon. A collection was taken up, both the Doctor and the Captain contributed. All in all it was a success and I never regretted the trip. Before leaving I visited the school and asked for the boy of the old squaw. He was all right again. The manager of the school was a minister of the Mennonite church. He told me that he was a mere farmer and that he taught the children only two things—work and pray. He made the children sing and they sang with him. I saw the other teachers, who wore ordinary working clothes such as overalls and the like. More simple and more unsophiscated people I never met in my life, and Captain Hayes said they did well with the children and that the parents had a great respect for them.

Anadarko. From Ft. Reno I went to Anadarko, forty miles of good road. The scenery was fine. We crossed the South Canadian river. It was getting dark when we reached Anadarko. We had to cross a bridge on the Washita before entering the town. Right near the bridge I saw a store (Fred's store)[16] where I inquired

[16] "Fred, Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory, was a trading center located at the cross roads of the cattle trail coming up from Texas, since called the Chisholm Trail; and the overland wagon road from Fort Smith, through Atoka and Boggy Depot, to the newly established post at Fort Sill, the Kiowa-Comanche Agency located near Fort Sill, the Kiowa-Comanche Agency located near Fort Sill, and the Wichita Agency near Anadarko.

"On the highway about three miles east of Chickasha, on the Alex, Lindsay, Pauls Valley road, can be found traces of those two most historic trails in Western Oklahoma. There can be found remains of the once thriving community, called Fred. One of the old buildings still stands; the graveyard not far away and traces of the old stage coach stand are still silent reminders of the past."—Dr. Anna Lewis,

about a hotel. "There is only one and a small one at the North end of town," the storekeeper said. "Any Catholics in town?" I asked. "Yes" he said, "the lady who keeps the hotel is Catholic. She is Mrs. Tieman." We drove to the hotel, a small, two-story frame house and inquired about lodging. The lady, Mrs. Tieman, asked who we were and when I said that I was a priest she received us with the utmost kindness. I was given a room upstairs and Pete slept in the barn. After supper we had a talk, and I learned that she was divorced and that her present husband, a stonemason and contractor, was a protestant. Still she insisted upon my saying Mass at her house which I did the next morning at seven. When I entered the dining room I found a nice altar, with curtains and holy pictures around it. A white man, (boarder) and two Indians were present. With Pete and Mr. Tieman it made five. I said the Mass but did not preach. It was probably the first Mass ever said at Anadarko. The Indian doctor, or rather the Agency physician, Dr. Tobin, was absent from town, otherwise he would have been number six. At breakfast I had on my right a big, fine-looking Indian with dark platted hair, blue jacket and blue and red blanket, and at my left I had a large, soldierly-looking white man, with moustache. Mrs. Tieman on introducing him to me said "Captain Stilwell the chief of the Scouts" and turning to the Indian she said "This is Quanah Parker, chief of the Comanches." Then we began to chat and to my surprise, the Indian spoke English as well as the White man.[17]

"Trading Post at the Crossing of the Chickasaw Trails," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII, No. 4 (December, 1934), p. 447.

Fred was first established as a post office (the first in what is now Grady County) on January 2, 1884, with Walter S. Cook as postmaster, and continued in operation until August 15, 1894, mail to Chickasha. The first post office at Chickasha was called "Waco" (established October 20, 1890, with Jacob Descombs as postmaster), name changed to Pensee September 11, 1891. The name "Pensee" was changed to Chickasha on June 20, 1892, with Jacob Descombs as postmaster (Shirk, *op. cit.*)

[17] "Captain Stilwell" was the noted scout in the history of the West, known as Jack Stilwell. George W. Conover in *Sixty Years in Southwest Oklahoma* (Anadarko, Oklahoma, 1927) describes Jack Stilwell as "of rather formidable personal appearance" and continues (page 105): "After the opening of the country in 1889, he was police judge of El Reno for two terms, and later on appointed United States Commissioner at Anadarko, and here he was married. He was made a Master Mason at Erin Springs at an early date and at one time was a Master of the Lodge. After his commision expired here, he went to Bill Cody's place in the Dakotas and spent the rest of his days with "Buffalo Bill" as he was generally called. There he died and was buried."

Quanah Parker was the noted Comanche chief in the history of Fort Sill, the son of Cynthia Ann Parker and her husband, Peta Nocona, a Comanche chief. Cynthia Ann's life-story of how she was captured by the Comanches as a white child in Texas about 1836 and was reared by them on the plains of Texas and Oklahoma is one of the most romantic in the history of the Southwest. Quanah Parker's home built for him by his friends among the cattlemen of Texas in the 1880's near present Cache, Oklahoma, where he lived until the time of his death in 1911, is one of the historic sites in the southwestern part of this state.

Then Captain Stilwell began, "Father" he said, "You ought to come here and build a school for the Indian children and bring some Sisters with you—these people want you. They do not care much for preachers but they like the *black robes* and the Catholic nuns—is not so, Quanah?"

"Yes" said Quanah, "and for my part I will do all can to help you, because I know it is for the good of my people." This was the first suggestion of a Catholic school at Anadarko. A few months later the Prefect Apostolic received a letter from the Indian Bureau inviting him to make an investigation and to take the first steps necessary toward the establishment of such a school; that is, obtain the consent of the Indians, select a proper location, and have a petition signed by the Indian agent who was then Capt. Hall.

Then Captain Stilwell inquired if Father Robot was still at the Mission and related about him the following incident: "One evening on returning from Fort Sill, across the prairie I heard men singing in the distance. The song was unfamiliar to me. I listened attentively thinking it was perhaps some Indian chant, for a funeral. No, it was not, nor was it Spanish nor German nor French. I was puzzled and rode nearer to the camp. There I saw two men, lying on their backs, apparently asleep or sick. "Hello" I cried, "are you lost, or sick?" One of them lifted his head. It was Father Robot who replied, "no but we are starved. We have missed our way and have had nothing to eat for two days." Then the Captain asked, "Was it you that sang awhile ago?" "Yes"—"What kind of song was it?" "It was Latin" said Father Robot, "We sang the *Salve Regina.*"[18]

So the Scout played the good Samaritan for them. He gave them first some crackers and cheese out of his saddle-bag, then rode into the timber and came back with a rabbit that he had brought down with his rifle. "I skinned the animal myself, built a fire, and roasted it Indian fashion (barbecue). Then I brought them the roast and you should have seen those two men enjoying their supper! After their meal they thanked me most heartily. "You have saved our lives" said Father Robot and Brother Dominic. "We shall never forget it."

"Indeed I saved their lives," continued the Captain, "and I believe if it had not been for that song they would have died. Finally I asked them where they wanted to go and put them on the road. They were bound for Fort Sill."

I never met Captain Stilwell since then.

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[18] *Salve Regina* is a prayer to the Blessed Virgin said in the Catholic Church after the celebration of Low Mass, and after recitation of the Rosary.—V.N.

Darlington.[19] There was a Catholic family living two miles from that place. The father was a white man from Boston, Mass. The mother, an Arapaho Indian. They had three boys at our school. I said Mass at their house and preached. The next day Mrs. Keith asked me to go see her mother who lived two miles off in a camp. She was eighty-four years old. Her little granddaughter took me to her tepee. It was a grand tepee all covered with hides and canvas. To enter I had to lift a piece of the canvas and crawl in on my knees. There were eight beds in the tepee and in the middle was the fire and the kitchen. The old Arapaho lady was lying on a bed and when I came in she began to sign herself and showed me a big rosary hanging around her neck. "This I got," she said, "From Father De Smet.[20] He was a big White man with long hair. He baptised fifty of us in one day and to each one he gave a rosary."

"Do you say your rosary sometimes?" I asked her. She began to recite the *Our Father* and the *Hail Mary* in Indian. I gave her a medal of Saint Benedict, blessed her and returned to the Keiths.

The boys had just killed fourteen wild ducks which we ate for our dinner, besides beef that Mr. Keith had killed the day before. Just when I was leaving with Pete, my driver, Mr. Keith came with a large piece of that beef and offered it to us for our trip. "No," I said, "we are going only to Silver City. We do not need it." But Pete pushed me with his elbow and said "Father, take it. I like beef." Mr. Keith put it in our hack and we were mighty glad to have it afterwards. At least my driver was because I believe he had the meal of his life that evening. I was satisfied with ham and eggs. I wanted to keep the beef for the next day, but not so Peter. After supper he asked me if I would like to have a piece of that meat roasted Indian style, just to taste it. I said, "All right. I guess you like it, don't you Pete?" And then Pete cut two sticks after having built a good fire; they were shaped like forks on top. Across them he put another stick and there he hung his piece of

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[19] Darlington was the location of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Agency, named for Brinton Darlington, one of the first Quaker agents appointed in 1869, by President U. S. Grant for the Indian service on the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation in the Indian Territory. The Agency was temporarily located at Camp Supply (site in present Woodward County) but was permanently established in 1870 near the intersection of the North Canadian River by the 98th Meridian (location north of the river, about three miles north of present El Reno). The Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency was located at Darlington for forty years until the agency office was moved to Concho, north of El Reno about four miles, where it is still operated at a sub-agency in the Anadarko Area of the Indian Service in Western Oklahoma. The old buildings at Darlington were subsequently sold to the State and are now owned by the State Game and Fish Commission that has maintained a large hatchery for quail and other game birds for many years there.

[20] Father Pierre-Jean de Smet, was a Belgian Jesuit, explorer, and author. He founded the Mission of St. Mary on Bitter-root River, Montana, in 1841, making it the starting point for other missions. Mrs. Keith's mother probably was baptized while the Arapaho were located in the vicinity of Fort Bent, Colorado.—V.N.

meat. I must say that the flavor of the meat was delicious. I took a small piece and he took the rest. After fifteen or twenty minutes he looked at that big piece of meat (twelve to fifteen pounds) and said "It is too bad to let that meat spoil if we do not eat it. Would you like to have some more?" I said "Help yourself my boy." He had cut seven steaks the first time. He cut six more now and roasted them with a simple stick stuck in the meat and held near the fire which was a bed of burning coal now. I must say that meat smelled good. Pete grinned. When he had finished he said "Father, may I have some more?" "All you want!" I answered. Another grin! And then Pete began to eat. It was a pleasure to see him. I went to bed and he was still eating. About eleven o'clock he came to me and said "Father. do you like soup? I made a nice soup with the rest of the beef. Come and taste it." I was sleepy and told him to eat it himself. "May I have it all to myself then?" he asked. Another broad grin! At five o'clock in the morning Pete was snoring but looked happy. He had eaten all of that meat. It seems incredible but it is the truth and it never made him sick either.

From Kieth's we drove back to see the school at Darlington. It was a big building with about two hundred fifty Indian children —Cheyennes, Arapahoes. I went to see the Agent, who was a Catholic, an Osage Indian.[21] He received me most civilly. He took me to the school, showed me the classrooms and dormitories, the stables where they had fine stock, and finally brought me back to the office and invited me to dinner. "Well Father, this is the first time a priest comes to see me. I wish you could have a school here like the Jesuit Fathers had at Osage mission.[22] That was where I was educated. They had a school for boys and a separate school for girls. Here it is all mixed. I do not like it."

Silver City.[23] From the Agency we drove to Silver City, a very small town located on the South Canadian. Mr. Johnson (Mont-

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[21] This was D. B. Dyer who had formerly served as agent to the Quapaw Indians whose reservation was located in what is now Ottawa County, Oklahoma. He had succeeded Agent John D. Miles who resigned as the agent of the Cheyenne and Arapaho in April, 1884.—V.N.

[22] Osage Mission, founded by Father Schoenmakers, a Jesuit, in 1847, was well known as a school for the children of leading Indian families of the Indian Territory, including the Osage and other tribes and nations. The town of "Osage Mission" is now called St. Paul, in Neosho County, Kansas.

[23] Silver City was well known on the old Chisholm Trail, located south of the Canadian River about two miles north of Tuttle in Grady County. The first post office at Silver City, Chickasaw Nation, was established on May 29, 1883, with Philip A. Smith as postmaster (Shirk, *op. cit.*).

ford)[24] lived there with his father-in-law, Mr. Joe Campbell. First we visited Mr. Johnson who had two boys at our school, Robert and Tilly. Besides the boys there was a little girl, four years old, who boarded at the convent of the Sisters of Mercy. I was glad to see these children and we had a big watermelon feast. It was the first time that I ate a melon with a spoon. Next I said Mass. Mrs. Johnson, who had been educated at the convent of the Sisters of St. Mary at Denison, Texas, received Holy Communion. She was the daughter of Mr. J. Campbell, and was married to Mr. Johnson as his second wife when only seventeen. He was forty-eight at least, if not fifty.

My next visit was at Mr. Joe Campbell's. Like his son-in-law, Montford Johnson, he was very well fixed. They had over 1,000 head of cattle each, besides a large number of horses. Mr. Johnson had about 450 head when I was at his place. Every year he sold a bunch no less than two hundred fifty. They sold from twelve to fifteen dollars a head. Some were bronchos, that is, half wild or mustang. Wild horses were scarce in 1855 but from 1860 to 1875 there were large droves of them in Texas and Indian Territory. Mr. Campbell remembered the time when he and his father went hunting for them on the prairies. The same for buffaloes. They were plentiful in the sixties and even the seventies. Only a few were left when I came. A buffalo robe sold for one dollar apiece but the best and larger ones would fetch as much as ten dollars. I had one that cost that much. It was beautiful with the fine, long hairs. When camping I would always use it. I stretched it on the ground with my saddle as pillow and no insect would ever bother me.

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[24] Montford Thomas Johnson was born at Old Boggy Depot, Choctaw Nation, in 1843, the son of Charles Johnson, a native of London, England, who had gone to Mississippi where he married a Chickasaw girl, Rebecca Courtney. The young couple came to the Indian Territory during the Chickasaw Removal to the west. Montford T. Johnson attended the Chickasaw Academy for boys, better known then as "Robinson's Academy," a few miles southeast of Tishomingo, and during the Civil War served in the Chickasaw troops of the Confederate States Army around Fort Arbuckle. In 1862, he married Mary Elizabeth Campbell, daughter of Major Michael Campbell, a native of Ireland, who served in the Confederate Army in charge of Fort Arbuckle for a time. Both Charles Johnson and Major Campbell and their descendants in the Chickasaw Nation were prominent in the annals of history in the western part of the Indian Territory. Montford T. Johnson operated large ranches and organized the first bank in Minco in 1890. He was a personal friend of Jesse Chisholm and maintained a large stock of cattle and hogs in the Council Grove area (about 3,600 acres of heavy timber country) west of present Oklahoma City on the North Canadian River where Chisholm had one of his trading posts before the Civil War and at its close. Council Grove was set aside as a military reserve for timber for the Army before the Opening of 1889, and at one time a detachment of troops had quarters at an encampment there to guard the area against timber depredations by early settlers. Major Campbell was drowned in an accident before the close of the War, in 1865. Charles Johnson in his late life moved to New York where he was a merchant until his death there.

Mr. Campbell was a convert. After breakfast I instructed his children in the Christian doctrine. I shall never forget the earnest and close attention to every word I said.

He was anxious to know more and I stayed at his place another day. His father had come from Ireland, and like most of the cattlemen, had married a squaw. I never met the lady but her son surely had inherited a good deal from her besides the blood. He had a very moderate love for the White man and very little consideration for him. Above all he hated the White man's dishonesty and trickery: "Before the White man came we were much happier in this Territory. We never cheated our neighbor, never stole from him. But now, my Lord, it seems everybody steals and cheats! You cannot trust anyone!"

Cherokee Town.[25] From Silver City I went to Cherokee town and stopped at the Jennings (the home of Al Jennings). Ben Jenning's wife was a Catholic. She was very anxious to make her Easter duty. I remember that she fixed a very nice altar for me and that her husband assisted at Mass with great attention. I learned many things from him about the new settlers. He too was a half-breed. It was he who advised me to go visit Mr. McManamin. He called him a queer old fellow but as honest as the day is long. Honesty was the outstanding virtue in those days.

So after breakfast I went to see Mr. McMenamin.[26] He was located twelve miles from town on the Washita, four miles from what is now Wynnewood. In about an hour I reached the ranch of the queer old gentleman! The house was built on pretty high ground and surrounded by a nice picket fence. I had to ascend eight or ten steps to reach his porch. But I had scarcely opened the gate when two large dogs ran down on me. I had been told that a man's eyes have the power to stop any animal when looking straight into its eyes. I tried it and it worked. The dogs stopped as if hypnotized. Then the old man appeared at the top of the steps. He had heard the savage barking of the dogs and came to see what had become of the intruder, if he were torn to pieces or not. "By gosh," he exclaimed "you are lucky. It is the first time I see my dogs acting as they do—don't you know that a man is not allowed to enter another man's gate in this country without calling first? Why did you not halloo? Well, come in then, since you are here."

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[25] Cherokee Town had been first settled by a band of Cherokees who had come to this part of the Chickasaw Nation about the time of the Civil War. This was s. e. of Pauls Valley about 2½ miles where Dr. John Shirley located when Fort Sill was founded; the crossing on the Washita River here was an important stop on the military trail to that post.

[26] According to the late Father Urban de Hasque, the "queer old fellow" McMenamin passed away only a few years ago at the age of over ninety years. His son, Frank, died many years before as the result of a fall from his horse (*St. Rose of Lima Bulletin*, Vol. IV, No. 1—November, 1934).—V.N.

He led me to his parlor where he had a good fireplace. There was a visitor who seemed to enjoy the heat. "Sit down," he said, pointing to a rocker. "It is about dinner time, you will stay for dinner."

"All right" I said. "Now" queried the old man, "may I ask what brings you here?"

"Well, I met your son on the road and he told me that he was looking for some workingmen. I came to offer you my services."

"Are you a good hand at picking corn?"

"Yes. I am pretty good."

"How much do you want per day?"

"Two dollars and my board" I replied.

"By gosh, that is more than I pay my other men. They work for one dollar a day. Well, we see what you can do."

Meanwhile the old man, who was somewhat suspicious, went down and asked my driver, Pete, who I was. "Is he a corn buyer?"

"No" said Pete, laughing "He ain't a corn buyer nor a drummer. He's a priest."

The old man came back to the room looking rather sheepish. After dinner he dismissed his visitor and turning to me said, "Well, Father, I have to apologize to you. By gosh, you are the first priest who ever came to see me in thirty years. Do you not know that I am a bad character? I killed a man and spent two years in the penitentiary—you did not know that?"

"No" I said "but you do not look like a bad man. Maybe you killed the man in self defense."

"Yes, that is just what I did. The fellow came across my fence with a gun in his hand, and I hallooed to him to get down. 'if you cross that fence you are a dead man,' I warned him. As he did not take my warning I went to my house, took my rifle and shot him. That is the whole story. They did not believe me at Fort Smith. Some neighbors said I was a dangerous character and the Judge gave me two years."

"Let us talk business now. Did you see my son? Would you take him in your school if I should send him to you?"

"Yes," I said. "He will be welcome." That is how I got acquainted with the old gentleman. He brought us his son a month later and we persuaded the old fellow to go to his duty, which he did.

The second time I went to see him it was with Father Felix DeGrasse.[27] We stopped a whole day. The boy, Frank McMenamin, was baptised at Sacred Heart and made his first Communion. He was then seventeen years of age.

Rock Creek. From McMenamin's we drove back to Cherokee Town and followed the Washita river as far as White Bead Hill and Pauls Valley. There I was told lived a Catholic family, named Lynch. The husband was a whiskey peddler and had been arrested. The wife was in poor circumstances. Mrs. Garvin advised me to call on them. The distance was about twelve miles from White Bead Hill. When we reached the creek, Pete stopped at the bridge and looked. "Father" he said " there is a gang of turkeys that passed here less than five minutes ago."

"How can you tell" I asked.

"Look," he said, "at those tracks. They are wet yet. When the sun is high at eleven o'clock a turkey track will dry up in five minutes." I believed Pete because he was an Indian and Indians are great observers of nature. So I told him we should hurry over to a small house that stood about two hundred feet from us. When we arrived I knocked at the door. A woman opened it. "I beg your pardon," I said, "but I would like to borrow a gun. We saw a gang of turkeys and we would like to shoot one or two." She gave me the gun, a double-barrled shot-gun and Pete with a smile grabbed it. We went about three hundred yards to head off the turkeys. Less than ten minutes after we heard a report, and here came Pete with a big turkey in each hand, as proud as a king. "Here madam," I said, "accept one of these turkeys since you were so kind to lend us the gun." She took the turkey.

"Now," I asked, "will you please tell me how far it is to the Lynch place?"

"It is right here," she replied. "I am Mrs. Lynch."

I said, "I am a priest and I came to see you." The joy of the good lady was great. She called all of the children. There were eight of them. She made me feel at home immediately. Her son went to take care of the team while the girls took the turkeys in the kitchen.

After supper the rosary was recited in common. I noticed that the children knew their prayers well. Mrs. Lynch asked me to

[27] Father Felix de Grasse arrived at Sacred Heart monastery, from France, on April 24, 1877. He later become Abbot of Sacred Heart Abbey where he died on January 3, 1905. Father Cassal's tour in 1885 through the western part of the Indian Territory in 1885 paved the way for the founding of St. Patrick's Mission at Anadarko and St. Elizabeth's Mission at Purcell, both of which are still in operation with a background of nearly seventy years in the history of Catholic missions in this region in Oklahoma.

interrogate them on their catechism. The boy, Jimmy, twelve years old surprised me. He knew nearly the whole catechism by heart. He told me he would like to be a priest. Poor little fellow. He was the main support of the family. Since the father was in jail the main support of the farm fell on his shoulders. He did all the plowing and cultivating, his mother told me. A splendid little worker and an all-around excellent boy.

When the prayers were finished we retired; the family, mother and children, in their room. They had only one room. Pete and myself had to camp out. We selected a nice grove about two hundred yards from the house. I slept in the hack, and Pete under it. But about midnight we heard mules come around the hack. They appeared fretful and fearing some danger. We got up and looked around. Lo, not more than fifty feet away we noticed some eyes looking in our direction. They were like small lamps shining in the dark.

"Those are wolves," said Pete. Indeed they were! Then the howling began. We were surrounded by a pack of wolves. I thought there were about fifty. "Get the corn shucks," I told Pete, "and light a fire." I began to gather dry branches and pretty soon we had a good fire which we kept up all night. That frightened the wolves. They began to recede a little and toward daylight they retired. But for four hours they kept up their cacophony. Such a serenade I never heard in my life. Mrs. Lynch told us that it was not unusual. They had their dens in the ridges along Rock Creek. They are not coyotes but real gray wolves, also called timber wolves. The coyotes are prairie wolves.

About six o'clock I went to the house and heard the confessions of the family. There were eight in all—four of them approached holy Communion. The good lady had prepared a nice altar. I said Mass at seven. Pete answered me—such devotion and recollection I seldom witnessed in my trip. It was the real old Irish faith! How delighted the mother was! And the children—especially the boy. He looked like an angel. We had some more catechism after breakfast and then we departed. The good lady had roasted one of the turkeys, and put it in my mess box. The other had been boiled and eaten at breakfast. I was really happy when I shook hands with every one of these good, although poor, people. I remembered the saying of an old priest: "If you want to be shown respect, go and visit the poor." Nowhere did I receive more attention and consideration than at the Lynches.

Then we drove to White Bead Hill, stopped for dinner at Mr. Garvin's after which we continued our journey via Johnsonville and across the South Canadian into the Potawatomie (*sic*) country, over the trail which we had followed thirty days before.

The sun was sinking low when we reached Sacred Heart Monastery. It was October 31, 1885.

Sacred Heart Mission: This building was the first part of the Monastery erected after the fire in 1901, and is still standing on the site of the Mission established 1876.

First puplis at St. Mary's Academy in 1889. Sacred Heart Mission.

THE BALENTINES, FATHER AND SON, IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

The Reverend Hamilton Balentine

Hamilton Balentine was born January, 1817, in Churchtown, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. His father was Irish and both of his parents died before he was six years of age, leaving him entirely destitute of the means of support. His early years were spent in the family and service of a farmer in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, where he distinguished himself by his quickness, intelligence, industry and fidelity.

A biographical sketch of the Reverend Hamilton Balentine states:[1]

After about two years he was transferred into the service and family of Mr. William Hamill, where the same traits continued to be manifested along with a growing fondness for reading and study. While here he also became hopefully converted. These so attracted the attention and warm regard of intelligent friends that he was aided to secure an education. After attending an ordinary country school some time, he went to Lawrenceville (N. J.) High School, under the care of the Rev. Samuel H. Hamill. Here he studied industriously until fitted for college. In this High School he acted as an instructor for some time. He became also a member of the Lawrenceville Presbyterian Church.

Mr. Balentine was graduated from the College of New Jersey at Princeton in 1845, and the same year entered Princeton Theological Seminary. Here he passed through the full course of three years, distinguished for his diligence, regularity, and piety, and was regularly graduated in 1848. Having devoted his life to the Foreign Missionary work, and an urgent call having come for help to the Indian Missions, he at once proceeded to Kowetach, a station among the Creek Indians, and in July, 1848 devoted himself to his chosen work with an ardor which never abated while he lived.

Before going to the Indians he was licensed by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, Feb. 2, 1848, and ordained as an evangelist by the same Presbytery, May 29, 1848.

In 1850, Mr. Balentine was appointed to assist in giving instruction at Spencer Academy, among the Choctaws, and labored there from 1850 to 1852, at which time the board opened a boarding-school for females at Wapanucka among the Chickasaws. The building at that place was so far completed that Mr. Balentine opened the institution about Oct. 1, 1852, with forty pupils, but they soon increased to one hundred in number. He remained

[1]Princeton Theological Seminary's *Necrological Report*, April, 1878. Sincere thanks are due Miss Marye Pochyla, of the Office of the Secretary of Princeton University for the above report and for the added information that Mr. Balentine was admitted to the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) as a junior on November 13, 1843, and graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1845. Throughout his college course he used the letter "A" before his name, writing it A. Hamilton Ballentine.

here, laboring efficiently, until the fall of 1855, when he visited Philadelphia for medical advice, owing to severe illness in his family.

On his return after a few months, he was placed in charge of the boarding-school for females at Good Water, among the Choctaws, and continued to labor there until 1858. Early in 1859, he returned to Wapanucka, again taking charge of the school there, and laboring at the same time as an evangelist in the surrounding region. He remained there until after the breaking out of the Civil War in 1861, when all communications with the Board of Foreign Missions was cut off, as well as all support from its funds. Nevertheless he continued to labor zealously for the spiritual good of the Indians, teaching and preaching at various points among them until the beginning of 1876, when, through excessive labors, his health became feeble and precarious. He was finally seized with a fierce attack of pneumonia, by which his life was ended . . . . in the sixieth year of his age . . . . . Mr. Balentine was a humble, earnest, faithful and self-denying missionary . . . . .

Very few, if any, other teachers had the wide experience among the Five Civilized Tribes that Mr. Balentine had; he taught in the Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Cherokee nations and from all accounts he was successful and much esteemed among all of the Indians.

After the Civil War the Balentines spent two years at Park Hill before moving to Vinita for three years. The Cherokee Council appointed him superintendent of the Female Seminary and he had charge of that institution for a year before he was stricken with pneumonia from which he died on February 22, 1876 "sincerely and deservedly regretted by all who knew him and felt his influence." He was buried in the Missionary Cemetery near Park Hill, close to the grave of his friend Dr. Samuel Austin Worcester.[2]

Hamilton Balentine, married Anna Hoyt, on June 14, 1849. She was a granddaughter of George Lowry, assistant principal chief for many years during the period when John Ross was principal chief.[3]

Miss Hoyt was the first teacher in the first school in Tahlequah when it was started in 1845. Her salary was $20.00 a month and she boarded at the home of Black Coat.[4]

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[2] H. F. & E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory*, Saint Louis, 1892, 138; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Park Hill* (Muskogee, 1948), p. 150; *The Cherokee Advocate*, April 18, 1884, p. 1, col. 7, copied from the *St. Louis Evangelist*. Mrs. Balentine, a talented musician, continued to teach music in the Female Seminary after the death of her husband. She survived her husband until March, 1890.

[3] Anna Hoyt was a descendant of the Reverend Ard Hoyt and her father was Milo Hoyt. Her mother, Lydia Hoyt, was born in 1800. She reared a large family and lived to a ripe old age. She spoke Cherokee and English fluently. She was educated at Brainerd Mission in the old Cherokee Nation, and she translated the first English hymn ever sung by the Cherokees. Her home was about six miles from Tahlequah, Indian Territory (notes by Mr. William H. Balentine in a letter to Grant Foreman, September 25, 1932).

[4] Black Coat is the correct name of Thomas Blackcoat Wolf, according to Mr. William H. Balentine of Tahlequah.

When Walter Lowrie, secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions visited Koweta Mission in April, 1847, he entered into an agreement with the Creek chiefs for the enlargement of the station from twenty-nine students to forty boarders who were to be financed in part by the national school fund. When Tullahassee Mission was completed the Reverend Robert M. Loughridge superintendent of Koweta, was put in charge of it in 1848 and he was replaced at Koweta by the Reverend Hamilton Balentine who had previously taught at Tullahassee.[5]

The Reverend Robert M. Loughridge gave these notes on the early work of Hamilton Balentine:[6]

In 1848 Rev. H. Balentine was appointed Superintendent of Kowetah Mission, while I was directed to superintend the new school of 80 pupils, the buildings for which were about to be erected at Tullahassee.

In 1849 Rev. H. Balentine and Miss Nancy Hoyt, teacher of the school were united in the marriage relation. The mission was very prosperous under their management, until in 1850 they were appointed to take charge of Wapanucka Female Boarding School, which had just been erected at great cost by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions among the Chickasaw Indians.

Charles Barnett, a student at Koweta Mission wrote on March 5, 1850: "My Dear young friends, ... there are at this place about thirty scholors, fifteen boys & fifteen girls . . . . . Revd. H. Balentine has been or rather is our present teacher. Revd. J. Ross Ramsey is the superintendent at this place. He and Mrs. Ramsey takes charge of the boys, and Mr. and Mrs. Balentine takes charge of the girls. . . . ."

From Vinita, January 26, 1872, Mr. Balentine wrote to Miss S. L. McBeth a missionary, in great detail regarding various missionaries and teachers. He related that in May, 1852, Hon. Walter Lowrie had visited the missions and while he was at Wapanucka he wrote to Balentine at Spencer Academy (which had been repaired and put into operation again,) directing him to go to Wapanucka as soon as the term closed, so as to get the place ready to open school there in October.

Wapanucka Academy was located about five miles northeast of the town of Wapanucka, Johnston County, Oklahoma.[6a] It was about twelve miles northwest of Boggy Depot, near the celebrated Texas Road and two miles west of the Chickasaw-Choctaw line. The

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[5] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Report of the Reverend R. M. Loughridge to the Board of Foreign Missions Regarding the Creek Mission," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1948), p. 282.

[6] Robert M. Loughridge, *History of Mission Work Among the Creek Indians from* 1832 *to* 1881 (Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society).

[6a] Muriel H. Wright, "Wapanucka Academy," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII, No. 4 (December, 1934), pp. 402-13; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Mary C. Greenleaf, at Wapanucka Female Manual Labor School," *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1946), p. 26.

school was established in 1851-52. Mr. Hamilton Balentine became superintendent in October, 1852. He was assisted by his wife and two young women teachers.

In August Mr. and Mrs. Balentine arrived at the academy, both having been delayed by illness. The Balentines, Miss Hannah M. Green, and Miss M. F. Thompson opened the school with forty pupils. The place was without beds and tables, but there was plenty of food and plain clothing for the girls. Balentine drew funds from the Board and the Indian Department on his vouchers in the sum of $75.00 per student annually. The first year forty girls attended and the second there were fifty. For the remaining two years that the Balentines spent at Wapanucka there were one hundred pupils.

Mr. Balentine had charge of the mission until July, 1855 when he turned it over to Mr. and Mrs. (C. H.) Wilson. At the urgent request of Wilson the Balentines returned to Wapanucka in 1859 from the Creek country to complete the school year. They remained to close the institution and sell off the property which was used by the soldiers of the Chickasaw Nation and later by refugees. In 1862, the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury was married to Miss Child, a former teacher in his school, at Boggy Depot by Mr. Balentine.[7]

From Spencer Academy, September 1, 1852, Alexander Reid sent his report to Wm. Wilson, Esq., U. S. Agent, Choctaw Nation.

The highest number of pupils present at Spencer was 124. Between October 6 and November 1—a period of about seven weeks —twelve boys left the school not to return. "All but one *ran away*, and were not sent back." Between December 1 and the final examination in June only six boys left the school, and five left because of illness.

The teaching was carried on in four distinct schools. The teachers were the Reverened H. Balentine, Reverened John Edwards, Joseph Turner, and Miss F. R. Thompson.[8]

Superintendent Hamilton Balentine made his first report to Choctaw Agent Cooper on July 15, 1856, from Good Water. The school was evidently reopened that year and there were forty-two pupils in attendance. Thirty-eight were boarders and the other four were day students.

[7] Anna Lewis (ed.), "Letters regarding Choctaw Missions and Missionaries," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVII, No. 3 (September, 1939), pp. 275-77. Cyrus Kingsbury was born at Alstead, New Hampshire, Nov. 20, 1786. He was stationed at Brainerd Mission in 1817, at Elliot in 1818, Mayhew in 1820 and at Pine Ridge in 1836. His first wife was Sarah B. Varnum of Dracut, Massachusetts. They were married at New Orleans December 24, 1818. Mrs. Kingsbury died at Mayhew September 15, 1822. He next married Electa May a native of Goshen, Massachusetts. She was born March 12, 1783 and they became husband and wife at Mayhew on May 10, 1824.

[8] *Report Commissioner Indian Affairs*, 1852, p. 133.

Classes were held daily in the New Testament and there was a class in McGuffey's Fourth Reader; eleven read in Goodrich's Third Reader, five in McGuffy's Second Reader and six used the Gradual Primer. Daily classes were held for writing and Davies' and Chase's Arithmetics were used as well as Greenleaf's Mental Arithmetic. Smith's Primary Geography was taught and older pupils used Mitchell's Geography and Atlas. Spelling was a regular subject and Well's English Grammar was a study for a class of six.

The girls received regular instructions in sewing and knitting; they worked in the dining room and kitchen so as to train them to manage their own homes properly. They washed their own clothes and took care of their sitting rooms and bed rooms. The ages of the girls varied from six years to twenty, and their complexions from that of the full Choctaw to that of the white man's child. Their government reguired a resort to nothing which "may not be strictly called mild means, and the positive application of such means has in no case failed to secure obedience."

Mr. Balentine considered that a favorable feature of the school was the fact that most of the large girls belonged to families where English was spoken; they knew little Choctaw and that gave the teachers an easier approach and those pupils helped to Anglicize the school: "The aim of the school is the elevation and improvement of its pupils in their domestic habits and social condition, in their intellectual development and acquirements, and in their moral and religious culture. How far these ends have been attained, can be learned fully only from the future history and destiny of those taught."[9]

The 1857 report for Kooncha (Goodwater) was dated July 16 and Mr. Balentine stated that the forty-four girls who had been in attendance were selected by the trustees of the public schools of the Choctaw Nation. The expenses of the institution were met by an appropriation of three thousand dollars annually by the Choctaw Nation and the balance by the Presbyterian Board. The sum paid by the church was supposed to be five hundred dollars a year, but the amount actually paid was, on tne average, more than five times the sum stated in the stipulations of the contract.

Kooncha (phonetic pronunciation of the Choctaw, *Kusha*) was opened on the first Wednesday in October, 1856, and closed on the first of June, 1857. Although this school was supposed to be a manual labor establishment, Balentine wrote that "the laboring department has not been conducted with as much efficiency during he past year as the best interests of the pupils would seem to demand. This was owing to the want of a sufficient number of qualified persons to take charge of this department."

[9] *Report Commissioner Indian Affairs*, 1856, pp. 159-60; *Historical Sketches of the Missions Under the Care of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* (Philadelphia, 1886), pp. 29, 30, 37, 38.

Three day students had been in regular attendance and more could have been brought into the school if the accomodations and teaching force had admitted of it. Lovell's and Goodrich's readers were being used and Willard's History of the United States. In closing his report Balentine wrote: "A kind Providence has protected the school during the year, and has bestowed upon it a more than ordinary measure of health and happiness, and has not at any time forsaken His servants."[10]

George Ainslie was the superintendent who made his report on Koonsha Seminary August 30, 1858, and he stated that the Reverend Hamilton Balentine and family left the mission on the eleventh of May: "His departure was deeply regretted by all, as his long experience and superior abilities rendered him eminently qualified for the important post he occupied."

C. H. Wilson, superintendent of Wapanucka Institute, on July 8, 1859 sent a long report of his school. He closed his account: "Rev. Hamilton Balentine (sic), who first had charge of this institution, will take my place for the next half year, and will probably make to you the semi-annual report in January, 1860. After that I hope to report to you from time to time."[11]

Superintendent Balentine wrote Agent Cooper on July 6, 1860 that the Mission Board had decided to discontinue Wapanucka. The furniture, cattle, wagons and all other goods recently sent out by the Board, were to be sold at once. He notified Colonel (Jackson?) Kemp and Captain Alexander of the decision, and advised them to buy the furniture if they planned to continue the school. He promised to turn over the buildings to them as soon as possible, but in the meantime he would take every care of them.[12]

On July 20, 1860, Hamilton Balentine made a report to Choctaw Agent Douglas H. Cooper, as "*Superintendent pro tem. Wapanucka Institute.*" Nine months of school were held and 122 Chickasaw girls attended. The institution was divided into three separate schools according to the acquirements of the students; each was under the care and instruction of the same teacher. Balentine wrote a detailed description of each of the divisions, of the text books used and the number of pupils in each class. Three classes were held for the instruction in sewing, knitting, care of their rooms, and ironing their own clothes:[13]

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[10] *Report Commissioner Indian Affairs*, 1857, pp. 529, 530.

[11] *Report Commissioner Indian Affairs*, 1859, p. 578.

[12] Muriel H. Wright, "Wapanucka Academy," *loc. cit.*, pp. 421-22.

[13] *Report Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1860, pp. 372-75.

The institution has been favored, during the past year, with a full number of helpers . . . . and this has greatly relieved us in three general visitations of sickness through which the institution passed during the year. We were first visited by the measles, which extended to more than half of the pupils, and to other members of the family. We next encountered whooping-cough,

Shortly after the War was over, the Reverend Hamilton Balentine, who had been for many years a missionary in this Territory, and citizen of the Cherokee Nation by adoption, came to this portion of the country and settled some seven miles from where Vinita now is, and began to preach; his labors soon grew into an organized Church known as Pheasant Hill.

The Reverend Amory Nelson Chamberlin and the Reverend Hamilton Balentine were active in the old church at Pheasant Hill, and they, with the Reverend W. P. Haworth, were instrumental in organizing the first Presbyterian Church at Vinita on October 8, 1883.[14]

A newspaper account by the Reverend Timothy Hill states:[15]

> Not long after the formation of the Pheasant Hill church, the railroad was built, and Vinita came into view as a railroad town. Here Mr. Balentine came and preached, and soon held a regular service here, a Sabbath-school was organized and a prayer-meeting was held. These were the first religious services ever held in Vinita.
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> Mr. Balentine's labors extended over a wide region of country, as he preached at Pheasant Hill, Vinita, Landrum's school house, the Rogers' settlement and other places. In June, 1875, he removed to Park Hill and took charge of the Cherokee Female Seminary there, but his work was nearly done, as he finished his course and fell asleep in Jesus, February 21, 1876.

William H. Balentine, the Son

Wlliam H. Balentine, a son of the Reverend Hamilton Balentine and his wife Anna Hoyt Balentine, was born July 6, 1854. According to the *Final Rolls of Citizens and Freedmen of the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory* Mr. Balentine was forty-eight years old when the Cherokee Roll was completed in 1902. He was listed as having one-eighth Cherokee blood.

In interview with Mr. Balentine he told that he was born at Wapanucka Academy. He gained his early education in contact with his highly educated father while living in various missions.

Mr. Balentine's mother, Anna Hoyt was a daughter of Milo Hoyt and Lydia Lowrey Hoyt, who was a daughter of Assistant

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which was not quite so extensive as the measles . . . . and finally many of the children were prostrated with pneumonia . . . . and led to the returning home of a number of the pupils, who did not again return to the school. [Four girls died during the term.]

[14] Lon H. Eakes, "Rev. Amory Nelson Chamberlin," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (March, 1934), pp. 97, 99, 102. Chamberlin, also a grandson of the Rev. Ard Hoyt, was born at Brainerd Mission in 1821. He aided in Cherokee emigration to Arkansas and to the Indian Territory. He became a missionary and minister at Pheasant Hill, located in what is now Craig County, Oklahoma, seven miles northwest of Vinita. Pheasant Hill was named for an Indian of that name who once lived there.

[15] *The Cherokee Advocate*, Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, April 18, 1884, p. 1, col. 7. This account is from a discourse delivered by Timothy Hill, D. D., at Vinita, Indian Territory, March 16, 1884. Copied from the *St. Louis Evangelist*.

Chief George Lowry of the Cherokee Nation. Her mother was Lucy Benge Lowry. At the age of sixteen she was baptised at Brainerd Mission on January 31, 1819. Her husband, Milo Hoyt had been a student at Princeton. Their second child was Anna Hoyt who became the wife of the Reverend Hamilton Balentine. The Balentines became the parents of three children: William Balentine who married (1st) Fannie Keys and (2nd) . . . . . Johnson; Hamilton Balentine who married Mary E. Keys; Jonathon Balentine who married Lizzie Foreman.[16]

In 1872, William H. Balentine attended Highland University for two years and finished his education at Westminister College, Fulton, Missouri in 1876. He was not graduated owing to the death of his father. He was called to Tahlequah to take charge of the Cherokee Female Seminary in place of his father. That same year he made an extensive tour of the eastern part of the United States, visiting the Centennial in Philadelphia, the national capital, Niagara Falls and other celebrated places.

Mr. Balentine was married in 1878 to Miss Fannie Keys, a daughter of Chief Justice Riley Keys of the Cherokee Supreme Court. By this marriage he had three children—Fannie M., William H. (Junior), and Annie M. After the death of his wife in 1885 he married Mary D. Johnson, the daughter of Andrew Johnson of Flint District.

According to Mr. Balentine he taught school at Durdeen, White Oak, Pheasant Hill, Menard, Garfield and Eureka. He taught the Menard school for seven sessions.

The Balentine home south of Tahlequah was on historic ground. The garden plot was the site of Riley's Chapel where the Indian Mission Conference was organized and where the First Methodist Church in Muskogee came into existance.[17]

Mr. Balentine filled several important positions in the Cherokee government, starting with clerk of the senate committee of the

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[16] Muriel H. Wright, *Springplace, Moravian Mission and the Ward Family of the Cherokee Nation*, Guthrie, 1940, pp. 63, 64, 81, 84. The father of Milo Hoyt was the Reverend Ard Hoyt, a native of Danbury, Connecticut, who was born October 23, 1770, ordained at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, August 26, 1800, and served as pastor there until 1817 when he embarked from Philadelphia for Brainerd Mission, Tennessee. He arrived January 3, 1818 and served as superintendent of the mission until May 22, 1824, when he removed to Willstown Mission in Alabama, where he died on February 18, 1828. His wife was Esther Booth of Connecticut (Robert Sparks Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees*, New York, pp. 43, 134). (The surname of "Chief George Lowry," mentioned in the above paragraph is also found spelled in various records "Lowery" and "Lowrey." The first spelling "*Lowry*" is given as the preferred and correct form in family genealogical data which had been checked by the late Chief of the Cherokees, J. Bartley Milam of Claremore, and appears in *Springplace, Moravian Mission* . . . . . [Wright, *op. cit.*].—Ed.)

[17] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Park Hill* (Muskogee, 1948), pp. 150-151; O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory* (St. Louis, 1892), pp. 138-39.

National Council in 1879; he was secretary to Judge (Robert Wesley?) Walker while he was superintendent of the Female Academy. He served two years on the board of trustees of the Insane Asylum.

"Mr. Balentine is a gentleman of more than ordinary education, and, intellectually, is far superior to the majority."[18] He had a marvelous memory and the writer was fortunate to be present when he gave a long interview, sitting before the fireplace, in his home. A stenographer took notes and the following facts were gained from him:

"I knew Tom Starr better than I knew my Daddy. I had an uncle, Milo Hoyt, who served with Sam Starr during the (Civil) War. My uncle married Dave Folsom's[19] daughter Serena and they had one child named Alphias whose Cherokee name was Squirrel. After the war my uncle settled on the south side of the Arkansas River in the Choctaw Nation, and Tom Starr settled on this side of the river, down in what is called Younger's Bend.

"Tom Starr would do anything in the world. Once he and his gang robbed Wat Grayson of $32,000 in cash. Tom Starr planned it but the others got the money. They went to Grayson's home and when he would not tell where his money was hid they put his feet to the fire; and when he still refused to tell they put his wife's feet to the fire. Grayson could not stand that and so he told them where the money was concealed. Wat Grayson was the father of Captain G. W. Grayson and he lived near Eufaula.

"I knew Belle Starr very well. Once the Starrs asked me to go with them to Muskogee. Tom Starr, Belle Starr, Aunt Katie Reece, Charley Reece's daughter all went. They were going to sell some cattle and they wanted me to count the money. After they had sold the steers . . . . they were offered a check which they refused; they were offered green backs but Tom wouldn't take anything but gold. When we got that we started home, with Aunt Katie driving the horses. By the time we got to Coodey's Creek one of the horses was sick. Tom asked if I knew where I could get a horse and I told him I knew some of the Monroes and could get a horse from them.

"It was night and I told Tom I would go after a horse if he would go with me. He said all right but we had better make a fire for the women to keep them warm as the night was cold. We didn't

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[18] *Ibid.*, Mr. Ballentine died July 3, 1933.

[19] "David Folsom, the first chief of the Choctaws elected by ballot. . . . . History will record to David Folsom a high rank as a just and honest ruler, a noble patriot and an exemplary Christian. . . . . he administered the national affairs of his people for thirty years. . . . ." —H. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians* (Greenville, Texas, 1899), p. 348. (The "Milo Hoyt" mentioned in the above paragraph was *Milo Ard Hoyt*, a son of Milo Hoyt, Sr. and Lydia Lowry Hoyt. He married Harriet Fulsom Washburn according to the family genealogy given in *Springplace, Moravian Mission.* . . . . [Wright, *op. cit.*]—Ed.)

have any matches and Tom said he could make a fire with dry sticks, but I took some gun powder from a shell, tore up some papers, and making a spark by striking the steel of my gun against a rock, set them on fire. Way in the night we got to the Monroe house. Bob Monroe came out and asked who it was. I told him my circumstances and that I needed a horse and he said for me to go to the stable and take one of his—Tom Starr would not come up close. I got the horse and we went back to the wagon.

"Right after the Civil War, Jesse and Frank James came in this country and after a while Cole Younger and his brothers joined them and they stayed around the Starr's home in the Younger's Bend. When they planned to rob the bank at Northfield, Minnesota, they came to get Jim Reed to go with them. He was married to Belle then, before she married Starr and she wouldn't let him go. She threatened to kill him rather than allow him to go . . . . . Tom Starr refused to go because it was too far from home and they didn't know the people or the country.

"There was a thousand dollars reward out for Tom and Ellis Starr and they were on the scout. One day they saw a deer running around their camp. Tom said it was a bad sign and they had better move. Ellis refused to go, but Tom left and Ellis was killed. After killing a great many men Tom Starr died in his bed. He was nearly seven feet tall, had big feet and went bare foot in summer time . . . . .

"My father was the first superintendent of the Cherokee Female Seminary after the Civil War. I was attending Westminister College at Fulton, Missouri when my father died, February 22, 1876. When I came back here after his death, Miss Florence Wilson, Lizzie Ross, and Lizzie Stapler were teaching in the Seminary where there were 150 girls. My mother taught music there.

"The Board of Education of the Cherokee Nation could not find any body else to take father's plare so they asked me to stay. I wanted to go back to Westminister College but I finally consented and remained there through the balance of the term. Later I taught mathematics at the Cherokee Male Seminary in 1880. Aunt Eliza Alberty and her husband had charge of the Male Seminary at that time."

There was a large log house east of Mr. Balentine's home which he said Judge Riley Keys had built and then sold to the Carters ". . . . . Bill Keys who lived at the mouth of Park Hill Creek on the west side of the river died there." Mr. Balentine continued his narrative:

"It was an old-time custom that if any body died on a place they would move off, so they exchanged places with Judge Gillis. Bill Keyes' widow Sallie, had a brother Looney Riley who lived

to be ninety years of age. I bought this place in 1878. Judge Keyes said that Reverend Thomas Bertholf, a Methodist minister, built the first house in 1828, and Judge Keys built the second one two years later. He hewed the logs and made the boards. That old house is 105 years old and still occupied. Fifty years after Judge Keyes built it he helped me make a new foundation under it and it is there yet. I own it now.''[20]

In a letter addressed to Grant Foreman from Tahlequah on September 25, 1933, Mr. Balentine wrote:

My grandmother, Mrs. Lydia Hoyt, a daughter of Maj. George Lowrey (who for many years was Assistant Chief of the Cherokee tribe), was born in 1803, raised a large family and lived to a ripe old age; she spoke with equal correctness both the English and Cherokee language, was educated at Brainerd in the old Cherokee Nation; she translated and sang the first English hymn that was ever sung by the Cherokees . . . . . in the fall of 1839, she lived about six miles south of Tahlequah . . . . .

Then there was my father-in-law, Judge Riley Keyes, born in the old Cherokee Nation in 1803, emigrated in 1826, and was the second of a large family of sixteen children; was prominent in politics here for perhaps forty years having been elected as Supreme Judge several times; member of the Board of Education; he was a delegate to Washington together with William P. Ross and Jesse Bushyhead, son of Rev. Jesse Bushyhead, in 1867.

I also knew well Aunt Sally Keyes, she was a sister of the mother of Judge Riley Keyes and the widow of his uncle, William Keyes; she lived on the west side of the Illinois river, at the mouth of Barren Fork . . . . until her death in 1871, being about ninety years old.

I also knew her brother Looney Riley; he was elected from Cooweeskoowee District to the Council in 1873, and at the time of his death was said to have been ninety six years old. In his first emigration to this country, he lived on Barren Fork near the present town of Welling . . . Also I knew Aunt Susan Taylor, who lived in Tahlequah, built the National Hotel in 1847, and lived there until her death in the early '70s; she was the daughter of George Fields who was a half-brother of "Bushyhead," the father of the Rev. Jesse Bushyhead, so they were cousins . . . . .

Mr. Balentine wrote that the feud caused by the treaty of 1835 was continued until the year 1845, when James Starr, a signer of the 1835 treaty, living in Flint District was murdered: "It is said that thirty two men surrounded his house, just about sun-rise on Sunday morning, and riddled his body with bullets, he was a good man, the father of twenty children; his two wives were sisters, and among his children was Tom Starr, the noted outlaw. After the war he lived south of Muskogee about twenty miles, where he died about thirty-five years ago . . . . Once when I was talking to him he said, 'You know there was thirty two men that slipped up and killed my daddy, well I got most all of them except just a few that got sick and died in a bed before I could get to them.'—that was his idea of justice."

Mr. Balentine wrote concerning the so-called "hanging tree" in Tahlequah:

After we came back from down south at the close of the Civil War, the old gallows was up a little ravine, perhaps half a mile south-west of the

[20] Unfortunately this house later burned.

old Cherokee capital building, perhaps not so far as a half mile, and several men were hung on it before the jail was built, there was A-ne-ta and Spade Sunshine and others . . . . .

Archilla Smith[21] was the son of Cabin Smith, the youngest child, his wife was Agnes Fields, the daughter of John Fields, a brother to George Fields, so she was a first cousin to the Susie Taylor above mentioned; then Archilla Smith and his wife Agnes had six children, the oldest John Smith married Margaret Hendricks—they had one child which died and they separated and she married Andy Woodall, who was killed during the Civil War near his home, and she died in her ninety-second year at the old home, near the present "Woodall" school, which was named after them, about eight miles south from Tahlequah. Rachel Smith married John Rider and they had a number of children, most all girls I believe. Elizabeth Smith married John McFerran Fields, they hanged him, then she married Thomas Adkins and George Drum; she had no children and was generally known as Aunt Lizzie Drum and lived near where the town of Gore is now located, I knew her well. Two other sons, Charles and Samuel Houston Smith died without issue and the youngest girl, Eliza Smith married David Grason, Jackson Cozens and Francis Marion Seabolt, I didn't know anything about this family of Eliza Smith . . . . .

During a visit Mr. Balentine related to the author that when he was a young man he was the owner of a fine young horse. On one occasion he had ridden far into the country and was overtaken by night so he stopped at the home of a friend who agreed to allow him to remain. After supper the two men were sitting in front of the fireplace visiting when there was a knock at the door; when it was opened Tom Starr entered, and was invited to have a seat. Mr. Balentine hoped that he would soon leave but he dicided to stay overnight. The result was that Mr. Balentine sat up all night to guard his horse, because he knew if he went to sleep he would never see the animal again, as "Old Tom" would make off with it.

[21] For an account of Archilla Smith see Grant Foreman, *Indian Justice*, (Oklahoma City, 1938.)

CARL SWEEZY, ARAPAHO ARTIST

By Althea Bass

Carl Sweezy was born near Darlington, on the old Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation, and took pride to the end of his life in his full-blood Arapaho heritage. His father was *Hinan-ba-seth*, "Big Man," and he was given the Arapaho name *Wattan*, "Black." He never knew the date of his birth, but the year was probably 1881, since he was listed as a seven-year-old pupil in the Mennonite Mission School at Darlington in 1888. Because his mother died when he was quite small and his father was a member of the Indian Police who lived in their own tepees to the north of the principal Agency street, he had no home of his own, and he and his brothers were reared and given their early education in Mennonite mission schools. When his older brother, sent to the Mennonite school near Halstead, Kansas, took the name of Fieldie Sweezy, Sweezy being the name of the railway agent there, the other children were given the same family name, and little Watan became Carl Sweezy. To the day of his death, in 1953, he did honor to the name, and the innumerable paintings of Indian life and customs that he left behind will do it honor for years to come.

While he was still a little boy in knee trousers, he too was sent to the school at Halstead where at least one brother and one sister had preceded him. If the Mennonite missionary teachers were strict disciplinarians and taught even the youngest of their pupils to accept hard work and responsibility, they also gave them a sense of family affection and security; there were daily devotions and singing and games, as well as work, for the Indian boys and girls, in kitchen and laundry and garden and field and dairy. Carl remembered his boyhood as fortunate and happy, and held the Mennonite teachers and missionaries in gratitude all his life.

When he was fourteen, having learned how to farm and care for live stock and do dairy work, he came back to the Reservation at Darlington. He brought a baseball and bat and a catcher's mitt with him, and was ready for anything, white or Indian. He had been doing some drawing, and somewhere he had acquired a box of water color paints which one of the white women at the Agency showed him how to use.

Soon after Carl's return, the anthropologist James Mooney came to Darlington to study the customs and the handcrafts of the Cheyennes and the Arapahoes. He needed two Indian assistants: an interpreter to help him talk with the men and women he interviewed, and an artist to make paintings of the costumes and war gear and household equipment that he found among these Indians.

Paul Boynton, a Cheyenne youth with the unusual ability to speak both Cheyenne and Arapaho, became his interpreter, but no artist was available. For want of one, Mr. Mooney took on the boy Carl Sweezy, impressed him with the necessity of strict accuracy in recording design and color, and put him to work. "Paint only what is Indian and paint it accurately," Mr. Mooney insisted, and Carl responded in a way he had not dared to hope for.

For the next few months Carl painted shields and war-bonnets and baby carriers and drums and rattles, all the equipment brought in by the Indians for the anthropologist to study or to buy. He learned more than he had known before about how these things were made and how the materials for them were acquired by Cheyenne and Arapaho craftsmen. When Mr. Mooney returned to Washington, at the end of his long stay among the Indians in what was to become Oklahoma, the collection he took with him included many of Carl Sweezy's first paintings. Mooney's supervision was the only art instruction that Carl Sweezy had, but it was all he needed to start him on the road to becoming one of the best of the primitive Indian painters. To the end of his life he continued to paint, and to paint in what he called "the Mooney way."

It is impossible to establish dates for events in the lives of Indians like Carl Sweezy, born before calendars and clocks and birth certificates beame part of their lives. But at some time during his teens he went to Carlisle Indian Institute for two years, not finishing his course there because he became ill and was sent back to the Reservation to recover. What he had learned at Halstead stood him in good stead at Carlisle, where he added to his knowledge of farming and dairying in the school and on the farm at Washington Crossing which was his summer home. He would have liked to study drawing there, too, but was too shy to make the necessary arrangements.

Having recovered his health, he went back to school again, this time to Chilocco. Changing trains at Enid on his return from there, he met an Indian friend who had contracted to play with the Enid baseball team and who persuaded him to sign too. He played two summers with the Enid team, and later joined an all-Indian team that toured the country. When they reached Portland, Oregon, they visited the Lewis and Clark Exposition, and saw some of Carl's paintings, unsigned, in an exhibit from the Smithsonian Institution. Since it was some years before he began to sign his paintings, most of his early work is unidentified.

Because he understood farming and the care of livestock, it was easy for him to find employment. For many years he worked as farmer or dairyman at Rainy Mountain and Saint Patrick's and Concho. At Rainy Mountain he met and married Hattie Powless, an Oneida who was employed as a matron there. After her death,

(Courtesy of Bureau of American Ethnology)

Carl William Sweezy, Arapaho Artist, 1904.

in 1944, he had no permanent home, but spent most of his time in Oklahoma City where he had access to Indian friends and relatives, and to the Historical Society where he was always a willing contributor of information about Indian dress and handcrafts.

Carl Sweezy died on May the 28th, 1953, in the Indian Hospital at Lawton. Of his own generation, one brother, Frank, is still living. A daughter, Mary Mahardy, two sons, Carl Hilton and Merle Everett, and eight grandchildren survive him.

Accuracy of detail and color give his paintings a special value. During his boyhood he knew Cheyennes and Arapahoes who belonged to pre-reservation days; he visited in their tepees, seeing their equipment for home-making and for war and for religious ceremonies;[1] he heard their stories of battles and hunts and overland marches; he himself remembered the "Ghost Dance," and sun dances and peyote ceremonies, and Christian religious services of many sects. He never wanted for subject-matter; the whole of a disappearing way of life was his to draw from for his paintings of sun dancers and peyote worshippers, war dances and buffalo hunts, Indian games and family activities, and sooner or later he made use of all of it. All his life he lived under the influence of two cultures, that of the Plains Indians, ancient and vanishing, and that of the white man, changing even while he learned it. Yet he was not confused by them, and he chose for himself the best of both ways. His pictures, simple and orderly and balanced, are those of an Indian who lived harmoniously and philosophically under circumstances that most men would have found embittering and confusing.

Unfortunately, Carl Sweezy kept no record of his paintings, and it would be impossible to determine how many of them exist with or without his signature. Early in 1953, when an exhibit of his work was arranged by the Anthropology Department at the University of Oklahoma, it was difficult to locate and borrow enough of them to represent him adequately. But there are many of these paintings, some in oil and more in water color, distributed in homes and museums and art galleries throughout the country, where they stand as unique memorials to a man who combined a fine native talent with the grace and good will to make the most of it.

[1] The original painting "Medicine Lodge," by Carl Sweezy, in the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society was reproduced in colors on the front cover of the Annual Report of the Oklahoma State Health Department, July, 1951.—Ed.

THE STORY OF AN OKLAHOMA COWBOY, WILLIAM McGINTY, AND HIS WIFE

By Leslie A. McRill

There is drama on these plains—drama of human striving, failing and accomplishment. Here are a couple of Oklahoma pioneers who have lived a typical Oklahoma life and still march on into the sunset of their travel, taking events of every day with humor and satisfaction. Satisfaction because of a long, well-lived course; satisfaction in their children and grand-children, seeing them in well-regulated participation in all that is good and wholesome.

This is the story of Mr. and Mrs. William McGinty who were and are a part of early Oklahoma Territory and Oklahoma since Statehood. To all their friends they are Billy and Mollie. Living in the little village of Ripley, Payne County, they are known far and wide as two people who have never turned a deaf ear to need of any kind, always in the front vanguard for betterment of their community, and with a helping hand to every neighbor.

William M. McGinty was born in Mercer County, Missouri, son of Robert and Margaret Ann McGinty. His parents came to Oklahoma among the '89'ers and settled in the Ingalls community. Mary (Mollie) McGinty was born in Nebraska, daughter of Dr. J. H. and Charlotte Ann Pickering. The family were originally from Illinois. They moved to Oklahoma Territory in 1893, also settling at Ingalls. So, it was at Ingalls where Billy and Mollie met—young pioneers in a new territory.

Billy worked as a young man on the *Bar-X-Bar* Ranch in the Pawnee Reservation where he became the cowboy and roper who was to earn fame later on in life. It is difficult for a writer to pick out the important events of the lives of this well-known couple, there are so many unique, as well as typical, early day happenings woven into their lives. First, the early life of Billy, and then the lives of both after their marriage in 1902.

Billy, the cowboy, was fearless and perhaps never met a horse he could not conquer. One writer remarks:[1] "Roosevelt (Theodore) affectionately named him 'Little McGinty' . . . . . and said that Little McGinty made himself a pledge never to walk if he could ride. It appears his preference in transportation was a horse. He did not care about the 'temper' of the horse, for the meaner, the better he liked it."

[1] Chris Emmet, "Rough Riders," in *The New Mexico Historical Review*, July, 1955, p. 177.

Billy McGinty as he looks to his friends today. Cowboy hat and fine boots were given him in New Mexico where the "Rough Riders' Association" meets annually.

As a rider of wild horses McGinty perhaps has never been surpassed. A friend of the writer, Mr. Gilbert Shaw, also a pioneer of Oklahoma, of the Ingalls neighborhood, recalls, when he was a boy of twelve or thirteen years of age, seeing Billy riding an unbroken horse. While doing so Billy slipped the saddle, discarding it, then the bridle, and continued riding the frantic bucking animal successfully. When confronted with this recollection by Mr. Shaw, McGinty remarked: "I would never tell that one, because most folks would think I was lying."

Billy was still riding and roping cattle in his ranch work when the Spanish-American War broke out. News was soon heralded that Theodore Roosevelt was going to organize a Rough Rider Regiment. Billy wanted to join-up, so he saddled his pony and took out from Ingalls for Guthrie where the enlistment roll was being made up. He tells of his trip on horseback, of sleeping at a negro cabin enroute, and finally arriving at Guthrie where he was successful in getting into the regiment. It was a trip of some two days in that day.

These remarks were published under a half-page photo of Billy:[2]

One of the most colorful and picturesque and best known characters in Oklahoma today is Billy McGinty of Ripley, Oklahoma.

He was a veteran of the Spanish-American War and was the only one of eight or nine applications from Payne County who was accepted in the organization known as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders."

He counted as his friends Teddy Roosevelt, Pawnee Bill, Buffalo Bill, "Death Valley Scotty," General Wood, General Wheeler and others.

Billy was accepted in spite of the fact that he was only five feet two inches in height. But when it came to getting the job done, riding and soldiering, he was right in there with the tallest and best, attracting the attention of his commanding officers, and liked by his comrades because of his quiet demeanor and fearless daring.

Quoting again from Chris Emmet (*op. cit.*): "Among those who early attracted the attention of both Colonel Wood and Lieut. Colonel Roosevelt, as well as the newspapers, was (and is) one William M. McGinty . . . . . You men (members of the Rough Riders Ass'n) know him either as your life-time president or just plain 'Uncle Billy.' "

When speaking of the battle of San Juan Hill, Billy has this reminiscence:

It seems odd to me that in this action, I remember some of these things. But under fire of this kind, it is often these things we most remember. We could see the city of Santiago from the San Juan Hill. Many Spaniards had been left dead in the trenches, most of whom had been shot in the head.

[2] The Historical Souvenir Edition of *The United Spanish American War Veterans Magazine*, May 12, 1942.

When we reached the trenches we stopped, as it was late and as quite a number of men were missing. We could not figure out what had happened to them, but we found out next morning. About sixty of the men had charged on over the hill. Since these men were not sure of their position and were between two fires, the Spanish, during the night, tried several counter attacks, but were driven back. The Spanish and these men over the hill were at very close quarters—only just across a small draw were the enemy.

When daylight came, these men started digging back, using their small dagger knives which they carried, and taking cover in the shallow trenches as they dug along in the sandy, gravelly dirt of the hill. By morning, our regiment had found the location of the men, but had no way of getting them back until nightfall again. The previous night they had not wanted to disclose that they were cut off, or they would have been in a very serious position. That day was really hot, being the 3rd day of July. Col. Roosevelt knew that the boys could not stay there all day without food and water. The morning was sultry, with a light fog, and then the sun came out, bearing down with all its combined southern intensity. Col. Roosevelt and Captain Kane decided to send some tomatoes and hard tack and coffee to the boys. I was standing close by. When the officers were talking about trying to get food to those stranded over the hill, they asked for volunteers. I stepped up and told them I would try and get some food to them. When I started to go, Col. Roosevelt said, "Wait, I'll go with you."

Captain Kane replied, "No, Col. Roosevelt, if any one goes with him, I will go. The whole regiment is depending on you, but no one depending on either of us."

Then I told them that there was no use in risking two men, so I took a case of food over to the lines. When I hit the brow of the hill, it seemed that the entire enemy line started firing. I had the case of food on my shoulder and was humped over trying to stay as close to the ground as I could. The firing seemed to come in a bit of cross-fire. A number of bullets hit the case of food, some being canned tomatoes and the juice ran down my face and back. But I never got hit any place and when I reached the boys, I stayed there and dug me out a hole to crawl into. In a short time, another one of our boys, Dick Shanafelt, came over with a big can of coffee, and as luck would have it, we never got a scratch. To keep from getting shelled out, the boys started tunneling back toward the trenches. They would dig in the ground just deep enough to hide their bodies and keep inching as they completed more trench. Some of the main regiment tunneled toward us and later we reached the main trenches at San Juan Hill.

I am proud to be a Spanish-American War veteran.[3]

Another interesting event which occurred at San Juan Hill is related in the following narrative, also told by Billy McGinty.[4]

Where we were camped there was a small stream where we got our drinking water. Below this stream was a nice water hole and we were allowed to swim there. One day while swimming, a sergeant of our troop named Sherman Bell was badly ruptured as he slipped and fell. The injury was small but four of our doctors there tried to help him, but could do him no good. They finally decided to ease him by taking him to the Headquarters General Hospital. His condition had grown so bad, that they immediately

[3] The above narrative was given to the writer by Mrs. Rose Jacobs, former editor of the *Ripley Review*, to whom Billy gave it. She was intending to use it at some future date.

[4] *Ibid.*

detailed me and one of Bell's friends, named Ben Daniels, to take him down the mountain to the hospital.

I got the outfit together ready to go, and they shot him full of morphine and told us we had better get him to the hospital before the drug played out. We put him in this two wheel cart we had rigged up. The back-band of the harness was padded like a saddle, and it fitted right on the mule's back, so the lift and weight was mostly on the mule's back. When we first started, for a ways, Ben Daniels walked behind, while I sat up in the back of the cart with a rifle in my hands. We had to go through a very spooky part of the jungle, although I don't think there was much danger of anything. The walking was mighty hard, and it was hot, too, and in a short time Ben was just rolling in sweat. I kept telling him we would have to hurry, but he would get behind, and I would have to pull up and wait. He kept telling me there wasn't room for both of us in the cart, but I told him that if he didn't get in that way I wasn't going to stop for him again.

Ben Daniels held a higher rank than I in the army, and I should not have talked to him like that. But I guess he figured he was the same as I, for we fussed back and forth all the time. The road was rough as all put together going down that mountain pass to the hospital. I kept whipping the mule trying to hurry, and Ben kept telling me that I would kill Sherman Bell if I didn't slow up. But I knew that if we didn't get there before the morphine played out we would have lots of trouble. I didn't pay much attention to Ben's hollering, for he was having a time holding onto the cart, and couldn't do much anyway.

That old cart hadn't been greased for many a month and the wheels would squall out plenty loud every time they turned around. And there we were going down the mountain lickety-split, the wheels squalling, and Ben Daniels trying to hold on, yelling above the noise for me to "take it easy." Sherman Bell's head was about a foot or more lower than his feet, the way we had laid him in the cart, and the morphine had relaxed his body so that he took each bump with the cart. This, of course, was much better than if he had not been relaxed, since then he would have received more jarring around.

We reached the Hospital before the drug played out, and I gave a note from our doctors to the head doctor there. Ben and I took it easier going back to camp. When we got back to camp, the doctors were anxious to know how we made out. I told our Doctor Thorp how Ben had griped about jarring Sherman Bell so much, and he told me he didn't think it made much difference, as he didn't hold much chance for him anyway.

I never thought much more about it, just figuring that I would never see Sherman Bell alive again. But after the War, when I was in New York City, I became ill and was taken to the hospital there. One day at the hospital, a man and his girl friend, came to visit me and who should it be but Sherman Bell? He introduced me to the lady by saying "Here is the McGinty that saved my life in Cuba." and gave her a "line of bull" about me and him. I had thought him to be a truthful fellow, and must have looked at him like it was a mystery to me, for he said, "You act like you don't know what I'm talking about. Remember when I was in that awful fix in the mountains of Cuba."

I told him of course I remembered that. "Well," he went on, "The doctors told me that trip down the mountain side was what saved my life. My head being lower than my feet, and I being relaxed, the jolts along the rough mountain side worked that rupture slowly back until when I reached the hospitai, the doctors did not need to operate, or do much else, since I was already on the road to recovery."

Sherman Bell was later an official in Colorado, and before the War, had been a Wells-Fargo man on the Denver Run.

When the troops returned to the States and were being mustered out, Colonel Roosevelt asked Billy to take his horse, "Little Tex," from Long Island to Oyster Bay. McGinty was glad to do so, but along the route the curious and souvenir hunters beset Billy and "Tex," each one pulling a hair from the horse's tail, until when Oyster Bay was reached, "Little Tex" had no hair remaining in his tail. Roosevelt remarked upon seeing him, "Bully!, but he surely doesn't look very natural."

An amusing incident occurred before the mustering out. Fellow soldiers wanting to pull a trick on Billy, prevailed upon him to ask the *Mustering Out* officer when they were going home. They assumed that if he asked a superior officer point blank such a question, and without being addressed, he would be reprimanded. When Billy approached the officer and put his question the officer met him with a smile and they sat down on a log and had a good chat, much to the surprise and chagrin of Billy's comrades.

Upon leaving the army McGinty made contact with William S. ("Buffalo Bill") Cody and became a rider in that world famous circus. The riders gave a most colorful spectacle with their fast riding and well drilled horses. Billy was the first man to ride a bucking horse on the stage in New York City. This was in 1907 in the old Vanderbilt Theatre. He also won fame in Madison Square Garden before the days of Will Rogers, whom he was able to count as a friend.

He was with the Buffalo Bill Circus for three seasons, leaving that organization in 1900, as he and Mollie were married in the fall of 1902. They had the distinction of being serenaded by the Circus Band after their marriage. Soon after marriage they settled in western Oklahoma on a claim and ranch in old Day County (now part of Ellis County) east of Grand, then the county seat. They called their ranch "The Crossed Sabres Ranch." Here they were busied in the exciting events of first settlers, trying to make a home in the almost forbidding sandy country. They lived in a typical dug-out and "cut their teeth" on primitive ranch life. An amusing incident was the time they arrived home from a neighborhood social function, and entered their dug-out home. They heard a scratching on the ceiling of their dug-out, which Mollie had papered with old newspapers and magazines. Billy armed himself with a club and hit on the ridge-pole. Thereupon the paper ceiling gave way and a skunk fell through taking refuge between the sheets on their bed. Billy was caught in the back corner of the room, while Mollie was near the door. He was calling out: "What shall I do? What shall I do?" while Mollie says she was chuckling so hard she couldn't answer. Finally they gathered up the bed

Billy and Mollie McGinty. Photo taken in 1902, at Grand, Oklahoma Territory, when they were living on the "Crossed Saber Ranch," their first home after their marriage.

clothes to make an exit and carry the varmit out. But Mollie was so amused that she let go of her end of the bedding and the unwelcome guest fell out between Billy's legs. Needless to say, they had to go down to another house on the ranch for the night, where they were not the most welcome guests considering the circumstances.

In that day the writer became acquainted with Billy and Mollie, when he was a "printers devil" on the *Day County Progress* at old Grand. There were some one hundred residents of the county seat in normal times. When Court was in session or the county teachers held their summer Normal, the town was almost doubled in population. Here the homesteaders and the cattle men, cowboys and what-have-you—for those were the days of the Socialist soap-box orators—all came to trade, to be amused, or to air their political views. The little red saloon was a most attractive place to some of the visitors, where a quiet, or even a boisterous game of poker would take place. As all cowboys of his day, Billy didn't mind a game of poker, but Mollie did not acquiesce. She once told the Sheriff, "Doc" Smith, to arrest Billy when he came to town and throw him in the calaboose until she could come after him. Billy came in as usual and he and "Doc" were having a quiet game when "Doc" looked up and saw Mollie coming horseback over the ridge of hills surrounding the little town. He told Billy to "run for the jail," which was located up the side of a steep hill, and he also followed Billy, both running up the hill to the jail. But Mollie saw them and wise to their little game was not fooled by the pseudo-arrest. Mollie enjoys telling about that incident to this day but Billy looks a little sheepish when the tale is told.

Cattle ranching was not too profitable, what with the homesteaders, the drouth, the shinnery, etc., so the McGintys returned in 1905 to Ingalls, after their short ranch life in Day County. Soon thereafter, they settled in Ripley, Payne County, where they have been a part of that community for many years. Here they reared their family, three fine red-headed boys: Delmar, the oldest, has been employed by one oil firm for more than thirty years; William O. (Jack) has also been in the oil business for many years; Clarence, the youngest, is the banker in Glencoe, Oklahoma, where he is one of the leading citizens in every type of activity. The McGintys have, beside the three sons, seven grandchildren and one great-grandchild.

Billy and Mollie have been all these years a large part of the two communities of Ripley and Ingalls. While at Ingalls they knew personally Bill Dalton, George Newcomb (Bitter Creek), Bill Doolin, Roy Daugherty (Arkansaw Tom), Tulsa Jack and others of those outlaw gangs. They can tell some interesting stories of the "goings-on" in those days when the United States Marshals had their battle with the outlaws at Ingalls.

Now Mrs. McGinty has had a larger part in these events than is usually noted. She has gone with Billy all over the United States in his travels and always encouraged him in each activity. For her part, she served nine years as post-mistress at Ripley. All through the early days she was at the "beck and call" of neighbors, far and wide, to answer to any call for aid. Many a time she has ridden her horse to visit some sick neighbor, night or day, to minister to a sick child who was fighting a losing battle with fever or dread disease. She has nursed them back to life, administering to them until she saw the turn for the better. The writer has a good friend, a teacher, school superintendent, and coach in Oklahoma schools who was nursed by Mrs. McGinty until the disease was baffled and conquered. She is a worker and member of the Eastern Star Lodge at Ripley, and for many years was Treasurer of the Methodist Church there. When the church, some years ago decided they needed a Youth Center, Mollie became the treasurer of the project and never was a single payment missed until the building was paid for. Now Ripley has a fine Youth Fellowship Building, built of native stone, well furnished and equipped where the youth of the town may gather for religious services, class parties, wiener roasts, school functions, and similar gatherings. When the matter of furnishing the building was up for discussion, some one suggested that they could get a second hand stove, but Mollie spoke up and said that since the building was for the young people of the community, the best was none too good, and so the ladies bought a fine new range, hot water tank, steel sink, and all modern equipment, including dishes and silverware.

Billy has letters from many prominent friends he has made through the years, and their home is a veritable treasure-house of mementoes from all over the country attesting to their many trips and activities. They have attended all the *'89er* and other "Run" celebrations of Oklahoma all through the years and are members of all such organizations.

When Billy left the Buffalo Bill Shows, William F. Cody wrote him the following recommendation, among Billy's present day treasures:

Buffalo Bill's Wild West
Memphis, Tenn., Nov. 3, 1900.

To Whom It May Concern:

The bearer of this, Mr. William M. McGinty, has been in the employ of the Buffalo Bill's Wild West for the past three seasons and has performed all of his duties in a thorough and satisfactory manner and I cheerfully recommend him as a sober, honest, and reliable man.

(Signed) W. F. Cody.

Billy has attended the yearly meeting of the "Roosevelt Rough Riders Association" which usually meets in Las Vegas,

"McGinty's Cowboy Band." Left to right, seated in front row: Marie Mitchell, Mollie McGinty, Billy McGinty, Euliss Moore; standing, back row, Frank Sherrill, Henry Hackney, Otto Gray, Guy Messecar, Paul Harrison.

New Mexico, year after year. He served as Vice-President of the organization for nine years. Finally, in 1954 he was elected President for Life of the association. Every summer he and Mollie and some one of the children or grandchildren make this trek to Las Vegas to meet the ever-dwindling number who attend. It is a gala State event for New Mexico. The group are "wined and dined" and entertained at sumptuous banquets and made very welcome indeed.

For many years their favorite method of transportation was their converted school bus. Billy bought a discarded school bus and together they fitted it up for travel. Inside were the bed, table, chairs, ice box, gas stove, lights, and dishes. Curtains at the windows gave it a very homelike appearance and with this bus they made long trips, stopping wherever they wished and really seeing the country they were visiting. Billy is a great believer in the health-giving qualities of the baths at Claremore, Hot Springs and Sulphur, to name a few they visit, and very often when the mood has directed, they have spent weeks or even months at some of these resorts.

One of Billy's proudest possessions is his "Museum" housed in a small building on the back of their lot in Ripley. Here one may see old saddles, including Mollie's side-saddle, a saddle won by Billy in a roping and riding contest held in Kansas; pictures of many events of the old days; letters from prominent citizens of the United States; clippings from newspapers and magazines covering some cow-boy event; rattlesnake skins and rattles; hides and horns from big game, and a thousand other mementos of former days. Classes from the local schools come with their teachers to the Museum to see the wonders of by-gone days. One animal hide is especially interesting as it belongs to a wild hog, which Billy roped in against the advice of those who knew their wild hogs. It dragged him over the sandy ground until he succeeded in getting the rope around a large cactus and stopped its flight.

One of the most interesting activities of the McGintys was their "Billy McGinty Cowboy Band," which played over the radio stations here in Oklahoma during the very early days of the radio. Mollie sang ballads, as did other musicians and some times a church choir would join in the musical broadcasts. The band played dance music, western ballads, and became very popular as radio entertainers. They had cowboy uniforms and made a very colorful aggregation in parades and driving to and from their engagements. This band was composed of Ripley community musicians of talent.

Perhaps one of the most outstanding facts of Billy's life was his part in the founding of the "Bull Moose Party," when Theodore Roosevelt called in his friends for that event. Billy was one of the

Rough Riders who had been invited to that memorable meeting at Sagamore Hill when the new party was organized and launched. The following is an account of that day, taken from the *New York Times* of June 25, 1910:[5]

ROUGH RIDERS CARRY FLAGS TO ROOSEVELT

Mr. Roosevelt had as guests also "Jack" Greenway of Coleraine, Minn., Capt. Edward Borein of California, William McGinty of Ripley, Oklahoma, Edward Emerson[6] of Boston, all old Rough Rider Comrades; Leslie Tarlton and Claud Tritton, who organized his African expedition, Francis J. Heney, the San Francisco graft prosecutor, and Mrs. Heney.

The Rough Riders went to Sagamore Hill on an earnest mission. Borein, McGinty and Emerson donned their uniforms in New York at sunrise, ferried across the East River, then rode all the way to Oyster Bay on cow ponies. They bore the Rough Riders' dearest possessions, the two regimental flags which they carried in their charge up San Juan Hill.

Col Roosevelt was sitting in the veranda when he saw them coming up the hill. He walked down part way to meet them . . . . . "Colonel," said Capt. Borien, "we have brought back the standards to the man who is best fitted to keep them." Colonel Roosevelt replied that he would treasure the colors always. One of them he had had before and loaned it to the Rough Riders for their celebration yesterday. The Rough Riders also brought a guidon, a cavalry flag, which was presented to Col. Roosevelt yesterday in behalf of the Grand Army of the Republic of Oklahoma.

Billy has had many letters from Theodore Roosevelt, but says he has not retained them all. One of them reads as follows:

The White House
Washington May 1, 1906
Dear McGinty:

No letter could have pleased me more than yours. I am so glad to hear how well you are doing. Yes, Frantz[7] is all right. Have you met Abernathy, the Marshal, yet He is a crackajak (*sic*) and ought to have been in the regiment.

Good luck to you always,
Faithfully yours,
Theodore Roosevelt

Mr. William McGinty
Ingalls, Oklahoma Territory.

In regard to Mr. McGinty's activities as president of the Rough Riders' Association, we include in this article a telegram he received last August from President Dwight D. Eisenhower:

1956 Aug. 3, A. M. 8:52, Aug. 2nd.

Billy McGinty, President—
National Association of Roosevelt Rough Riders,

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[5] In the headlines of this article from the *New York Times* were these words: "FORMING A NEW PARTY, THE OYSTER BAY PAPERS DISCOVER AT THIS MEETING."

[6] Edward Emerson, the historian whose books are in all well equipped Libraries, at home and abroad.

[7] Referring to Mr. Frank Frantz whom President Roosevelt appointed last Territorial Governor of Oklahoma.

To the National Association of Roosevelt Rough Riders, I extend warm greetings on the occasion of your annual reunion. All of you have my congratulations on your service to the Nation, and my best wishes for a meeting rich in memories of the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt.

Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Billy has in his possession a gavel to use in presiding at the reunions of the Rough Riders Association, which was sent him a year or two ago. This gavel and handle and chest in which it is contained have historical significance beyond any mere gavel. An addenda on the under side of the cover of the chest reads:

This gavel is from a tree planted on the lawn of the Public Library in Fort Worth, Texas, April 1, 1906, by President Theodore Roosevelt, in a public ceremony and became familiarly known as the "Teddy Roosevelt Tree." Because of a building expansion later, it was necessary to move the tree to the Memorial Plot in front of the Will Rogers Memorial Hall. where it was transplanted and dedicated in a befitting patriotic public ceremony, an account of which was printed in the newspapers and the *National Tribune* of May 12, 1936. The tree died a few months later and was replaced by the President's widow, now growing nicely. The handle is from a tree from the San Jacinto (Texas) Battlefield that grew near the tree under which General Sam Houston lay wounded when the Mexican General Santa Anna was brought captive before him, the wood secured through Governor Stephenson. Both the gavel and the chest were made by Comrade H. Herring, Fort Worth, Texas.

In February of 1950, Billy was surprised by the receipt of a medal and accompanying certificate from the Nation of Cuba. All was in Spanish of course, but the *Certificate* informed him that he was being awarded the medal and certificate as recognition of his part in the freedom of Cuba as a Roosevelt Rough Rider. It is printed on the letterhead of the President of the Republic of Cuba, and is signed by the President and the Minister of State. The writer translated the document for the High School class of American History at the Ripley High School the winter it was received. The signatures of the President and Minister of State are not very legible since the seal of each is superimposed over their respective signatures. However, this medal and "Diploma" (so-called in Spanish) are treasures that Billy prizes very highly.[8]

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[8] "*Diploma*" from the Nation of Cuba:

El Presidente
de la
Republica de Cuba

POR CUANTO William McGinty, Soldado Esc. "K," 1 Regto., U. S. Caballeria ha comprobado debidamente que presto servicios en las Fuerzas Armadas de los Estados Unidos de America, o en sus cuerpos u organizaciones auxiliares, durante la Guerra Hispano-Americana.

POR TANTO: De acuerdo con el Decreto-Ley No. 867 de 13 de Febrero de 1935, le concede la Medalla de los Veteranos de la Guerra Hispano-Americana.

Y PARA QUE CONSTA, se expide este Diploma que refrenda el Ministro de Estado de la Republica, en el Palacio de la Presidencia, La Habana, a 25 de Febrero de 1950.

(SEAL) (SEAL)
REPUBLICA DE CUBA REPUBLICA DE CUBA
MINISTERIO DE ESTADO PRESIDENCIA.

Neither Billy nor Mollie ever walked down the aisle holding a diploma of formal education, for they lived in the day of experience, when men and women were exerting every effort to build a commonwealth where their children and grandchildren might walk proudly down the aisle with diplomas of every phase of educational endeavor. But they have walked down the aisle of Life's School of Activity, conquering many difficulties, chuckling over hard luck when it struck, rejoicing in victories, both their own and those of their neighbors, so that now they enjoy the esteem and love of more than a whole community—for they have demonstrated how people in this land of opportunity may become world-citizens and exert an influence as wide as humanity. Pioneers though they were and are, they stlll carry on the most modern activities of the day, alert to every new movement, and contributing of their money, time and effort to make this a better State. They have had a part longer than the fifty years of statehood, for they laid the foundations with the *'89ers* and the superstructure of today stands as a monumenut to combined efforts of many such citizens as they.

And the "latch-string" literally hangs out at their Ripley home for visitors who are likely to drop in at any hour of the day or night from all over the Nation to "visit a spell," and recall the days of their associations in the past. They are an inspiration to all who know them.

A SPANISH "ARRASTRA" IN THE WICHITA MOUNTAINS

By W. Eugene Hollon

In July, 1955, Mr. Harry Feather, geologist at Wichita Falls, Texas, notified the director of the University of Oklahoma Museum of his recent discovery of a Spanish *arrastra* in the Wichita Mountains of Southwestern Oklahoma. Mr. Feather supplied a crudely drawn map of the approximate site and suggested that the Museum consider restoring it as a contribution to the early history of the region.

Nothing was done about following up the suggestion until June, 1956, at which time this writer and Dr. Sherman Lawton, archaeologists by avocation, set out for the Wichita Mountains on a brief exploratory venture. The word *arrastra*—we felt reasonably sure—was related to mining, since our map contained two or three references to "abandoned mines." The *arrastra* appeared to be an unspecified number of miles north of Cache near the bend of an unidentified road. The only specific landmark shown on the map was a "clump of planted trees," with the particular object in question indicated to be nearby.

Several hours of fruitless search in the Wichita Mountain region produced one dead-end road after the other. The map proved no help at all, for the more closely we adhered to it, the more confused we became relative to distance and direction. Finally, the search was abandoned and the advice of a forest ranger at the Wildlife Preserve headquarters was sought. The "clump of planted trees," we were informed, lay almost equal distance between Mount Scott and Mount Sheridan—just to the right of a dirt road. It ultimately proved to be fifteen miles east of the orginal course we had pursued and only two miles south of the small town of Meers, Oklahoma.

Once the key landmark was definitely located it was fairly easy to find the *arrastra,* some three hundred yards away and situated in the bend of Cedar Creek. Identifying it caused little trouble indeed, for we discovered that a troop of Boy Scouts from Lawton had preceded us by a few weeks and obligingly erected a stone marker at the site. A brief examination of the *arrastra* was all that was necessary to understand its mechanical operation: Obviously it was a crude machine built from native material for the purpose of grinding mineral rock. Everything about it suggested Spanish characteristics, and at first glance it resembled an old fashioned grist mill, or the syrup mills still common in parts of the South where ribbon cane is grown.

The *arrastra* turned out to be a circular ditch approximately one foot deep and two feet wide; both the floor and walls were paved with closely fitted granite stones. The outside diameter of the circle was fifteen feet. A stout log with one end set firmly in the ground and the other protruding upward about three feet occupied the very center of the circular stone works. Anchored to it was a long cross-arm pole, one end of which extended some three or four feet beyond the rim of the outside curb. The original wood long since had rotted away, but all the parts had been restored—probably the recent work of the Boy Scout troop mentioned above.

Circular scratches on the stone pavement and curbs gave clear indication that heavy stones had been dragged over the floor by means of the pivot mechanism. Thus, it became fairly obvious, after a few moments inspection, that the mill actually had been in operation, if but for a brief time. The question was when and by whom had it been constructed.

Both Dr. Lawton and the writer experienced a feeling of excitement—tempered somewhat by academic caution and skepticism—over the prospects of this ore grinding machine having been built by early Spanish gold prospectors in Oklahoma. Stories of lost Spanish mines in the Wichitas are legion. J. Frank Dobie has a brief account in his *Coronado's Children* of seventeenth century Spaniards who prospected in the area.[1] We both were familiar with Dobie's book and naturally speculated if it were possible that the present *arrastra* was constructed and later abandoned by these early visitors. Surely, we agreed, such a crude mill was not the work of any recent operation, for Anglo-American miners would have had more efficient and modern machinery.

Since our map indicated an "abandoned mine" in the immediate vicinity, we began a search for it soon after convincing ourselves that the *arrastra* must have been the work of Spanish prospectors. Across a dry portion of the nearby creek bed and a few yards beyond a rock ledge we found three old mine shafts. The first was approximately four feet square and extended straight down through a solid granite base. Obviously the original depth was much greater, but debris and dirt now filled the bottom to within ten feet of the surface. A short distance away was a much larger shaft, and judging from the mound of broken rock close by it originally exceeded fifty feet in depth. A curious characteristic of the second shaft was that two of its four walls were perfectly smooth. Also, nowhere in it or the other diggings were there signs that a drill had been used, the absence of which seemed at first to eliminate the probability that the shafts were dug by the aid of dynamite. Futhermore, there were no marks visable on

[1] J. Frank Dobie, *Coronado's Children* (The Southwest Press, Brooklyn, New York, 1930), pp. 295-305.

the face of the rock indicating the use of hammer and chisel. One thing seemed reasonably certain, however: the ore mill and the shafts belonged together and undoubtedly were constructed at the same time.

History on Mining Shafts

Subsequent research on the history of the mining shafts began first, rather than on the origin of the *arrastra.* If these shafts were the work of the Spaniards, an interesting chapter in Oklahoma history might readily be unfolded. There is little mention of the region of present Oklahoma in Spanish documents except that various explorers passed through during the course of journeys elsewhere. Archival records do reveal, however, that a missionary priest, Father Juan de Salas, was escorted to the Sierra Jumanos (Wichita Mountains) by an expedition which left Santa Fe in 1629 for the purpose of establishing a mission among the Indians.[2] Father Salas and other Spanish priests were engaged in missionary work in the area for the next two decades, but their activities were not permanent. The wild tribes of seventeenth century Oklahoma were different stocks entirely from the semi-placid Pueblos of New Mexico or the sedentary Tejas Indians of East Texas, among whom the Spaniards settled.

An expedition under the command of Diego del Castillo visited the Wichita Mountains for a period of six months during 1650. His object was to search for gold and silver, the first recorded instance of extensive Spanish prospecting in present Oklahoma. Castillo is reputed to have found a few pearls in some of the local streams but no precious ores.[3] Additional mining explorations by Spaniards from New Mexico or Texas into Southwestern Oklahoma might have occurred in subsequent decades, but records of their activities have not come to light. Nevertheless, "lost Spanish mines in the Wichita Mountains" persisted in the imagination of the credulous to a very recent period.

After finding specific proof that the Spaniards actually prospected in the Wcihita Mountain region at a remote period, the next step was to determine if they left the present shafts as evidence of their work. Seventeenth century visitors obviously could have constructed the *arrastra* with the tools and building materials at hand, but digging through solid granite is another matter. The use of gunpowder or dynamite for blasting seemed the possible answer until research revealed that the first use of gunpowder in

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[2] Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (5 vols. New York, 1916), Vol. I, pp. 20-21.

[3] *Ibid.*

mining was introduced at Schemnitz by Casper Weindle in 1627.[4] Since the technique was not applied in English mines for another seventy-five years, it is almost certain that the Spaniards did not adopt the principle before the Eighteenth Century—much later than the date of Castillo's mining activities in the Wichitas.

The probability that the shafts in the Wichitas were the result of workers slowly chipping away at the granite and removing the debris until the present depths were attained was never considered seriously. This would have been an almost superhuman task for seventeenth century workmen. Not only would steel chisels or drills have been required to pierce the rock, but hundreds of men and an equal number of soldiers to protect them from the wild Indians likewise would have been needed. The Spaniards probably had neither the special tools nor the personnel on the Southwestern frontier at the time.

Additional investigation in the history of mining soon turned up a third possibility—the fire and quenching method used in Bohemian mines in the Sixteenth Century to penetrate rock strata. Indeed, fire setting as an aid in breaking through rock is of ancient origin and persisted in certain German and Norwegian mines down to the end of the Nineteenth Century. Logs were set ablaze and allowed to burn down to red-hot coals. When water—some insisted that vinegar was more effective— was dashed on the coals, the base rock sometimes cracked and flaked. It then was possible, by the use of stone hammers and iron chisels, to remove the surplus pieces and thus lower the shaft a few inches with each operation. According to various authorities, a shaft could be sunk by this primitive method at the rate of five to twenty feet per month. However, fire seems to be an effective aid only on soft rock or limestone. Since our particular investigation concerned very hard granite, this possible method by the Spaniards also was ruled out.

Indeed, the likelihood that Spaniards sank the present shafts in the Wichita Mountains during the Seventeenth Century became increasingly remote as other possible digging methods were explored and eliminated. The obvious conclusion appeared more and more that they were the result of fairly recent operation by Anglo-Americans. Convinced at last that the shafts could only have been sunk by dynamite or some type of heavy machinery not available to the Spaniards, attention was inadvertently focused to the *arrastra* once again. It took a minimum of investigation to discover that this machine was definitely of Spanish origin and that Anglo-Americans borrowed it from Mexico, as well as other mining techniques—as in the case of ranching and farming institutions.

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[4] *Georgius Agricola's De Re Metallica*, translated from the first Latin edition of 1556 by Herbert Clark Hoover and Lou Henry Hover (Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1950), p. 119.

Early Spanish Mining Activities in Mexico

Most of the mining nomenclature is quite uniform, but the word *arrastra* is found with a variety of spellings: *arrastre, arrastro, rastre, rasta,* and *arrester.* Some authors avoid use of the term altogether and refer to it as a mill. Others, particularly Alexander von Humbolt, who surveyed mining methods in Southern Mexico in 1802, called it a *tahone.* Humboldt praised the efficiency of these crude mills, which he described as machines that crushed "ore between very hard gyrating rocks and weighing about seven or eight quintals."[5] (A quintal is equivalent to a hundred kilograms). The famous traveler also compared the *arrestras* to tobacco mills or oil mills of his day. He explained that once the ore was pulverized it then passed through a foundry for final extraction of the gold or silver.

The *arrastra* was invented and in use long before Humboldt first saw it in Mexico during the early years of the Nineteenth Century. It basically was a machine for grinding mineral rocks into small pieces in order that flakes or veins of gold or silver could be extracted more easily. Actually, it was only one step in the operation of refining precious metals and primarily used in Mexico in the early period in connection with the patio process, which is described later.

In the pre-Conquest days in Mexico, the Indians practiced rude smelting to free visable pure ores. When the Spaniards arrived, they knew little more about refining processes, but they were able to recognize old familiar compounds which they had learned from experience in Peninsular mines. At first they resorted to the crude furnaces where the ore was baked over tremendous fires and the gold and silver simply melted out and collected. (Had not more economical methods of refining been discovered, the entire area surrounding the mines doutless would have been deforested within a relatively few decades). Before the ore was treated by fire, the rock was broken with hammers by Indian laborers into pieces about the size of hen eggs, and then ground by an old fashioned millstone.

The need for more efficient machinery than the millstone and a substitute for the furnace were quickly apparent. It was at this stage that the *arrastra* and the patio process appeared in Mexico. Credit for their invention generally is attributed to one Bartolemeo de Medina, at Pachuca, Mexico, about A. D. 1557.[6] Although the

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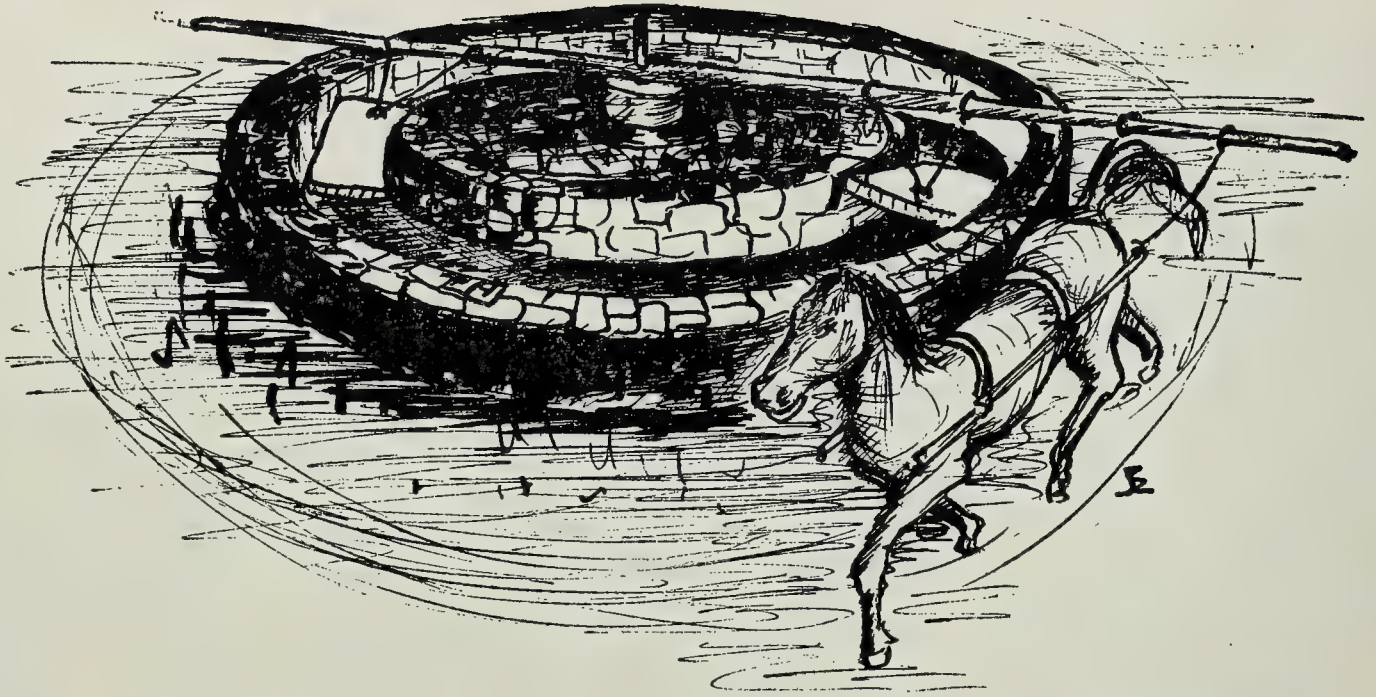
[5] Alexandria Von Humboldt, *Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne* (4 vols., Paris, 1811), IV, p. 49.

[6] M. P. Boss, "The Pachuca Stamp-Battery and Its Predecessors," *Transactions of the American Institute of Mining Engineers,* (New York, 1902), XXXII, pp. 244-247.



(Sketch made from Descriptions in Historical Records)

Spanish **Arrastra** invented in 1557, and used in early mining operations in America through a period of over three hundred years.

archives of Pachuca, where so much history in ore treatment was made, were destroyed long since, fragmentary evidence found elsewhere indicates that Medina probably was not the first to utilize the *arrastra* and patio. Nevertheless, we know that they were in use during a very early period in the history of New Spain, that Medina was the first to refine gold and silver on anything like a commercial scale, and that by 1650 the method which he utilized was practiced throughout Mexico.[7]

Medina's operation was unique for its time in two respects: it necessitated the use of mercury for amalgamation, and it did not require furnaces for baking the rock. This "beneficio en frio" or "cold process" was used chiefly in refining the lower grade ores, incidentally. The first step was to turn the ore into the *arrastras*, or grinding mills, for pulveration. The mass then was treated with mercury on a large flagstone patio and the gold and silver eventually separated.

Various descriptions of sixteenth-century *arrastras* reveal that they were almost identical to the one recently discovered in the Wichita Mountains: they varied in diameter from eight to fifteen feet and the depth of the circular bed from one to three feet; the walls and floor were of the hardest rock obtainable, usually basalt, and in the very center was a hole to receive the base post; from this post was suspended a boom, upon which heavy blocks of the same hard rock were fastened; the drag stones were large enough to touch the walls of the trench as well as the floor and were tipped in front to allow the pebbles to slide under and thus receive the full crushing action. Sometimes, if the mining were extensive, the *arrastras* were arranged in batteries and operated by relays of mules pulling the booms around and around until the mass obtained the texture of fine sand. Grinding averaged twenty-four hours, and during the latter stages water was added, so that the content became a slime.

After the ore was ground sufficiently, it was dumped out in piles on a large patio, from which the whole process gets its name. These patios frequently covered as much as two acres of ground and constituted the very heart of the refinery. The collected mass from the mills was called a *torta,* or cake, and could exceed one hundred feet in diameter—depending upon the number of *arrastras* in operation at a given time. Now came the most important step, which was performed by the *azoguero,* or mercury man. He was really the aristocrat of the industry, for upon his shoulders rested the complete succes or failure of the whole operation and he would tolerate no criticism or advice from anyone. His work was done largely by rule of thumb, and despite lack of scientific training, the *azoguero* developed a very high degree of skill. He

[7] *Ibid.*

began his task first by examining the cake carefully, testing it now and then to see how it reacted to salt. If the mixture turned too "hot," lime was added to "cool" it until ready to receive the mercury.

The use of mercury or quicksilver was the only chemical process developed in the refining of gold before 1850. (The present cyanide process was not perfected until 1887). Again, Bartolemeo de Medina is the man generally given credit for first discovering mercury's affinity for gold and silver.[8] During the sixteenth century this liquid metal was scarce and expensive and a monoply of the crown. In order to pay out, mercury had to produce six times its worth in silver. It was worked into the mass or cake very carefully so as to amalgamate with the metal. This operation might take as long as five months, depending upon the rainfall and tempermature, but more commonly five or six weeks were sufficient. Meanwhile, the *azoguero* constantly worked and tested the cake, "warmed" it and added mercury here and there as needed. The *Torta,* if large, was agitated by men or horses monotonously tramping through it hour after hour. Humboldt observed that these men enjoyed perfect health, but mercury poisoning must have been common phenomenon. Indeed, there are miners still alive in Pachuca who recall seeing old horses whose legs were so badly attacked that the flesh had rotted away and the bone exposed to plain sight.[9]

Once the cake obtained the proper color, warmth, size, and texture, it was scraped up and deposited in large vats and constantly agitated with water. The heavy amalgam and excess mercury eventually settled to the bottom, while the water was carefully drawn off the top. Now came another ticklish operation: the amalgam was placed in sacks and squeezed until most of the mercury was separated through the web of the cloth. The mass was then moulded into pyramids and put on little metal platforms. A bronze covering called a *cappellina* was placed over the mold and heat applied underneath the platform. The high temperature caused the quicksilver to sublime, and then condense when it came in contact with the *capellina.* Thus it ran down the sides and dropped off into troughs especially arranged to catch it. Although some mercury inevitably was lost in each process, it was used over and over as long as it could be recovered.

After the mercury was driven off, the free metal remained. The end product was pure silver or gold, or a combination of both. Sometimes lead and zinc were present, but refining them out was a simple operation. Crude as the patio amalgamation system seems today, it met the needs of the *mineros* for more than three centuries

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[8] Clement G. Motten, *Mexican Silver and the Enlightment* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1950), p. 21.

[9] *Ibid.*

with little change. When gold and silver were discovered in California during the mid-nineteenth century, experienced Mexican miners brought in their refining knowledge which Anglo-Americans were quick to copy and modify to fit the particular needs and conditions.

The earliest system of mining in California was the placer method whereby pure or free gold was taken from the gravel beds of mountain streams. Most of the gold and silver, however, was found in quartz below the surface in combination with other elements and had to be crushed before the metal could be recovered. As soon as the free surface gold was exhausted, ore mills were constructed to work the gold and silver bearing quartz. The *arrastra* naturally came into use, although other methods such as the crude grinding stone and stamp mill powered by water were also used at first. The stamp mill, incidentally, is as old as the *arrastra*.[10] Anglo-American miners employed it in Georgia two or three decades before the California gold rush. Both machines were introduced in California about the same time. As it became more highly developed, and where water was available for power, the stamp mill gradually replaced the *arrastra* in all but the most isolated mining areas. Even so, the *arrastra* appears to have survived until the end of the nineteenth century in the United States, and still can be found in parts of Mexico.

Mining in the West quickly became a specialized industry and *arrastras* and patios were built and operated by various individuals separate from the digging, water, assay, and refining operations. Some of the ore, particularly the higher grades, might be sent to England for refining. No figures are available on the number of arrastras and patios in California at any one time, but an 1682 directory of the Comstock Lode area of Nevada shows "fifty or more *arrastras* and several Mexican patios in existance." In addition, there were some eighty-two stamp mills.[11] The first arrastras appeared in Arizona in 1865, but unfortunately it never crushed a pound of quartz at the *Bully Bueano* mine where it was built.[12] About thirty Mexican *arrastras* were in operation in the Colorado gold fields during the spring of 1860.[13]

Various descriptions of the *arrastras* built during the gold rush days in the American West indicate that they were almost

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[10] "The first application of the stamp to the crushing of rock is asserted by some writers to have been the invention of a Saxon nobleman named Von Maltitz, about the year 1505. Better authenticated reference, however, is made to one Paul Gronstetter, a native of Schwarz, who, in the year 1519, established at Joachimsthal a process of wet stamping and sifting. Two years later a larger plant was established at the same place."—Boss, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

[11] Charles Howard Shinn, *The Story of the Mine* (New York, 1896), p. 86.

[12] "Connor Manuscript" (Unpublished typed copy in possession of the writer), p. 663.

[13] G. Thomas Ingham, *Digging Gold Among the Rockies* (Philadelphia, 1888), p. 241.

exact duplicates of the ones observed by Humboldt in Mexico in 1802. Americans who were familiar with the old fashioned bark-mill found in small tanneries inevitably recognized its similarity to the Mexican ore mill. The arm of the *arrastra* to which the horse was hitched was much longer, however to allow the animal to move in a large circle and thus obtain more pulling power. A good American *arrastra* could crush from one to three tons of ore in twenty-four hours at the rate of six to ten revolutions per minute.[14] The ones in California and Colorado frequently were powered by water and thus operated at a much faster rate.

Americans soon learned to eliminate the slow and cumbersome patio step, described above, by adding the quicksilver to the mass before it was removed from the *arrastra*.[15] When sufficient amalgam was formed, water was drawn off and the paste taken up in stout canvas bags. After the water was thoroughly squeezed out, the gold or silver was ready to be recovered. Usually far more mills than necesary were constructed in the same locality as soon as a gold or silver strike was made. Intense competition inevitably drove the price of grinding ore down to twenty or thirty dollars per ton, thus forcing the majority of the owners out of business, what with their crude processes and high prices for labor.

No sooner did activity settle down in one area of the West than it broke out elsewhere and the cycle of "boom to bust" was repeated. From California the mining frontier spread to Colorado, Nevada, Arizona, Wyoming, Montana, and New Mexico. The last great gold rush took place in the Black Hills of the Dakota country in 1874. Discoveries often were made by lone prospectors, and, as already observed, refining was carried on by primitive methods. By 1880 practically every ravine and canyon of the Rockies and Sierra Nevadas, as well as most of the smaller ranges throughout the western half of the United States, were explored, prospected, and worked.

Prospecting in the Wichita Mountains

It was enevitable, therefore, that the Wichita range in present Southwestern Oklahoma attracted attention at a time when there were few places where prospectors had not already gone. Legends of lost Spanish gold mines gained momentum in the late nineteenth century and many people were "convinced" that the Indians in the Wichita region knew where the gold could be found—a rumor that was helped considerably by the average Indian's tendency to make sport of the white man. The fact that these mountains lay in large part within the reservation set aside for the Kiowa-Comanches made them appear all the more tempting.

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[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Ibid.*

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 prohibited entry, but gold seekers came anyway; when discovered by soldiers from nearby Ft. Sill, they were driven off and their property confiscated. The earliest mine known to have been worked by white men in the Wichitas was opened in 1886, about twelve miles southwest of present Granite.[16] The shaft was sunk to a depth of approximately sixty-five feet and claims were made that a little free gold was found.

In 1893 a shaft was sunk to about the same depth in Navajo Mountain, one of the outlying peaks of the Wichita range in Greer County, ten miles east and three miles north of Altus, and some forty miles southwest of Fort Sill. Although never substantiated, stories were circulated that some gold was recovered. About this time a number of soldiers stationed at Fort Sill began prospecting on Medicine Creek in the reservation. When military authorities discovered the operation in 1896, they put a stop to it immediately. Prospectors were found a short time later on Otter Creek. The Indian police ultimately drove them out, confiscating their property, burning the camp shacks, and filling up their forty-five foot shaft.[17] But despite discouragement from all sides, miners continued to slip into the reservation and carry on their illicit activities.

Later in the decade of the nineties a sizeable group again was active in the vicinity of the headwaters of Otter Creek. Here they staked squatters mining claims, built temporary shacks, and even secured the establishment of a post office. The latter must have been one of the most unusual institutions of its kind, for it was mounted on wheels and pulled about from place to place—depending upon the prospecting site of its patrons. Mail arrived in the mining camp from Navajoe two or three times a week, but the carrier frequently had to do considerable searching to find the field post office. Finally, in the early summer of 1901, cavalry troops were sent out from Fort Sill and escorted all the miners to the reservation line where they were given a strong ultimatum not to return.[18] But the boom was far from ended.

On August 6, 1901, the Federal Government opened large tracts of land to white settlers in the Wichita Mountain area which formerly belonged to the Wichitas, Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches. Mining interest experienced an immediate increase as dozens of new claims were staked out all over the mountains. About five miles north of Cache the Cold Dodge mine reached a depth of ninety feet and produced a sprinkling of lead and zinc. Near Mount Sheridan, new and modern mining equipment was installed at a

[16] C. W. Rose, "Mining in Wichita Mountains," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine* (July, 1910), p. 46.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] E. E. Dale, "Old Navajoe," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (Summer, 1946), p. 128-145.

reputed cost of $19,000, but the equipment was little used and later sold and shipped to Arizona. In the fall of 1903 the Frisco Railroad offered free transportation on a car of ore to Denver as an aid in developing the mines. The ore was taken from the Little Bar, then at a depth of only fourteen feet, and hauled fifteen miles to the railroad at Cache. Miners throughout the district felt considerable excitement as they anxiously awaited the results of the shipment. Eventually the ore was smelted and refined. It reported $11.87 per ton in value, hardly enough to pay the cost of any single operation in the business of mining.[19]

Three additional shipments of ore were made to Denver in 1904. The results were equally disappointing and some of the miners must have felt by now that there were easier ways to make a living. Many of them however were hard to convince and assured themselves that the ore had not been adequately tested and that the adverse results were due to the failure of the smelters. Unscrupulous men posing as scientific assayers continued to victimize the prospectors by claiming that various ore samples indicated yields of thousands of dollars per ton. Money and energy were invested where no possibilities for returns existed. In all, six smelters were built in the Wichitas between 1901 and 1904, but only one was able to make successful runs. It closed down after a few day's operation.[20]

Perhaps the main factor that caused the prospectors to hold out hopes that gold and silver were present in the Wichitas is that most of the surface rock in this region is granite. Geologists have been accustomed to describing granite as the oldest and lowest formation of the earth. Miners learned from experience that quartz veins are commonly found between the crevices of this type of formation. It is the primary rock extending down towards the center of the earth in which ore bearing veins are most apt to be present. Since most of the prospecting in the Wichita Mountains was done near the surface among so-called secondary rock, the miners had less than a mathematical chance of discovering precious metals in paying quantities.

During the mining activities immediately preceding and following the opening of the twentieth century, numerous geologists visited the Wichitas. Their investigations were either hurriedly made or else directed to the general problems of geology rather than the study of reported ores. In October, 1903, H. Foster Bain, a young geologist at the University of Oklahoma, made a concerted effort to collect and examine rock specimens from all the mines in the area. Bain discovered that there was a total of forty-three mines, most of which were already abandoned, between Lawton

[19] Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

and Lugert, Oklahoma. From each mining shaft he took samples of ore worked, about three hundred pounds of rock in all, and later made seventy-one assays. His findings revealed a uniform absence of even a trace of gold and only the occasional presence of small quantities of silver, copper, and lead. "None of the prospects examined shows any one in the proper sense of the term" he wrote in an article published in 1904,[21] "nor does any one of them have any present or future value. . . . In no case do the prospects offer any encouragement whatever for additional prospecting."

The miners generally were convinced by now that gold and silver were not to be found in paying quantities and most of them drifted elsewhere or settled down to more practical occupations. But hope springs eternal, and some persisted for years in fruitless search. By 1910 there was a little lead and zinc being mined in the Wichitas but never did they approach anything like paying quantities. The same was true of the mica deposits discovered in later years, and except for its trove of legends, the Wichitas have yielded little else in the way of precious metals.

A few old time residents in the region today state that abandoned mining shafts are found throughout the mountains, but the *arrastra* located between Mount Scott and Mount Sheridan is indeed unique. Whether additional ones were ever constructed in the area is difficult to ascertain.

It would have been extremely gratifying to this writer to have established the present *arrastra* as one built by seventeenth-century Spaniards. This was the original objective and hope until historical evidence and logic made the matter highly unlikely. The discovery that the *arrastra* was common throughout the American Southwest leaves but one conclusion: Many of the Anglo- American prospectors who swarmed into the Wichita area during the latter part of the nineteenth century were experienced miners, familiar with the design of the *arrastra.* With ideal building materials readily at hand and with modern and efficient grinding machinery not easily obtainable, it seems obvious therefore that they would construct a simple but proven apparatus to carry out their work. But regardless of its builders, or the date of its construction, the present *arrastra* in the Wichitas possesses significant historical meaning: Originating in Mexico four centuries ago, it is a singular reminder of the fact that Spanish "culture" barely touched the fringe of what is now the state of Oklahoma.

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[21] H. Foster Bain, "Reported Ore Deposits of the Wichita Mountains," *Department of Interior Bulletin No.* 31, United States Geological Survey (Government Printing Office, 1904), pp. 84-93.

THE OSAGE INDIANS AND THE LIQUOR PROBLEM BEFORE OKLAHOMA STATEHOOD

*By Frank F. Finney**

Benjamin Franklin was one of the commissioners who negotiated a treaty with the Indians at Carlisle, Pennsylvania.[1] The commissioners told the Indians that if they would continue sober during the meeting, they would be given plenty of rum after the business was over. After the treaty was concluded, the Indians received the rum promised. Franklin describes in his autobiography the orgy which followed:

> We found they had made a great bonfire in the middle of the square; they were all drunk, men and women, quarreling and fighting. Their dark-coloured bodies, half naked, seen only by the gloomy light of the bonfire, running after and beating one another with firebrands, accompanied by their horrid yellings, formed a scene the most resembling our ideas of hell that well could be imagined.

In concluding the description of the scene, Franklin made this observation: "Indeed, if it is the design of Providence to extirpate these savages in order to make room for the cultivators of this earth, it seems not improbable that rum may be the appointed means. It has already annihilated all the tribes who formerly inhabited the sea-coast."

Although the number of individuals of Indian descent have increased since Franklin's day, the numbers of full blood members of many tribes have been on the decline and the time is approaching in some, as is already past in others, when they will live only in legend and story. As an example, the Osage Indian population in 1952 numbered 5,307 of which 478, or 9 per cent, were full bloods and 4,829, or 91 per cent, were mixed bloods. When the Osages located on their new reservation in the Indian Territory in 1871, the full blood population constituted 92 per cent of the tribe.[2]

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* *Annual Reports*, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; *The Osage People and Their Trust Property*, A Field Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Anadarko Area Office; Otto Frovin Frederikson, *The Liquor Question Among the Indian Tribes of Kansas*. Bulletin of the University of Kansas, Vol. XXXIII—April 15, 1932; Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, (Norman, 1951); Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, (Chicago, 1946).

[1] Treaty made at a meeting of Commissioners Richard Peters, Isaac Norris, Benjamin Franklin with deputies from the Six Nations, Delaware, Shawnee, Twightwee and Wyandot tribes, October 1 to 4, 1753, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania.—*Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*. Introduction by Carl Van Doren. Historical and Bibliographical Notes by Julian Boyd. (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1938).

[2] "At the time of the Osages' removal in 1871, to the Indian Territory, now Osage County, Oklahoma, the full bloods constituted 92 per cent of the Osage population, but, by 1906, the full blood population decreased 38 per cent. In the

In this changing world, whole peoples have died out or have been absorbed into other races and it is not within our province to question the designs of Providence as to the purpose of these changes. We can examine the historical records, however, having Franklin's prediction in mind, and learn something of the part alcohol has had in the fate of the pure blood American Indian in the disappearance and extinction of once large tribes.

Distilling processes were entirely unknown to the Indians. European civilization brought with it ardent spirits to a people unprepared to handle it, and without inhibitions as to its use. Once addicted to strong drink, the American Indian had no control of his appetite or discrimination in its use, and drank to complete intoxication.

Smallpox and other diseases unknown to the Indians before the white man came among them, hardships suffered in removals, changes of climate, wars among themselves and with the white man, all were contributing factors in the demise of the Red Man. That these causes had a powerful ally to alcoholic liquor to shorten the lives and corrupt and demoralize the Indian is conclusively determined by the numerous reports from the Indian agents and the testimony of missionaries and other witnesses who lived among them.

W. L. Marcy who was in charge of Indian affairs as Secretary of war wrote in 1847: "There can be no doubt that to it (whiskey) more than other agency is to be attributed the rapid decline of the race in morals as well as in numbers."

Kit Carson, the famous scout while acting as Indian agent reported from Taos Agency, New Mexico, August 29, 1860:

> The Jacarilla Apaches number about nine hundred and fifty souls.—They are rapidly degenerating—We daily witness them in a state of intoxication in our plaza. No sacrifice is considered by them too great in order to procure whiskey.—Something must be done soon to remove them from contact with the settlements if we would avoid their utter ruin. If permitted to remain where they are, before many years the tribe will be entirely extinct.

That portion of the Sauk and Fox tribe, known as the "Sauk and Foxes of the Mississippi" numbered approximately 3,000 when they were removed from Iowa to a reservation in Kansas. Their numbers had been reduced to about 700 when the bulk of the tribe was removed to Indian Territory in 1869. Their agent attributed their steady decline to their manner of living, exposure to cold and especially drunkeness.

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short space of 34 years (1872-1906), the Osage people were catapulted from a semi-nomadic, communal society into the midst of a highly complex, competitive and individualistic group with the pattern fixed for their rapid absorption by the dominant group."—*The Osage People and Their Trust Property.* A Field Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Anadarko Area Office, April 30, 1953.

The Kansa or Kaws, a tribe indigenous to Kansas from which the state derived it's name, numbered about 1,700 members when they were established on a diminished reservation on the Neosho River in the vicinity of Council Grove. Whiskey was plentiful on the Santa Fe Trail which ran through their country and by 1850 their agent reported that they had become "Great whiskey dealers as well as drinkers." Five years later their agent said the Kansa drank liquor where and when ever they could get it, and had become a degenerated people; he thought they must soon become extinct. The remnant of this tribe of 533 members were removed to the Indian Territory in 1873.

Excerpts after excerpts could be made from the reports of the agents for many tribes showing the control of the liquor traffic with Indians was inaffective. The first Federal liquor control measure applicable to the Indians was passed by Congress in 1802 at the request of President Thomas Jefferson soon after Little Turtle, a Miami chief, made a plea to him to protect his people from the evil of drink. Chief Little Turtle said that when the white people came to their land, their forefathers were numerous and happy but now owing to the introduction of the fatal poison of whiskey they had become less numerous and happy. The bill passed by Congress authorized the President to take such measures, from time to time, as to him appeared expedient to prevent or restrain the vending or distribution of spiritous liquors among all or any of the Indians. The Act did not deter early explorers and employees of the government to make presents of liquor to the Indians or traders from using it as a medium of exchange. Lieutenant Zebulon Pike was one of those who used whiskey as gifts to the Indians including the Osages when he visited them on the Osage river in Missouri in 1806.

"Pedseni" was the Osage name for intoxicating liquor meaning "firewater," the term by which alcohol was commonly known. The term had it's origin in the fur trade of the northwest. In that region the fur traders had early discovered that a keg of alcohol mixed with water brought incredible profits when offered the Indians for furs and pelts. To test the potency of the stuff, the Indians poured it on the fire; if the fire flared up, the liquor was good; if the fire extinguished, it was bad. Thus it became known as "firewater."

The Great and Little Osages were a proud and powerful people when Pike visited them. Early visitors among them were impressed with their striking appearance and fine physique. Endowed by nature with strong constitutions, the men were tall and erect, with a natural grace and dignity. They were greatly feared by their enemies and ranged far and wide from their villages on their hunting and marauding expeditions.

Under the terms of a treaty with the Government entered into at St. Louis in 1825, the Osages ceded a vast domain to which they laid

claim and accepted a reservation in Kansas for their home. This was a rectangular tract, 50 miles from north to south with it's eastern boundary 25 miles from the western Missouri line. A part of the tribe under the influence of the Chouteau brothers, French traders of St. Louis, had migrated to a region on the Arkansas river near the mouth of the Verdigris now included in Oklahoma, in 1802. It was some years after the Treaty of 1825, that the government was able to gather the whole tribe on the reservation in what is now Kansas. Much of the time spent on their Kansas reservation were years of adversity for the Osages. Buffalo on which they depended for their livlihood became scarce and buffalo hunting on the Plains was hindered by other tribes with which the Osage were often in conflict. Epidemics scourged the tribe; white people encroached upon their reservation, and the use of intoxicating liquor added greatly in undermining the strength of the Osage nation.

Liquor was not a problem with the Osages when the Treaty of 1825 was made. The missionary, William Vaill then said, "In the six years I have not seen one of them drunk. They are afraid of whiskey and call it firewater. This sobriety however did not last. With the proximity of the Santa Fe trail and the border of Missouri, liquor became easily available and the Osages in increasing numbers fell under the spell of it's allurements." Their agent reported in 1843: "The Osages have drunk more whiskey the past year than they have since they were a people. . . . a majority of the houses near the line in Jasper and Bates counties, keep whiskey to sell to the Osages for their money, ponies, guns, buffalo robes and blankets."

A few years later, the agent for the Osages wrote: "Osages are fast sacrificing their blankets and other possessions for whiskey and the firewater of the white man is reducing women and children to starvation." Reverend Father John Schoenmakers, Superintendent of the Osage Manual Labor School in 1857, wrote: "Indolence and drunkeness cling to the Osages with tenacity . . . . their intercourse with the whites is the occasion of introducing intoxicating and adulterated spirits . . . . I foresee, with pity, the speedy and annihilation of grown Osages, our hope only rests in the rising generation."

At the requests of some of the Osage chiefs who saw the harmful effects of liquor the agent drew up a short penal code which was adopted in a council meeting. Under it's provisions, Osages were forbidden to bring liquor on the reservation under penalty of destruction of the whiskey and lashes on the backs of the offenders. The chiefs were to act as judges who were to select braves to execute the law. The decree became a dead letter with its inception and not the first effort was ever made to enforce it.

The laws of Kansas both as a territory and a state and the laws of Missouri prescribed fines and imprisonment for those who provided Indians with intoxicating liquor, but convictions were nearly

impossible and attempts to enforce these laws were feeble and ineffective. Likewise the Federal Government had laws to govern the liquor traffic with the Indians. By the Congressional Act of 1834, the existing laws were strengthened by providing specific fines for introducing liquor into Indian country (quantities as were necessary for military forces excepted) and for disposing and selling liquor to an Indian on a reservation.[3]

In 1847, Congress resorted to further legislation which provided in addition to the fines imposed by Act of 1834, sentences of not to exceed two years for selling, giving or diposing liquors to an Indian in the region named. The Act of 1862, amended the prohibitory laws to apply to any persons furnishing liquor to an Indian under the care of any superintendent. This amendment was intended to give Federal officers a way of dealing with persons who sold prohibited liquors to Indians outside of the reservations.

Although some serious attempts were made by the Federal Government to enforce the liquor laws, it proved to be an impossible task to police the entire Indian country. Agent Calloway of the Osages wrote that places selling liquor along the Missouri line alone were so numerous and scattered that it would have required all the dragons in the service to patrol the area.

By the end of the Civil War, the Osages had been reduced to a pitiable plight. They were driven off the Plains where they had been accustomed to make regular hunts by their Indian enemies and without this source for meat and robes they had been reduced to a state of starvation. To make their situation more deplorable, an influx of white settlers was locating on their reservation. Over two thousand of these intruders had passed upon Osage lands, taking possession of their corn fields, cattle and hogs.

Congress sought to alleviate this distressing condition with an act approved by the President July 15, 1870, which authorized the removal of the Osages to the Indian Territory on a reservation west of the 96th meridian to be purchased by the tribe from the Cherokees.[4] Due to an error in the survey, the impoverished Osages were removed in the spring of 1871 to Cherokee land east of the 96th meridian with agency headquarters near Silver Lake a few miles south of the present City of Bartlesville. After a saw mill and a few temporary buildings had been erected, under the direction of their agent Isaac T. Gibson, it was found that the Osages had mistakenly been located, and they were obliged to move west to their present reservation in which, near the geographical center, the Osage chiefs selected a location for their agency on Bird creek, now Pawhuska.

The large reservation of approximately one and a half million acres was a wild and beautiful country, bounded on the west and south by the Arkansas river, to the east by the 96th meridian and the Cherokee country and to the north by the southern line of the State

[3] Act of June 30, 1834. *U. S. Stat.* 4, p. 729.
[4] U. S. Commissioner Reports 1907, p. 40. Act of July 15, 1870.

Osage Agency at Pawhuska, 1880's.

of Kansas. Although it was broken with bluffs, ridges and wooded hills, much of Osage country was carpeted with luxuriant blue stem grass, and fertile ground was found along the creek and river bottoms.

For several years the Osages made successful hunts on the western plains but these were discontinued after reckless slaughter by white men had eliminated the buffalo. The Osages then settled down on their reservation to live their own kind of lives which they considered superior, and a much happier state of existance than that of the white people.

Moved from their unfavorable surroundings in Kansas they made rapid progress in regaining their morale and dignity. Gone were the hard times they had suffered to the point of starvation, and left behind were the whiskey peddlars and the lawless element among the white people.

The Osages were interested in raising herds of ponies. Excepting small patches cultivated by the squaws they did no farming. They looked upon work as degrading, and to plow and hoe only fit occupations for the poor white man who had to work for a living and to whom they rented their home places for a share of the crop. They passed their unfettered time visiting, feasting, pony racing, gambling, dancing and engaging in ceremonial occasions such as marriages and burials. Revenue from the sale of their Kansas lands and rents from grazing and farm land had made them independent.

To a great measure they were isolated from contact with the white people and they were little hampered on the thinly populated reservation. The Indian Department's regulations were administered for the most part by sympathetic agents. It should be pointed out that there were measures imposed which some of the Osages, especially the full bloods opposed, such as the rationing system, which was abandoned, and the order requiring children to attend schools, which was enforced. To great extent, however, they conducted their own affairs under a constitution and a code of laws adopted by the tribe and administered by a tribal government.

Their drinking habits after they arrived on their new reservation had undergone a remarkable change. Their agent, Major Laban J. Miles, reported in 1879: "Their great reason for wanting to come here was to get away from the great evil prevailing in the civilized states, whiskey. To their great credit and to the Indian service, I am happy to say not one of them has been intoxicated since arriving here."

Again in his report for 1881, Maj. Miles wrote: "Drinking is almost unknown among them. They are controlled by their police, so that few crimes such as theft occur."

For nearly twenty years after their arrival from Kansas, until the opening of Oklahoma Territory the reservation was kept relatively free of whiskey peddlars by the Osage police and the United States

Deputy marshals. No white man was permitted on the reservation without a permit.

The run in 1889 by white settlers and the creation of the Territory of Oklahoma brought the beginning of a drastic change in the lives of the Osages. One of the first acts of the Oklahoma territorial legislature legalized the use and trade on liquor. The law took effect Christmas day, 1890. It contained the following provision: "Any person who shall give, barter or in any manner dispose of any intoxicating liquor to an Indian shall be guilty of a misdemeanor."

After the opening in 1889, Maj. Miles said that renting of Osage farm land to white persons had greatly increased. He complained that the presence of numerous vagabond white people on the reservation was detrimental to the welfare of the Indian. Many of these vagabonds proved to be gamblers, and whiskey peddlars who succeeded in evading the officers. The lands opened for settlement were not contiguous to the Osage reservation but near enough to provide a base from which whiskey peddlars, according to Agent Miles, could cross the border at night, dispose of their liquid poison like buzzards, and be safely with their friends in Oklahoma by daylight.

With the opening of the Cherokee Outlet and the surplus lands of the Tonkawa and Pawnee reservations, conditions went from bad to worse. It was not until then that liquor could be legally disposed of on any borders of the Osage reservation. Almost overnight, the little towns of Cleveland, Blackburn, Ralston and Ponca, sprung up across the Arkansas river from the Osage reservation, which were filled with saloons and where the liquor laws were disregarded with impunity. Once again the use of whiskey spread among the Osages like a deadly epidemic to end their contented and tranquil lives which they had led for nearly two decades. During the first year, Agent Miles reported not less than a dozen deaths occurred among the adult Indians attributed to drunken debauches.

The conditions which prevailed were described in an interview with the pioneer Osage Indian trader, John N. Florer carried in the *St. Louis Republic* under the headline "Whiskey is the Bane of the Red Man," from which the following is quoted:

For twenty years I have made my purchases for the Indian trade in St. Louis. During the first few years I was with the Osages they paid for their goods mostly with buffalo robes.

These Indians always paid their debts until the lawless whites commenced selling them whiskey after the Cherokee Strip was opened.

Many little towns sprung up along the Oklahoma line and a disreputable class of white men have devised means of selling Indians whiskey so the traders do not now receive what is coming to them for the necessities of life furnished them.

The demoralization of the Osages for which these criminals are responsible is much greater than one can imagine who is not familiar with the situation. Not only do the whiskey peddlars rob the Indians and get them in all kinds of trouble but their nefarious traffic destroys the good effects of education among the young Indians.

I have already sent about fifty Indians to the states to take the Keely cure but am sorry to say the treatment is not a permanent success.

The licensed traders have tried to keep whiskey away from them without success. They feel the Government should use an iron hand in dealing with this lawless class before the remaining Indians are completely demoralized.

When whiskey is driven beyond the reach of the Osages, education will begin to tell and the younger generation will be fitted to care for themselves in the days when the tribal relations with the Government are ended and annuities cease.

The howling of drunken Indians at the camps became a familiar sound, and fights and fatalities became common occurences such as the one at Ralston where Theodore Harvey, a full blood was killed by Louis Tinker, a half-breed, in a saloon fight with pistols and knives. Such trouble in the border towns prompted the agent, Colonel H. B. Freeman to issue an order forbidding the Osages to leave the reservation under penalty of arrests and fines. At about the same time, he stopped the construction of a bridge across the Arkansas river which the Indians could use in getting liquor at the town of Blackburn.

During the following years until allotment and statehood, the affairs of the Osage Nation were in a turmoil as well as those of the individual Indians. Factional controversies over the allotment question, strife over the possession of tribal offices and lack of cooperation with the government caused Colonel Freeman to declare the tribal government had become a farce. In 1900, under the administration of O. A. Mitscher as agent, the Osage tribal government was abolished. The council was restored at the time of allotment in 1906. Agent Mitscher had this to say about liquor in his report: "Liquor still holds first curse to the Indians . . . . proximity of civilization and grog shops responsible.

One influence had appeared to displace the liquor habits of some of the Indians. More Osages were turning to the Peyote religious cult which had been introduced among the Osages by John Wilson, a Caddo-Delaware Indian, a number of years before. The adherents drank no alcoholic liquor and during a religious ritualistic ceremony, ate the Peyote button and drank a tea made from it. Peyote induced a beatific state and behavior of adherents was as different from that of the whiskey drinkers on a spree as that of peaceful sheep and rampant lions.

In 1905, Agent Captain Frank Frantz saw some improvement in law enforcement and in the drinking habits among the Indians. Most of them he said were sober excepting those who lived near the villages Gray Horse and Fairfax in the vicinity of the town of Ralston. Of these Indians and the saloons of Ralston, he wrote:

Small rooms there, are petitioned off in the rear of the buildings, fitted with dumb-waiters and various contrivences to prevent the Indian customer from seeing the person from which he is buying the liquor. Not uncommon sight to see 15 or 20 intoxicated Indians on the streets of Ralston at a time some almost naked having bartered their blankets for

whiskey or were stolen from them while in a drunken condition. Some of the women have become so debauched to make a practice of bartering their virtue something unheard of among the Osages a few years back.

Events around the turn of the century moved swiftly to profoundly effect the lives of the Indians, and the destiny of the future state of Oklahoma. The Congressional Act known as the "Curtis Act" brought marked changes in the status of the citizenship and property rights of the members of the Five Civilized Tribes. Their tribal governments were abolished, the United States courts supplanted the Indian tribunals and the Indians received allotments and became United States citizens.

All of these changes brought no improvement in the enforcement of the liquor laws on Indian lands, and the resulting lawlessness had finally become a national scandal. With characteristic vigor President Theodore Roosevelt decided to do something about it. He obtained a special appropriation from Congress and specified W. E. Johnson, who became known as "Pussyfoot," as a special officer to enforce the prohibition laws in the Indian country. Johnson, with fanatical zeal, and with about one hundred deputies and helpers, arrested whiskey peddlars, confiscated their horses and wagons, smashed kegs and bottles and burned gambling paraphernalia wherever he found it. He had some narrow escapes and a reward was offered by outlaws for his assassination. Christmas, 1906, during his crusade was said to have been the driest the Indian Territory had seen since the white people had first begun making their homes here.

Cleaning up the liquor traffic in the Indian Territory and the Osage Nation was a prelude to the Oklahoma Statehood Act of June 14, 1906, which prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in the Indian Territory and the Osage Nation for twenty years. In submitting the constitution of the new state to the people, the question of extending prohibition over the remainder of the state was presented to a vote of the people, and prohibition was carried by a substantial margin.

The Osage Allotment Act long opposed by many of the Osage full bloods was passed by Congress almost simultaneously with the Oklahoma statehood bill.[5] The land of the reservation was allotted among 2,229 individual Osages, of whom 1,303 were less than full blood and 926 were full bloods. Already rated the wealthiest people in the world per capita, they entered the new era with prospects of vastly increased riches to be derived from their oil and gas reserves. The blanket lease covering their entire reservation granted to Edwin B. Foster in 1896 was beginning to produce oil and gas in substantial quantities.

The fullblood Osage Indians were fewer every year. No wealth, however great, could restore them to their natural state and native ways. The white man's civilization had engulfed them and their own day was over.

[5] Osage Allotment Act, June 28, 1906. 34 *Stat. L.*, p. 539.

NOTES ON EVENTS LEADING TO THE CHICKASAW TREATIES OF FRANKLIN AND PONTOTOC, 1830 AND 1832

*By Muriel H. Wright**

Introduction

Efforts of commissioners on the part of the United States to purchase all the country belonging to the Chickasaws east of the Mississippi River and to induce them to select a satisfactory home in the West, covered a period of eleven years before the final immigration of the nation to the Indian Territory. This immigration began in the fall of 1837. In his report to the President, dated January 24, 1825, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun briefly reviewed the condition of the Indian tribes living east of the Mississippi and had made some suggestions toward a general plan for their removal to the West. He had pointed out that the Choctaws had already been assigned a large tract of country west of Arkansas Territory, sufficient not only for their own accommodation, but also for the Chickasaws who were their neighbors and kinsmen. Beginning in 1826, the Indian Bureau repeatedly called attention to the plan thus proposed. It remained for the authorities representing the Government to convince the Chickasaws of the advantages of the plan, and with this in view, a party of tribal leaders made an exploring expedition in 1828, in the Arkansas and Canadian river region in Oklahoma.

The homeland of the Chickasaws had been reduced to the country now included within the boundaries of Northern Mississippi and Northwestern Alabama. Under provisions of a treaty with the United States negotiated in 1801, they had given permission for the construction of a national highway across their country, leading from the settlements in the vicinity of the present city of Nashville, Tennessee, to Natchez, Mississipp. This highway became well known throughout the region of the Lower Mississipp as the Natchez Trace. It was of great importance to the Chickasaws, since under the terms of the treaty of 1801 and, also, those of another treaty signed in 1816, they reserved all rights for the operation of ferries across the streams and for the sale of merchandise within the limits of their country. Taverns for travellers along the Natchez Trace, within the borders of the nation, were kept by a number of Chickasaws. There was also a brisk trade in the corn which the people grew in considerable quantities. These commercial advantages together with

* These notes on events relating to the treaties of Franklin and of Pontotoc that paved the way to the removal of the Chickasaws from Mississippi to the Indian Territory have been adapted from chapters in a manuscript of an unpublished monograph by the author.

the fact that their leading men had begun to engage extensively in growing cotton for the market meant that opportunities were opening up for the whole nation to prosper in a material way. They were also helping to maintain missions and schools for the education of their children, and many were living in comfortable homes. The Chickasaws realized their enviable position if they could but maintain themselves as a nation in the last portion of that wide territory south of the Ohio, claimed by them from legendary times.

Conditions were similar among the Indian people of all the five large tribes in the South at this time. Secretary Calhoun's suggestion for the Chickasaws had been but a part of the general plan proposed for the United States in dealing with all the Indians, living east of the Mississippi River. While the governments of each of the five southern tribes—i.e., Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Cherokee, and Seminole,—were entirely separate from one another, in a general policy of the United States toward them as Indians, their conditions were practically identical. Each tribe had surrendered its land holdings until the country occupied in 1825, east of the Mississippi, was but a small part of the original tribal claims of territory. White settlers were crowding into the limits of the southern states over into the borders of the Indian domain. Relations between the United States and the Indians did not allow organized efforts, on the part of of the Indians to maintain themselves against the forces that would deprive them of the remainder of their tribal properties. Not only a desire to preserve their interests in an economic way but a deep attachment to the regions that had been their respective homes from time immemorial, led the southern Indians in their efforts not to part with any more land. An event took place in the spring of 1825, illustrative of this.

A little more than two weeks after Secretary Calhoun had submitted his message to the President, the Lower Creeks under the leadership of their chief, William McIntosh, negotiated a treaty at Indian Springs, Georgia, providing the relinquishment of all the Creek country within the limits of Georgia to the United States. The upper Creeks refused to recognize the validity of this treaty. They maintained that McIntosh and his followers had violated the tribal law which made it a crime punishable by death for a member of the tribe to sell any part of the country belonging to the Creeks as a people. For having been parties to the negotiation and for having signed the treaty of Indian Springs, McIntosh and some of his followers suffered the death penalty at the hands of a party of the Upper Creeks sent to carry out the tribal law. The dramatic circumstances surrounding the death of McIntosh caused much excitement throughout the states of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. A large majority of the Creeks remained firm in their allegiance to their chiefs who were unalterably opposed to the sale of any portion of the tribal lands. The publicity that arose over these troubles had a deep ef-

fect on the rest of the southern tribes. The conservative element held full control in each, delaying the consummation of the Government's plan to secure all Indian lands east of the Mississippi for another decade.

The southern tribes saw two outstanding obstacles in the way of their acceptance of new lands in the West: White settlers were already beginning to establish themselves in the country beyond the Mississippi River where the Government planned to guarantee Indian sovereignty. It would be a question of only a few years before the Indians would be facing the same conditions with regard to the white settlers that was then confronting them east of the Mississippi. They were also opposed to living on the frontier next to western Indian tribes with whom they had unsettled scores from former conflicts that had arisen during hunting expeditions in that region. They were wary of a situation where they might have to take up arms to protect their lives and property in a part of the West which was a wild frontier. Wisdom prompted them that such action would lead to war that could readily pave the way for their annihilation. They would avoid any situation that might bring on such a war. They recognized the great power of the United States. They wished to maintain themselves before that power as friends.

A review here of some details of a series of negotiations by commissioners representing the United States Government to secure all the Chickasaw lands east of the Mississippi River, sheds light on subsequent action on the part of their tribal leaders. This review is based principally on the reports of the transactions found in Government documents the only source for the steps that finally led to the Indian removal. These reports are naturally biased in many instances, presenting the details from the viewpoint of the Government commissioners. The Chickasaws themselves as a tribe have no records presenting their side. We shall never know all the intrigues, the little plots, and the many twists in the chain of events which the Chickasaws had to meet in maintaining their rights as a people. We do know that the Government was constrained to respect the wishes of a multitude of its white citizens in the States, who would take over something they desired for their own advancement from a people who were few in numbers and wholly under the power of the United States government. The Chickasaws held their ground for a period of eleven years and, at the end of this time, moved west as one of the wealthiest per capita of any of the Indian nations.

The Treaty of Franklin

On February 4, 1829, the Legislative Assembly of Mississippi extended its laws over the Indian country within the borders of that state, dividing it into districts and placing them under the jurisdiction of the judges and the justices of the peace from the adjoining counties. A year later, January 19, 1830, a second act placed all

the Indians in Mississippi and their personal property under the laws of the state, at the same time abolishing their tribal governments without their knowledge or consent. While the provisions of these two acts were not enforced at the time yet they were indicative of the determination of Mississippi to secure control of all the land within its borders.[1] The only hope that the Chickasaws had in maintaining their property rights lay in the assistance that they might receive from the Federal Government which had assumed the role of friend and protector to all the Indians from the time of its first treaties with them. Not long after the inauguration of Andrew Jackson as President of the United States, however, this hope vanished. On May 28, 1830, a Congressional Act was approved, providing for the exchange of country belonging to the Indians east of the Mississippi River for new homelands in the West, beyond the borders of any state or territory.[2]

Within a few days after the approval of this act, a communication was forwarded to the Chickasaws, requesting that a delegation representing the Nation be sent to meet the President and the Secretary of War John H. Eaton at Franklin, Tennessee, where a council would be held with them and the Choctaws during the summer, for the purpose of discussing a treaty to provide for their removal from Mississippi.[3]

On February 7, following the second act of the Mississippi Assembly, John L. Allen, sub-agent for the Chickasaws, wrote a report setting forth their advanced and prosperous condition. This was a complete refutation of a statement from government commissioners in 1828, in which the value of their country and property was minimized. The Chickasaws had at least gained a point on that score by Agent Allen's report, and were apparently in a better position to realize something nearer the true value of their homes and stock and land in the event of a new treaty with the Government. Agent Allen also threw the burden of reproof on the white intruders for any trouble in the nation. The closing paragraphs of his report were as follows:[4]

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[1] Dunbar Rowland, *History of Mississippi, The Heart of the South,* (Chicago, Jackson, 1925), pp. 554-5.

[2] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* Vol. 4, pp. 411-12.

[3] A letter had been addressed to the Choctaws on June 2, two days after the bill had been approved creating an Indian territory, requesting them to send a delegation to Franklin to meet the President and Secretary Eaton and to notify the Chickasaws to be present also. This was an explanation of the action of the U. S. Senate in refusing to accept a treaty sent to Washington by a portion of the Choctaws in March, 1830.—Indian Removals, *Sen. Doc.* 512, Vol. II, pp. 3-5.

[4] Agent Allen laid the blame of trouble in the Chickasaw Nation to intruders, a refutation of General Hind's statement in 1826, in which the latter charged that the nation afforded "refuge for violators of the law." Agent Allen's viewpoint was undoubtedly that of the Chickasaws. Their reply to General Hinds' stated that they knew of no violators of the laws among the white people who *lived* in the nation.

The Chickasaws being surrounded by the white inhabitants, I have found it a difficult matter to restrain the whites from violating the intercourse law, by driving stock over the line upon the Indian land, making settlements, trading with the Indians in a manner that is prohibited by law, as well as stealing their negroes, horses, cattle, &c.; but I am proud to have it in my power to say that those white persons who are so troublesome to the Indians are generally men of the lowest grade & dregs of society. Such men as are always unwilling to conform to the laws that govern the civilized world.

They, (the principal chiefs) stated that if the laws were extended over them they had not belief that they would be placed upon an equal footing with the whites; and, if they were made so by law, all the officers of the law would be composed of white men; and, as they were unskilled in law suits, and the whites would be partial to each other, they had no belief that they would be able to withstand the encroachments of the whites upon them; and, if they did attempt it, that in a few years they would not have a vestige of property left, consequently they would exchange their country for any they could get, rather than as they conceive, lose their native freedom.

The Chickasaws had not retracted from the statement made in 1828, in which they had expressed their willingness to accept a new country in the West, upon certain conditions. They were not yet willing to accept any country "they could get." They had discussed their situation with Agent Allen who, in rendering his report, had enlarged upon their attitude and their willingness to leave Mississippi in accordance with the plans of the administration at Washington.

The meeting at Franklin took place on Monday, August 23, 1830, with President Jackson present in person together with his two friends, Secretary Eaton and General John Coffee, as commissioners on the part of the United States. A delegation of twenty Chickasaws represented their Nation. The occasion was a notable one for the reason that at no other time in the history of the United States had a president attended an Indian council to negotiate a treaty of cession.[5]

The Chickasaw delegation at Franklin included, in addition to thirteen fullbloods, Levi Colbert, George Colbert, James Colbert, William McGilvery, James Brown, and Isaac Anderson. John McLish (or McClish) served as their secretary. Benjamin Love was interpreter during the negotiations.[6] After greetings had been extended

[5] The Choctaw delegation had failed to appear, though messengers arrived from a portion of the Nation asking that the commissioners be sent to their country. (*Sen. Doc.* 512, Vol. II, p. 256). In her essay entitled *Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi*, p. 382, Annie H. Abel makes the following comment in a footnote, with reference to President Jackson's appearance at Franklin: "Jackson was much criticised in Opposition prints for thus negotiating in person, it being pertinently asked whether he were acting as President or Indian Commissioner."

[6] Benjamin Love was the son of Thomas and Sally Love. His mother was a Chickasaw; his father was said to have been a Loyalist who settled among the Chickasaws during the latter part of the 18th Century. After returning from Washington City, where he had attended school, he became a wealthy slaveholder, establishing his home for a time near the present site of Buena Vista, Chickasaw

and the President had shaken hands with the members of the delegation, the council opened with the reading of an address signed simply "Andrew Jackson," without his title "President of the United States." Most of the Chickasaws had served with the American forces under his military command in the Creek Wars.

The spirit and wording of President Jackson's address were similar to that of the addresses which had been made by Generals Hinds and Coffee during the Chickasaw meeting in 1826. Preliminary remarks were followed by a statement calling attention to the recent Congressional Act (approved in May, 1830) giving the President power of extending "justice to the Indians," of paying the expenses of their removal to the west, of supporting them for twelve months in their new country, of giving them a grant of lands to "endure as long as grass grows, or water runs."[7]

It was pointed out that white men were settling around the Chickasaws and crowding them from their native soil; that the laws of the State of Mississippi had been extended over all the Indian country within the borders of that commonwealth, and that the President had no power to defend them or to "prevent this state of things." The Chickasaws must accept these conditions if they remained in Mississipp, but it was doubted whether they would be happy. They were advised to accept the offers of the Government and to move to a new country beyond the Mississippi, which would be "in all respects equal, if not superior," to their present country. In conclusion, removal west was strongly advised:

> Brothers, listen: these things are for your serious consideration, and it behoves you well to think of them. The present is the time you are asked to do so. Reject the opportunity which is now offered to obtain comfortable homes, and the time may soon pass away when such advantages as are now within your reach may again be presented. If, from the course you now pursue, this shall be the case, then call not upon your great father hereafter to relieve you of your troubles; but make up your minds conclusively to remain upon the lands you occupy, and be subject to the laws of the State where you now reside, to the extent her own citizens are. In a few years, by becoming amalgamated with the whites, your national character will be lost; and then, like other tribes who have gone before you, you must disappear and be forgotten.

County, Mississippi. He married the daughter of Simon and Peggy (Allen) Burney. He and his brothers (Isaac, Slone, Henry, Samuel, Bill, and Robert) were all prominent among the Chickasaws. Benjamin served many years as the interpreter. The Chickasaw immigration to the Indian Territory practically ended with the parties that came west with Henry and Benjamin Love in the spring of 1844. Before the Civil War, most of the Loves operated large plantations in the region between the mouth of the Washita and the Island Bayou in the Red River region.

[7] These oft-quoted words appeared in the speech by Jackson as they had in other public documents but they did not appear in any treaty between the Federal Government and the Chickasaws nor Choctaws. However they were used in the treaty of alliance between the two nations and the Confederate States in 1861. (Official *Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series IV, Vol. I, p. 447). The full text of the address delivered to the Chickasaws at Franklin is in the *Journal* of the proceedings of that meeting, *Sen. Doc.* 512, Vol. II, pp. 240-2.

At ten o'clock on Thursday morning, August 26, the commissioners were present at the convening of the council. The main address of the meeting, as signed by the Chickasaw delegation, was a written reply to President Jackson's opening address, read by John McLish. The Chickasaws said that their hearts were made glad by meeting the President again and that they were grateful for the hospitable treatment they had received from the citizens of Franklin. They appreciated the importance of this council to them as a nation and had approached it "with fear and trembling," for they felt that their fate would be sealed on this occasion; they would either be, in the future, "a happy and prosperous people, or a poor, miserable race of beings." They looked upon the extension of the laws of the states of Mississippi and Alabama over them, as "an act of usurpation on their part, unwarranted by the Constitution of the United States and the treaties" then in force. While they would be under the same laws with the white people, they would be placed at a disadvantage because of the lack of similar opportunities in life. The address closed with the following words:[8]

> Father: you call us your children, whom you profess to have the highest regard for. We know you are sincere in your professions, and it creates in our bosoms the highest feelings of affection towards you, as the great father and protector of your white and red children. But we humbly beg leave to represent to you, that we now conceive that we have now arrived to the age of maturity, and that we may continue to act on this important occasion as will be best calculated to obtain so desirable an object—peace, quietness, and a perpetual home; and, at the same time, we feel a disposition to accomodate the views of our father, in exchange of country, as you have proposed, if you will let us examine your country, and we can find one, that you have not already disposed of, that will be equal to the one we now occupy. We will then talk in earnest about an exchange.
>
> Candor towards you, and justice to ourselves, compel us to say to you, that we cannot consent to exchange the country where we now live, for one that we never have seen.

The council reassembled at five o'clock, when a second address was delivered to the Chickasaws, signed by John H. Eaton and John Coffee. Whether or not the ommission of the official title in each of the two addresses was due to the work of editors in printing the *Journal* of the proceedings of the Council at Franklin, it seems that the President and his two commissioners had come to counsel with the Chickasaws as personal friends.

Much may be said about President Jackson's attendance at this council. Although the Congressional Act, approved on May 28, 1830, provided for setting aside the territory for Indian occupation in the West without mention of their *arbitrary* removal thereto, it paved the way for the adpotion of such a program. Seeing this, the friends

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[8] *Sen. Doc.* 512, Vol. II, pp. 242-3.

of the Indians—for they were not without many influential friends[7]—were bitter in their denunciations of the removal of the southern Indians, a policy which had long been discussed and was now on the way as the policy of the new administration. Jackson's critics and enemies denounced his attendance at the meeting with the Chickasaws, as having been done to "bully" them for political effect; his friends were satisfied that he was only consistent with the character attributed to him in the campaign which had won him the election; namely, the protector of the "common people." In either event and in spite of the fact that he has been listed in history as an "Indian hater," his interest in the meeting with the Chickasaws and the Choctaws was doubtless due to personal feeling toward them. Both nations had furnished warriors who had helped Jackson to victory in the wars of the southwestern frontier of his time. In keeping with the military leader who loves his troops, President Jackson would show his friendliness, not to say affection, toward those who had served at his side, those whose people lived as his neighbors in the country bordering his native state of Tennessee.[8]

The second address to the Chickasaws stated that Alabama and Mississippi as a part of Georgia originally had the right "to manage" their lands and the people within their borders, none of these rights having been surrendered to the Government of the United States. These three states had the right to make all persons within their borders, "answerable for their crimes, to punish them for wrongs committed, to make them pay taxes, to attend musters, to keep the roads in repair, and contribute to the support of the Government when called upon to do so." These statements left no doubt in the minds of the Chickasaws as to their position before the government of the State of Mississippi: "They must submit to the laws." No mention had been made of any protection to be rendered them against the prejudices which would still follow them as Indians—now really *aliens* in their own land. The only hope offered them lay in the following statements by the commissioners:[9]

> Brothers: your great father is anxious to preserve you, and to ward off injury from you. He knows you cannot live under those laws. To do so, will render you a miserable and unhappy people. A few of you might do so, who have the advantages of experience and education, but the great

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[7] Among friends of the Indians in the Northern states, citizens of Freeport, Maine, petitioned Congress in behalf of the Indians (*Congressional Doc.* 208, No. 89); Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey championed their cause in Congressional debates (1828-30); the Rev. Heman Humphrey, D.D., President of Amherst College, delivered a discourse on "Indian Rights and Our Duties" which is reprinted in "Notes and Documents" in this number of *The Chronicles.*

[8] Levi Colbert, a member of the company of Chickasaws who served under the command of General Andrew Jackson in the Battle of New Orleans (Jan. 8, 1815), had carried the standard of the Americans into the thickest of the fight in this noted battle. This tattered emblem is now displayed in the Confederate Memorial Hall of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

[9] *Sec. Doc.* 512, Vol. II, pp. 245-6.

body of the Indians cannot. Why, then, not consent to remove at once, and save your people from a state of things under which it is evident you cannot live? What interest can your great father have? He very well knows that the laws will come upon you; laws, which prohibit any Indian, under heavy penalties, from even acting as chief. He knows that all your ancient usages will be broken down, and constant interruptions, troubles, and difficulties be felt. Presently, you will call upon your great father to relieve you, and then it may not be in his power. * * * *

Brothers: are any of you willing to remain to live as white men, and submit to his laws; then, take as reservations, comfortable homes and farms, and become citizens of the States. Which lands, so reserved, shall be yours, and your children's, in fee simple forever. And let the Indian, if he choose, go west, and rid himself of the operation of laws, under which, be assured, he can never, never live, and be happy.

Brothers: we wish to give you a pleasant country, of good soil, good water and climate, and in extent sufficient for all your wants; and when you are gone, for the wants of your children. We feel a high and weighty responsibility. We are advising our red brothers for their own prosperity's sake to remove, that they may rest in a country free from the white man's interruption, and be happy. In effecting this desirable end we are answerable to our own feelings, and to our beneficient Father, the Great Spirit above, who rules and governs the universe. . . . . We will not impose upon you. Your great father would not, if we were willing, suffer us to do it. Beyond the Mississippi is an extensive, valuable, and fertile country, where a home, and a happy one, can be selected. Consent now to receive it, or the opportunity may be soon lost forever. Other tribes wish to remove, and they may select the lands which now you have the opportunity to obtain for your children, but which presently, may be gone from your reach.

Brothers: some of the Indians in Ohio wish to remove. They have tried, and find that they cannot live amongst the whites. Since your great father's talk to you, they have written, asking to exchange their lands, and to be permitted to remove. The Indians of New York after many years of unsuccessful trial, have found themselves unable to live and be happy; and at their own expense have purchased land upon Lake Michigan, and are moving to settle it. The tribes living in the northwestern states are manifesting a desire to leave their homes, and be to themselves. They are not happy; they cannot live amongst the whites. . . . .

Brothers: act, and act at once. Let it be stipulated (for we are willing to do so) that a country of equal climate, soil, and extent, shall be laid off for you, where other tribes do not interfere and if, on going there, it shall not be found suited to your wants and expectations, an annuity, for a limited time, shall be stipulated to be paid you; or additional lands, if to be obtained from neighboring tribes, provided you shall prefer it, shall be purchased for you.

We ask you, then, to reconsider the last part of your talk, and let us go forward and see if we cannot come to some arrangement with which you will be satisfied, and your people made happy.

Enough has been said to you. Think and act, and act at once. This is an important crisis in your affairs. Misery or happiness must and will follow on the decision you shall make. Consider and act, then, before it is to late.

The Chickasaws replied that they had every confidence in the President's sincerity in making suggestions to promote their welfare and happiness. They would consider the propositions that had been offered.

The following day (Friday, August 27), the chiefs sent word that they would like to see President Jackson before his departure from Franklin. Accordingly, he met them in the council room where John McLish, their secretary, read a short communication from them:[10]

> Your red children, the chiefs and head-men, of the Chickasaws, have had under consideration the talk of our father, and also the talk delivered to us by the commissioners, Major Eaton and General Coffee.
>
> The subject submitted for our consideration is, to us, of great importance. On the decision we this day make and declare to you, and to the world, depends our fate as a nation and as a people.
>
> Father, you say that you have travelled a long ways to talk to your red children. We have listened, and your words have sunk deep into our hearts. And as you are about to set out for Washington City, before we shake our father's hand, perhaps with many of us for the last time. We have requested this meeting to tell you, that after sleeping upon the talk you sent us, and talks delivered to us by our brothers, Major Eaton and General Coffee, we are now ready to enter into a treaty, based upon the principles as communicated to us by Major Eaton and General Coffee.

The President himself replied that he had travelled a long distance that he might see them face to face, and direct them to what he believed their best interest required. Important business, required his presence at Washington, and he could not longer remain with them. He confided the conduct of the rest of the business to his friends, the commissioners, who had his instructions to act liberally towards the Chickasaws. "He then took his leave."[11]

Sunday and Monday intervened before the next meeting of the council. At eight o'clock on Tuesday morning (August 31, 1830), the draft of the treaty, as prepared by the commissioners, was presented for the approval of the Chickasaws. It was read and then carefully interpreted and explained by Benjamin Love. The delegates expressed themselves as satisfied and willing to sign the treaty, adding, however, that there were some matters which had been omitted that they wished to dispose of by treaty. The commissioners explained that since the President was about to leave for Washington, they wanted to inform him with the results of the negotiations, and asked that the treaty be signed at once, any other matters to be provided for in a supplement to this document. The *Journal* again adds: "With this understanding the treaty was signed."[12]

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[10] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 246-7. The names of the signers of this communication appeared in order: G. Colbert, L. Colbert, Jas. Colbert, Wm. McGilvery, Jas. Brown, Isaac Alberson, Topulka, Ishtayatubbe, Ahtokowa, Hushtatabe, Innewakche, Oaklanayaubbe, Ohekaubbe, Immolasubbe, Immohoaltatubbe, Ishtekieyokatubbe, Ishtehiacha, Inhiyochetubbe, Kinheche.

[11] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 247.

[12] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 250.

The first article of the Treaty of Franklin provided for the cession of all Chickasaw lands east of the Mississippi to the United States. The second article was as follows:[13]

> In consideration of said cession, the United States agree to furnish to the Chickasaw Nation of Indians, a country, West of the territory of Arkansaw, to lie South of Latitude thirty-six degrees and a half, and of equal extent with the one ceded; and in all respects as to timber, water and soil, it shall be suited to the wants and condition of said Chickasaw people. It is agreed further, that the United States will send one or more commissioners to examine and select a country of the description stated, who shall be accompanied by an interpreter and not more than twelve persons of the Chickasaws, to be chosen by the nation, to examine said country; and who, for their expenses and services, shall be allowed two dollars a day each, while so engaged. If, after proper examination, a country suitable to their wants and condition can not be found; then, it is stipulated and agreed, that this treaty, and all its provisions, shall be considered null and void. But, if a country shall be found and approved, the President of the United States shall cause a grant in fee simple to be made out, to be signed by him as other grants are usually signed, conveying the country to the Chickasaw people, and to their children, so long as they shall continue to exist as a nation, and shall reside upon the same.

The rest of the document was devoted to the following provisions: (1) the United States should furnish protection to the Chickasaws against all their enemies; (2) each warrior and widow having a family, and each white man having an Indian family should have a half section of land with a title in fee simple to be subject to the laws of the State, if such persons remained in Mississippi, otherwise if such persons removed west, the United States should pay for each reservation at the rate of $1.25 per acre to the Indian claimant; (3) an annuity of $15,000 to the Chickasaw Nation for twenty years; (4) special grants of land made to certain persons named in the treaty; (5) all expenses of removal of the Chickasaws and subsistence for one year in the West, to be paid by the United States; (6) the valuation and purchase by the United States of all stock and implements belonging to the Chickasaws in Mississippi, under certain conditions; (7) an appropriation of $4,000 by the United States for the erection of a council house and two churches (to be used as schools) in the new country of the Chickasaws; (8) the sum of $2,000 to be paid by the United States "for the purposes of employing suitable teachers of the Christian religion, and superintending common schools in the nation," in addition "twenty Chickasaw boys of promise, . . . for twenty years, . . . to be selected by the chiefs, to be educated within the States at the expense of the United States, under the dirction of the Secretary of War"; (9) perpetual peace to be maintained between the United States and the Chickasaws.

Those who signed the Treaty of Franklin in behalf of the Chickasaw Nation were Levi Colbert, George Colbert, James Colbert, Wm. McGilvery, James Brown, Isaac Alberson, J. McLish and thirteen

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[13] Charles Kappler, Indian Affairs, *Laws and Treaties*, (Washington, 1904), Vol. II, pp. 1035-40. (Treaty of Franklin unratified.)

full bloods with Indian names. The new treaty would become effective provided the Chickasaws could find a country west of Arkansas Territory "equal in climate, soil and extent" to their lands in Northern Mississippi and Northwestern Alabama relinquished under its terms to the United States.

Fifteen Chickasaws including Levi Colbert, Henry Love and Kineche appointed by the tribal council undertook a second exploring expedition west, setting out from Mississippi overland with Agent Benjamin Reynolds and arriving at Fort Gibson on November 21, 1830. Here they found troubled conditions: There were continued depredations by the Osages from their Kansas lands, in the Arkansas Valley west of the fort. Bitter feelings and controversies had arisen among both the Western Creeks and the Western Cherokees over the location of the boundary lines of the country recently assigned them in the region, by the United States. The final assignment of lands west of Arkansas Territory to the several tribes was a topic of discussion and argument among government agents near Fort Gibson. Extracts from a letter dated December 2, 1830, addressed to Secretary of War John H. Eaton by George Vashon, United States Agent for the Western Cherokees, recommended a division of the Choctaw lands south of the Arkansas and a location for the Chickasaws:[14]

I deem it my duty to present to the notice of the department what appears to me would be the best means of providing, ultimately, an acceptable country for the Chickasaws and Cherokees east. Col. Reynolds and a party of Chickasaws will leave here to-morrow to join Col. Gaines and party of Choctaws, to proceed on their exploring duties. From Col. R. I have learned the object. The whole of the country here is already ceded by treaty; though, by the contemplated arrangements with the Choctaws, for the south side of the Arkansas and Canadian, an ample country may be procured for the Chickasaws; but, under the arrangement, it will be still out of the power of the Government to provide acceptable location for the Cherokees east; and until that can be done, it appears to me, the existing difficulty with them cannot be judiciously adjusted. They are strongly opposed to be again amalgamated [i.e., Western Cherokees] with this part of their nation; and, therefore, I would suggest, that if a portion of *the country south of Red river* could hereafter be obtained, for the ultimate location of the Chickasaws, and a portion of the country south of Arkansas, procured for the Cherokees, and set apart with the four million seven hundred thousand acres in the fork of Canadian and Arkansas, already ceded to Cherokees, it would present to the old nation an inducement which, I think, could not fail to produce a favorable influence. Permit me to add, it ought not to be thought strange that it should be deemed necessary, and essentially so, too, in providing an acceptable country for the Cherokees east, that a portion of the Choctaw land, (now contemplated in part for the accommodation of the Chickasaws,) to a limited extent south of Arkansas, should be added to the country already ceded by the Cherokee nation; the extensive prairies, and the long continued scarcity of water during half the year, renders many portions of this country entirely unacceptable. Such an arrangement would afford the present administration the means of putting to flight and to shame all objections from every quarter, and to demonstrate to the nation and the world, that its views are

[14] *Sen. Doc.* 512, Vol. II, pp. 193-4.

not only just and benevolent, but that the country, also, there provided for the permanent residence of the Cherokees east, would be entirely unexceptionable; and the effecting this desirable object would, in my opinion, present additional means of enabling the administration to unite to a full measure of national glory, the performance of the sacred duty of filling to the brim the largest measure of our country's justice.

The Chickasaw expedition joined by a party of Choctaws with their Agent, George S. Gaines, at Fort Gibson, examined the Choctaw country along the South Canadian (present Gaines Creek in Pittsburg and Latimer counties); traveled over to Clear Boggy and thence down Blue River, and on east down Red River Valley to Fort Towson. When the subject of a settlement was broached by the two agents, the Choctaws stated that they did not want to give up any of their new country; the Chickasaws were opposed to settling there under the Choctaw government and thus losing their own identity as a nation. Levi Colbert accompanied by a small party of his tribesmen crossed Red River to examine the country in East Texas for possible settlement of the nation, as suggested by the agent for the Cherokees. Agent Reynolds later reported to the War Department that Levi Colbert had said that he would not like to join the Choctaws under the rule of Chief Greenwood LeFlore for the chief's thirst for power was "such as to form an obstacle in his mind adverse an union." Colbert further asked Agent Reynolds to say to President Jackson that "his crossing the Red river was for the purpose of finding a home for his people."

Two Chickasaw councils were held after the return of the exploring expedition to Mississippi; a report was made on the council proceedings, signed by tribal members including Levi Colbert and forwarded to President Jackson in May, 1831, stating in part:[15]

Father: the tract of country which we explored south of Red River lies along side of our Choctaw brothers, and between the Red and Sabbeen rivers, and adjoining the west boundary of the State of Louisiana, from river to river. If that country can be procured for us, our nation will remove and be satisfied. We see no other country which would suit us so well.

The selection of a satisfactory location for the settlement of the Chickasaws west of the boundaries of Arkansas Territory remained an unsolved problem in the War Department, under which the Bureau of Indian Affairs operated during this period. Efforts to bring about such a settlement under the terms of the Treaty of Franklin were continued by the agents throughout the spring of 1831, without results. The Chickasaws remained in Mississippi, with the Treaty unratified. Secretary of War John H. Eaton wrote a letter to the recent commissioner, General John Coffee, on March 31, 1831, in which he advised that the country between the Arkansas and the Canadian rivers west of Arkansas be retained for the final dispo-

[15] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 469-71.

sition between the Creeks and the Cherokees. Eaton made another statement concerning the Chickasaws:[16]

Where then are the Chickasaws to go, or how are they to be provided for, even if the country we have pointed out be acceptable to them, of which I have not expectation? By extinguishing of the Osage title lying north of the Cherokees and Creeks, a home might be provided; but it is not supposed they would be satisfied with a country reaching so far north, and particularly so remoted from their old friends and relatives, the Choctaws.

We are much embarassed on this subject. The Chickasaws, with all their desire to find a location cannot do so. If a suitable and approved home cannot be provided, they must abide where they are, and suffer all the inconveniences which subjection to State laws must impose. Within the Choctaw country there is abundant room for both tribes. . . . .

But while the Choctaws are disposed to receive the Chickasaws, the latter are not willing to become a part of their tribe, and desire to remain, as heretofore, a separate independent people. . . . .

The Treaty of Pontotoc

During the summer of 1831, a survey of the country lying north of the Canadian and Arkansas rivers was carried on by the Reverend Isaac McCoy preparatory to a settlement of the boundaries of the Cherokee and the Creek lands. He also inspected the Osage reserve, west of Missouri and within what is now the State of Kansas, reporting that this country together with the tract east of the Osage boundary would be suitable for the Chickasaws. He advised, however, that it would be more desirable for them to settle in the Choctaw country south of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers. He stated further:[17]

Some gentleman in this country, in whom, no doubt, the late delegation of Chickasaws, who were here exploring, placed considerable confidence, encouraged them to hope that the United States would purchase for them a portion of Texas, on the south of Red river. If Government has no intention to procure a country for them there, as I am confident it has not, I would respectfully suggest that the Chickasaws would more readily accede to proposals, if they were distinctly assured that they need not hope for a country on the south of Red river.

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[16] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 273-5.

[17] The Rev. Isaac McCoy, a native of Pennsylvania (born 1784; died 1846) was sent as a missionary of the Baptist Convention to the Indian tribes north of the Ohio River in 1817. He was noted in Indian affairs on the frontier from that time, and was a personal friend of many officials at Washington. He was appointed by the War Department in 1831 to survey the recent cession to the Western Cherokees in Oklahoma (1828) and a tract of country for the Creeks, also to suggest a suitable location for the Chickasaws and to examine the lands recently assigned as a reservation (1825) for the Osages in what is now Kansas. His son, John C. McCoy, carried on the work under his contract in surveying the Cherokee Outlet in 1837. The Rev. Isaac McCoy's book, *A History of the Baptist Indian Missions* and his several publications of *Annual Register of Indian Affairs* are now counted as primary sources for early Indian history in Oklahoma. Many of his other reports and extended letters shed further light on Indian history in this region, published in *Senate Document* 512, Indian Removals, in which the above letter is found (Vol. II, pp. 562-3).

The Chickasaw delegation, in 1828 (I was in company myself), expressed themselves pleased with that portion of the Choctaw lands which lies along the Arkansas and Canadian rivers. The Choctaws then expressed, and since have expressed their willingness to allow the Chickasaws a country there, provided that the political existence of the latter would become merged in that of the former. To this proviso, the Chickasaws have objected. It appears pretty plain that the terms proposed by the Choctaws, and the objection thereto by the Chickasaws, originated in view of the old Indian policy, in relation to the independence of the tribes, severally. I feel persuaded that all difficulties upon this point would vanish with both parties, were they given a distinct view of the plan of uniting them in a territory, in which all the parts would be happily united in one community, and mutually dependent upon each other. I have repeatedly reasoned with individuals of the southern tribes and those of the north, on the advantages to be hoped for from such a community, with the map of this country spread before them, and I have invariably perceived that their feelings became enlisted in favor of the plan, and their hopes of better things thereby elicited.

In the meantime, Secretary Eaton had addressed a communication to the Choctaw Chief, Greenwood LeFlore, stating that it was a matter of some concern that the Chickasaws were unable to find a suitable home in the West. He advised that the Choctaws should invite them to take a part of their western country along the northern border—i.e., the Arkansas River.[18] After consultation among the leading men of the nation, it was agreed that their people, the Choctaws, should settle in the Red River region. They were willing to grant the Chickasaws the right of settlement along the Arkansas River.[19] Acting under a communication from President Jackson, dated October 18, 1831, Secretary of War Lewis Cass appointed General John H. Eaton and General John Coffee to effect such an agreement between the two nations.[20]

The two commissioners repaired to the Choctaw Agency, in Mississippi, where they met a delegation of Chickasaws and a large gathering of Choctaws. A communication was first addressed to the Chickasaws, pointing out that it was hopeless for them to expect to remain within the limits of either Mississippi or Alabama. This plan was again stressed: "One of two things now only can be done. A removal must take place. A new home must be found, or you will have quietly to sit down and conform yourselves to the laws of the States where you live."[21]

The letter went on to say that the only hope for the Chickasaws remained in their choosing a new home in the Choctaw country. It closed the possibility of their settlement south of the Red River in this manner:

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[18] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 300-1.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 514.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 624. Upon the resignation of John H. Eaton, on August 1, 1831, Lewis Cass had assumed the duties of Secretary of War.

[21] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 16-7.

Your great father would be well pleased, if you could find a suitable country any where north of Red river, and west of Missouri and Arkansas, where your people could settle and be satisfied. He can direct you to no other place, nor encourage you to hope that now, or at any future time, a different region of country can be offered, out of which to make your selection. The country south of Red River, to which you refer, is not the property of the United States, nor have we any reason to suppose that it will ever be. It is useless to indulge a hope that you can be located there. It is an expectation which cannot be realized now, perhaps never.

The next day, December 7, the commissioners addressed a letter to the Choctaw delegation at the meeting, pointing out that their people had secured a vast country west of the Mississippi "sufficient for an infinitely greater population than the Choctaws have." It was hoped that the people of the two nations could "participate in the quietude" which awaited them beyond the Mississippi:[22]

Brothers: We come to visit you as friends. We earnestly desire your prosperity, and seek no other object. We have not heretofore deceived you, nor will we now. A new era is opening upon your people. Our desire is, by disclosing obvious truths, to awaken you to a necessity of your essential interests. By doing so both will be benefitted. Assent, and the condition of each will be improved; but refuse, and your older brothers will be constrained to languish under that state of things, submission to the white man's law, which you have already confessed your people could not bear, and which consequently has occasioned their removal from the land of their fathers. It can be of no concern to your great father, whether your tribes remove and live together or not. It is their concern, not his. Nor is possession of your lands an object. No such selfish purpose governs. Already the United States have a territory more extensive than their citizens can occupy; more than probably will be wanted for half a century to come.

* * *

Brothers: We come not to buy your lands. We have heretofore told you that your great father would no more desire to purchase for his white children any portion of the country which was granted to you west of the Mississippi. He will maintain that promise. The application now submitted is in behalf of your long tried friends, and worthy brothers, the Chickasaws, who are without a home, to which, like you, they can remove.

* * *

Think of these things; let not narrow and selfish thoughts influence you; but act, we entreat you, with that spirit of liberality and justice which shall be worthy of you.

On December 11, the commissioners reported to the War Department: "Neither tribe appears disposed to act. The principal difficulty seems to be an apprehension that the country lying north of Red River is not sufficient for both nations."[23]

The commissioners arrived in Franklin, Tennessee, where another letter dated December 30, was addressed to the whole Chickasaw nation for the benefit of those who were unable to attend the recent meeting. Their attention was called to their refusal to consider removing to the West when General Coffee had visited them

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-21.
[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 700-1.

in 1826. The country at that time offered them was no longer the property of the United States since it had been ceded to other tribes. Therefore their only hope was to purchase a part of the Choctaw lands.[24]

On their part, the Chickasaws made reply, prepared at their council-house on January 15, 1832, signed by thirty-nine Chickasaws. It states:[25]

> We are not aware of the difficulties under which we labor, owing to the extension of the laws of the States of Mississippi and Alabama over us. It is a fact well known to the Government of the United States, that the red people cannot, from ignorance of civil jurisprudence, preserve their nationality thus.
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> Those who have, in a small degree, been removed from their pristine ignorance, justly appreciate the humane policy of the Government, to place them beyond the reach of this state of things, in a country where they can quietly sit down and content themselves with that mode of living best suited to their capacities. . . . .
>
> We remember well the *talks* delivered by Gen. Coffee and his colleagues to us in 1826; and if we erred in not complying with their request, we beg that this seeming dereliction of duty to our nation may be attributed to an ignorance of our situation. We had supposed that a country which we had occupied for so many generations, would not be wrested from us by what we considered an undue advantage on the part of the individual States. We are aware that the country offered to us at that time is no longer the property of the United States. We are sorry for it. Having, from our first acquaintance, confided in the talks delivered us by the United States' authorities, we are disposed to acknowledge that the only hope that now remains for us, to avoid a state of things, the realities of which we would deeply deplore, is to endeavor to acquire a portion of the Choctaw lands. We therefore take pleasure in saying to you that, at any time, commissioners on the part of the United States may attempt to effect this object, the Chickasaws, in obedience to the sentiments which you express, viz., "that this is the only hope of escape," will assist them in endeavoring to accomplish so desirable an object.

During the winter of 1832, the Legislature of Alabama extended the State laws over that portion of the Chickasaw country within its borders. At the same time, the governors of Mississippi and Tennessee were reported to have employed surveyors to mark the boundary between those two states, and white settlers were locating in that region. Agent Reynolds, in the meantime, addressed a letter[26] to Secretary Cass in which he said:

> I take great pleasure in saying that the leading chiefs of this nation (Chickasaw) are becoming more sensible of their situation, and the situation of their people; and I have good reason to believe that they will act more efficiently in aiding the Government to procure them a home beyond the Mississippi; and should one be procured, I have no hesitation in saying that the people will remove with great cheerfulness.

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[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-6.
[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 11-14.
[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 189-90.

In the fall of 1832, the Government made another attempt to effect an understanding with the Chickasaws, and Eaton and Coffee were commissioned to enter into new negotiations. Under the advice of President Jackson, a consideration in money was to be offered the nation in order that a purchase of land might be made in the West, preferably from the Choctaws. General Eaton was unable to attend the Chickasaw meeting and General Coffee, alone, drew up the terms of a treaty—the preamble of which follows:[27]

> The Chickasaw Nation find themselves oppressed in their present situation; by being made subject to the laws of the States in which they reside. Being ignorant of the language and laws of the white man, they cannot understand or obey them. Rather than submit to this great evil, they prefer to seek a home in the west, where they may live and be governed by their own laws. And believing that they can procure for themselves a home, in a country suited to their wants and condition, provided they had the means to contract and pay for the same, they have determined to sell their country and hunt a new home. The President has heard the complaints of the Chickasaws, and like them believes they cannot be happy, and prosper as a nation, in their present situation and condition, and being desirous to relieve them from the great calamity that seems to await them, if they remain as they are—He has sent his Commissioner Genl. John Coffee, who has met the whole Chickasaw nation in Council, and after mature deliberation, they have entered into the following articles, which shall be binding on both parties, when the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The terms of the Treaty of Pontotoc provided: (1) a cession of all lands belonging to the Chickasaws east of the Mississippi to the United States, the same to be sold under public auction and by private sale by the President of the United States, when the land was surveyed and offered for sale. Other provisions included those concerning allotments of land to be made to individual members of the tribe, the valuation of their improvements and the payment of annuities to the old chiefs. The provision on annuities expressed the affection and thoughtfulness on the part of the Chickasaws for the "old and beloved Tishomingo" who was awarded $100.00 a year for life as a token from his people" on account of his long and valuable services"; and likewise, the "old and beloved Queen Puccaun-la" should receive $50.00 a year for her support the rest of her life.[28]

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[27] Kappler, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-64.

[28] The Chickasaw "Queen Puc-caun-la" (properly *Pacanli*, meaning "a blossom") was probably the grandmother (or mother) of the "King" Ishtehotopa, as right of descent in the Chickasaw family was through the mother's line. Thus, the new "king" would be the nephew of the ruling "king,"—that is, the son of the "king's" sister. "Queen Puc-caun-la" died at a very advanced age on the way to the Indian Territory, in the Chickasaw Removal of 1838.

The new treaty was signed at the Chickasaw Council House on Pontotoc Creek, Mississippi, on October 20, 1832, the first signature that of John Coffee,[29] as Commissioner on behalf of the United States, followed by the names of sixty-five chiefs and leaders, most of whom signed by mark. The first of these was Ishtehotopa, the hereditary tribal chief generally referred to as the "Chickasaw King"; the name of the venerable Tishomingo was next, the noted "war chief" of the tribe, aged ninety-six years. Other names included Levi Colbert, the celebrated leader in the tribal councils; George Colbert, who had been awarded a sword by President Washington for his service in the American forces under General Anthony during the Indian wars north of the Ohio in 1794-5, and who had also served under General Andrew Jackson in the later Creek War; Isaac Alberson and Pitman Colbert, both of whom were prominent in Chickasaw history after the later settlement of the nation in the Indian Territory.

The Chickasaw land cession in Mississippi, under Treaty of Pontotoc amounted to approximately 6,283,804 acres, the net proceeds from the sale of these lands forming a trust fund (mostly invested in State bonds) for the nation, under the supervision of the United States government. Within five years after the Treaty, the Choctaws and Chickasaws entered into an agreement made by treaty at Doaksville (January, 1837), providing for the settlement of the Chickasaws within the Choctaw Nation.

[29] General John Coffee, a native of Tennessee, had been General Jackson's right-hand man during the Creek wars of 1814. His wife was a sister of Mrs. Andrew Jackson. He had served as surveyor-general in the boundary surveys of Alabama, in 1820, and was appointed U. S. Commissioner in making the Choctaw treaties of 1816 and 1830. He was a prosperous planter of Lauderdale County, Alabama, at the time of his death on July 17, 1833.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

A Spanish *Arrastra* in McClain County

The article in this issue of *The Chronicles,* by Dr. W. E. Hollon explaining the significance and the use made of the *arrastra* in primitive mining operations, brings to mind the "Lost Spanish Gold Mine" located three miles southwest of Byars, in McClain County, Oklahoma. A well preserved *arrastra* there, with a large tree growing up in the center, was visited by Colonel George H. Shirk and others from the Oklahoma Historical about four years ago, who cite the location on the west side of a dry branch, in the approximate center of Section 33, Range 5 North, Township 2 East, giving evidence that at one time there was in fact mining operations in some form in that region. For many years legend current in the locality was told of such a mine: One day soon after the post office of Ada was named (1891), an old Mexican (about 70 years) was visiting on the street of Ada and telling of how as a boy he had been with his father prospecting for gold in this country to the west. While on this expedition, his father had been killed in a fight with the Plains Indians though he himself and a few of the party of prospectors escaped and returned to Mexico. A cowboy heard the more confidential details of the old Mexican's story, and in turn told him of having seen evidences of mine diggings in the region south of the Canadian River where he ran cattle. The two hired a buckboard and team and made the trip to the site described by the cowboy. The old Mexican was overjoyed saying that this was surely the place that he had visited as a boy with his father. While waiting at Ada a few days later for word and money from a friend in Mexico, the old man fell ill with pneumonia and died. He has been remembered through the years only through the legend of the "Lost Spanish Gold Mine." —The Editor

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Notes on the Chickasaw Light-horsemen

The following notes on early law enforcement in the Chickasaw Nation were contributed by Carolyn Thomas Foreman:

CHICKASAW LIGHT-HORSE

The deplorable condition of the Chickasaw Indians after their removal to the West was largely due to the unrestrained introduction of whiskey. Many grocery stores were established along the border to pander to the appetite for drink and there were two steamboats on Red River which retailed liquor.

A company of Seminole Indians, headed by Bill Nannubbee, engaged in transporting whiskey from Preston, Texas through the Chickasaw Nation to Tokpafka Town in the Creek Nation, where it was retailed. "The Chickasaw Light-horse undertook to prevent this traffic through their country;

one of these officers named Chin-chi-kee encountered this band and though he was armed only with a knife he killed three of the whiskey runners before he was in turn killed by Nantubbee (*sic*) who shot him in the head."[1]

Chickasaw Agent A. J. Smith, in his report of 1853, to G. W. Mannypenny, Commissioner of Indian affairs, wrote at length on the subject of the introduction of liquor into the nation. There was complaint in the western portion of the nation because of the trade carried on by Indians of other tribes, although a great quantity had been destroyed that year by the light-horse. Smith blamed the Kickapoos, Caddoes, Creeks, and Seminoles as the principal offenders in the business:

"It is so easy for them to go to the little towns in Texas on the Red river, buy their whiskey, go up the Red river to some uninhabited part of the country, cross over to the Canadian, where they generally dispose of it to any person that wants it. This whiskey trade cannot be altogether suppressed until the several states adjoining the Indian territory shall pass such laws as will prevent the sale of ardent spirits altogether."

In the General Appropriation Bill of the Second Session of the Legislature of the Chickasaw Nation the name of Allen Greenwood is carried as light-horsemen to whom $2.00 was due. The sum of $30.00 appropriated to pay Conchee for services as light-horseman in 1853.

During the extra session of the legislature Governor Cyrus Harris approved an Act on November 28, 1857 to pay Oka-chan Tubby $40.00 for his services as light-horseman; Muthin-chee received $18.75 which had been due since 1850 and Nelson Fraizer was paid the same amount for work as a light-horseman in 1853.[2]

While no further mention is made of the appointment, duties and services of a body of men called "Light-Horse" in the Chickasaw Laws, frequent reference is made to sheriffs and constables who evidently attended to the duties fulfilled by the light-horse in the other nations of the Five Civilized Tribes.

In October, 1859, Governor D. Colbert approved an act of the legislature by which county judges were empowered to appoint four men in each county, "to act as patrol, to keep down all disorderly conduct which may be committed by negroes roving about through the country without a pass from the owners. The said patrol shall be required to ride three times a week, and shall receive four dollars a month for such services, and to be paid out of the County Treasury."

The act provided that if any Negro was "found away from home without a pass, or a permit to trade, from their owners, he, she, or they were to receive thirty-nine lashes on their bare back, by the patrol or any [other] citizen of the nation."

The County Court was directed to appoint the patrol wherever they would be of the most benefit to the county. When notified of their appointment the men were directed to meet at the County Court and elect two captains, and adopt rules as to the length of time a pass was valid. "The County Judge shall administer the oath to the patrol, and it shall extend to the faithful performance as patrol."[3]

—*Carolyn Thomas Foreman*

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[1] Fort Smith *Herald*, January 10, 1852, p. 2, col. 3; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), p. 119.

[2] *Constitution, Laws, and Treaties of the Chickasaws* (Tishomingo City, 1860), pp. 91, 92, 94.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 166-67.

Review of Chickasaw Education Before the Civil War

Notes on Chickasaw schools before the Civil War, have been contributed in manuscript by Dr. Frank A. Balyeat, of the School of Education in The University of Oklahoma, based on his Ph. D. Dissertation "Education in Indian Territory," presented at Leland Stanford Junior University (1927). He points out that the Indian Agent reported in 1842 that there were no Chickasaw schools at this time and "no preachers of any denomination in the Chickasaw District." The first church organized among members of this nation after their arrival in the Indian Territory, however, was the "Chickasaw Church" at Boggy Depot in 1840, by the missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Mission, the Reverends C. C. Copeland and Cyrus Kingsbury. This church was an outlying station visited by Presbyterian missionary preachers at stated intervals, the organization continuing at Old Boggy Depot until the late 1880's. Also, in 1844, the Methodist Episcopal Church had a mission and school at "Pleasant Grove" overlooking distant Fort Washita in the Chickasaw District, farthest west of any mission on the frontier. The foundations of the main building, the old well and a few old fruit trees still mark the site of this early mission about two miles west of present Emet, in Johnston County.

Before the removal (1837-38), there were four mission schools in operation among the Chickasaws in Mississippi, under the auspices of the American Board, the first "Monroe," having been established in 1821.[1] All were closed and the properties sold when the Chickasaws came west. The first mission and school, called "Charity Hall," had been established among them in Mississippi in 1820, by the Reverend Robert Bell under the auspices of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.[2] The mission was closed in 1832, but the work of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was continued later in the Indian Territory in the operation of Burney Academy, the location of which was about one and half miles east of present Lebanon, in Marshall County, the name of the school being changed several times in the history of the Chickasaws (including the names, "Lebanon Institute" and "Chickasaw Orphan Home"). The establishment of a boarding school under the Cumberland Presbyterian Board was provided by a law of the Chickasaw Council in 1854, signed by Dougherty Colbert as "Financial Chief" and Cyrus Harris as Clerk, appropriating $3,000 for the school (and the same sum for the school every year thereafter) to be built in Wichita County, Chickasaw District, Choctaw Nation (the region that later became Pickens

[1] Joseph Tracy, "History of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions," *History of American Missions to the Heathen* (Worcester: Spooner & Howland, 1840).

[2] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Charity Hall: An Early Day Chickasaw School," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 3 (September, 1933).

County, Chickasaw Nation).[3] The building of the school was begun but further appropriation was needed to complete the work, provided in an act of the Chickasaw Legislature in 1857, allowing $5,000 out of the tribal funds and referring to the school as "Burney Institute."[4] The Reverend F. D. Piner was appointed as the first superintendent of "Burney Academy" but the opening of the school was delayed. In 1859, the Reverend Robert S. Bell and his wife were sent by the Cumberland Board to teach the Chickasaw girls at this new school. Mr. and Mrs. Bell began their work, and remained at their post throughout the Civil War though all help from the Board was cut off in the latter years of the War.[5] The post office "Burney Academy," Chickasaw Nation, was established here on July 3, 1860, with Robert S. Bell as postmaster.[6]

The following notes on Chickasaw schools before the Civil War are offered here from Dr. Balyeat's manuscript on "Education in the Indian Territory," based on annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the years mentioned and on the article "Bloomfield Academy and Its Founder," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* (Vol. II, No. 4 December, 1924, pp. 366-79): —*The Editor*

EARLY CHICKASAW SCHOOLS

No tribe migrated to the Indian Territory with such available wealth for financing schools as the Chickasaws. They had begun to pay for pupils to colleges in the States and to the Choctaw Academy, in Kentucky, but otherwise had attempted nothing as a tribe in schooling their children in their own schools. Their long stay among the Choctaws after coming west, the opportunity to attend the schools of their kinsmen and the constant shifting of their settlements in the 1840's,—all tended to delay the beginnings of schools. During this time a minority of more alert parents were demanding the same chances for their children as the other tribes were getting under way, in the Indian Territory.

Tribal Appeal for Schools: In 1842 the Chickasaws petitioned the Secretary of War for a large manual labor boarding school in their Nation, to which they might send the boys then attending schools back in the States. This proposal, as well as some made to the various Church denominations, was so painfully delayed that the tribesmen naturally became discouraged and less inclined to look to the whites for help or guidance. The few missionaries who came among them had such small staffs of workers that there were fewer schools conducted as part of the mission station work than was true in other Nations. Few of these continued after beginning. In 1847 the Chickasaw agent stated in his report that there was not a school in the Nation, the only teacher there that year having abandoned his post before the end of the term. The report stated, also, that there were no missionaries remaining in the Chickasaw Nation.

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[3] Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, *Acts—Chickasaw Nation,* Vol. 64, Session of October, 1854, Sec. 22.

[4] Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, *Laws of the Chickasaw Nation,* 1856-1857, p. 70.

[5] McDonald, *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church* (Nashville, 1888).

[6] George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948).

New Boarding Schools: About 1848 the school situation began to brighten. Some of the proposals to church societies were bearing fruit, some boarding schools were being arranged for, and one building was actually under construction. Beginning in 1851, Bloomfield Academy, the Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy, Wapanucka Institute and Colbert Institute in turn began operation under contracts with various mission societies. Methodists and Presbyterians took the lead in this field. These boarding schools had gotten well under way when the Civil War came.

Bloomfield Academy: The Chickasaw boarding school with the longest history is Bloomfield, and probably no other has occupied so large a place in the history of this Indian Nation. It began as a Methodist school in 1853, when the Reverend J. H. Carr laid the foundations for what was to become one of the outstanding opportunities for Chickasaw girls. He taught a day school in 1853-54 while the dormitory buildings were being erected. It was located three miles from Red River, just across from Denison, Texas (southwest of present Achille, Bryan County). In trying to direct a stranger to this new and un-named school, he called special attention to the flowering field about it, and the name "Bloomfield" was suggested and adopted.

Then came a contract with the Nation for 45 girls, but as the dormitory facilities were still inadequate only 30 were enrolled the first three years (1853-1856). The Nation appropriated $1,000 for the board of the pupils. In 1857, the tribal allowance was $3,000 and the Methodist, $500. The following year the enrolment increased to 54, with an average daily attendance of 45. The quota was kept at 45, and as every vacancy was immediately filled by some one on the waiting list, no attendance records were considered necessary. The course was largely elementary, with some attention to home-making. The Chickasaw legislative allowance in 1859, covered all of the child's expenses except clothing, for which an additional $12 each per year was provided. In 1860, the National quota of pupils was raised to 60. In that year music was a specialty, "the most advanced have taken lessons on the melodeon."

Bloomfield escaped the ravages of war, but so many fathers were called to arms that the girls were taken home in the summer of 1861. Part of the staff remained at the farm and depended for support on what could be gained there as salaries were discontinued. The only school work carried on was a three hours' session in the mornings. A part of the time some of the children of the community attended.

Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy: Five years after migrating the Chickasaws began an agitation to have their money applied on a boarding school in their own Nation so they might be spared the expense and inconvenience of sending their boys to the States. In 1842, they petitioned the Secretary of War for such approval, but for some unexplained reason matters dragged badly. Plans were drawn and a contract was made with the Methodist Missionary Society in December 1844, for a large co-educational academy. Then the sanction of the War Department was awaited. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs *Report* for 1846 states that eighteen months had elapsed since the plans and contracts were submitted to Washington, but the only reply had been some changes suggested by the Secretary of War.

The next year the Commissioner reported that after three years of anxiety and agitation on the part of the tribe no school was yet in sight and the Indians were getting discouraged. Finally, in 1848, construction began on the building, but work was painfully slow due, in part, to the remoteness of the country for much of the necessary materials. The summer of 1852 is the first recorded report. No wonder the Chickasaws grew discouraged. Eight or ten years of needless delay such as was never visited on other tribes was enough to make them distrustful of the white people, and cause them to adopt means of spending their money without

Wapanucka Academy, Chickasaw Nation. Building erected 1851-52, from white limestone quarried in the vicinity.

Bloomfield Academy, Chickasaw Nation, opened 1853. This view of last building erected on the original site in 1896, burned 1914.

the guidance of the government or church societies. Much of the later educational *fiasco* of the Chickasaws is due to law modifications on the part of their leaders, but some blame can surely be traced to unfortunate contacts with whites in those early and important years.

Mrs. Carr states in her account (*op. cit*) of Bloomfield that in 1851 Mr. Robinson established a school for boys near Tishomingo. That year is probably the beginning of what the Chickasaws had awaited so long. Under date of August 20, 1852, J. C. Robinson reported as superintendent of Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy, and he continued in that capacity until classes were suspended because of the Civil War. At the end of the second year this Academy was made a school for boys, the places of the girls who were now transferred to Bloomfield were taken by beginning boys, though many of them grown, knowing neither letters nor the English language and civilization. The 1854, report shows an enrolment of 120 which was maintained till the Civil War. Prior to the War the school was a joint enterprise between the Nation and the church, the former paid $7,000 per year most of the time and the latter promising $1,500, but most of the years the Church actually paid nearly $2,000. The National payment was to meet the expense of board, washing, making and mending clothes, educating, books, stationery, and medical attendance for one hundred youths, many of them men. Material for clothing was furnished by the guardian or parent. In 1857, there was an additional Chickasaw legislative appropriation of $1,250, and this sort of supplemental aid seemed to have been given as the need arose. The quota of pupils dropped to 45 in 1861, but the amounts appropriated by the Nation and the church were as before.

Superintendent Robinson had an ambition in founding and conducting this school that was not excelled elsewhere in the Indian territory. To him "manual training" meant farming and stock raising, and no mention is ever made of shops except of the kind that practical farming could and should use. In 1856, he stated that he was trying to teach scientific farming. The next year the school force was milking forty cows and farming 160 acres. The year 1858 found him installing a sawmill and flour-mill. He said, "Our object in all this is to teach not only our scholars, but the Nation, in the knowledge of books only, but of things practical, profitable and useful and to place before them the advantage of the uses of machinery and farming implements such as the reaper, thresher, corn-sheller, coal-crusher, roller, etc." He encouraged the reading of farm papers. How refreshing this program is in contrast with some classes so popular then in some of the other Nations, and how unfortunate these ideas were dropped by the Chickasaw school after the War.

Wapanucka Institute: The early years of Wapanucka Institute marked one of the brightest spots in Chickasaw school history. At the time the Methodists were starting a boys' school near Tishomingo, the Presbyterians were beginning a similar opportunities for classes at Wapanucka. School opened in October 1852 and during the year enrolled 40 pupils, turning away many other applicants for lack of teachers. The next year the school grew to 100, but had to be discontinued because of the physical break-down of the teachers.[7] In 1855 the Reverend Mr. Balentine, who had begun the work, was succeeded by S. H. Wilson as superintendent. Superintendent Wilson's report for 1856 showed 111 girls enrolled under a teaching staff of 6. There were 3 ladies assigned to instruction and 3 to directing domestic work. Arrangements for teaching home economics

[7] The history of "Wapanucka Institute" and notations and references to this Chickasaw school appear in the article on "The Ballentines, Father and Son, in the Indian Territory," by Carolyn Thomas Foreman in this issue of *The Chronicles*, pp. 425-35. For further references on Chickasaw education, see Mrs. Foreman's article "Education Among the Chickasaws," *ibid.*, Vol. XV, No. 2 (June, 1937).

were unique: The entire enrolment was divided into families with all sizes of girls represented in each group, and a lady assigned to each family. Under such arrangements the household work was done with the attempt to make their school life approximate as near as possible what they might have at home. In 1858, the girls were classified in three groups for instruction purposes. Of these, 47 pupils were in primary classes, from those learning the alphabet to those who could read words of two syllables; 35 were in the needle class and others, called "Third," seemed to have upper elementary grades. The older girls had to memorize the whole of Tower's Grammar and were struggling with *Ray's Third Part Arithmetic.* No high school work seems to have been done.

—*Frank A. Balyeat, Ph.D.*

Notes on History of Wyandot in Oklahoma

A recent addition to the Indian Archives is the original *Journal* of the Wyandot Indian councils, the first entry dated 1848 in Kansas, having been presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society by the present Wyandot chief, Lawrence Zane, of Miami, Oklahoma. This volume contains the Wyandot Roll listing members of the tribe by blood who established their tribal government in their new reservation in the Indian Territory (1871) by the terms of the "Omnibus Treaty" with the United States in 1867. A band of 200 Wyandot led by Chief Matthew Mudeater had been living on the some 30,000 acre reserve in present Ottawa County since 1859, secured in an agreement with their old friends, the Seneca of Sandusky headed by Chief Little Tom Spicer. The following review of history on the Wyandot has been contributed by Velma Nieberding, of Miami, Oklahoma:

—*The Editor*

THE WYANDOT TRIBE TODAY

Under the Treaty of 1855, the Wyandots who had emigrated to Kansas in 1843 and settled on 39 sections of land lying in the fork of the Missouri and Kansas Rivers (the present site of Kansas City, Kansas) discarded their treaty and tribal rights and became citizens of the United States. The Treaty of 1855 gave them the immunities and privileges of other citizens, including the right to sell their lands.

Actually not all the Wyandots were ready or capable of assuming this responsibiltiy of citizenship, although they were predominantly White at that date because of intermarriage. By 1857, many of them were homeless, having sold their lands and used up their money.

Many years before the Wyandots had befriended the Senecas by giving them forty thousand acres of land on the Sandusky river in Ohio (Treaty of 1817). The Senecas had promised their Wyandot benefactors that should misfortune ever overwhelm them they would take them in as brothers and give them a home. Now they made their ancient promise good and conveyed a strip of land 30,000 acres across the north end of the Seneca Reservation in the Indian Territroy, to the Wyandots. A large

number of the tribe came to the Territory and settled under the leadership of Matthew Mudeater, Chief.[1]

Leaders of the Wyandot Tribe at this time included Silas Armstrong, Francis A. Hicks, William Walker (who had served Provisional Governor of the Territory of Nebraska) John Greyeyes, Isaac Zane and others. Tribal relations were re-established after all the Wyandots moved to Indian Territory in 1871. Their reservation lands were divided and allotted in 1897.

Federal restrictions have been removed from all members of the tribe and each adult Indian is permitted to lease, sell or use his land as he chooses. Wyandot farms are well developed and some of them are still occupied by the original allottees, among these being Olive Zane Long and Charley Robitaille. Federal relations of the tribe are maintained through the Quapaw Indian Sub-Agency located at Miami and the Muskogee Area Office in the Indian Service at Muskogee, Oklahoma.

The Seneca Indian School, established on Wyandot land in 1872, is one of the oldest Indian schools in the Southwest. Pupils receive classwork from the first through the ninth grades. The Institution operates a 1,235 acre farm with 300 acres in cultivation. Sixteen Indian tribes were represented in the September, 1955, enrollment.

According to Chief Lawrence Zane, there are 893 Wyandots on the roll with approximately 158 living in the old reservation area. Members of the present tribal council include, Chief Zane, who had held office since 1950; Mrs. Ruth Watters, Secretary-Treasurer; Leonard Cotter, Second Chief; Henry Wright, First councilman and Hugh Wright, Second Councilman.

A new state park, built on former Wyandot land and located near Twin Bridges in Ottawa County, Oklahoma, will honor the Wyandot Tribe since it bears the name of the present tribal Chief, Lawrence E. Zane, Miami. A marker will be erected in the 67 acre park commemorating the history of the tribe and of the Zane family. Somewhere and sometime during the years the old tribal and ethnological spelling of the name changed from WYANDOT to WYANDOTTE which is found in many records.[2]

Tribal ceremonies which used to include the Green Corn Dance, the Blackberry festival, the Sun Dance and others, are no longer observed although the tribe meets occasionally for a picnic or outing. Wyandots however, join their friends of other tribes for Indian festivities such as the Seneca Green Corn Dance and the Shawnee Bread Dance.

—*Velma Nieberding*

An 1839 Defense of the American Indian

A quaint and half forgotten volume published in 1834 at Amherst, Massachusetts, and now in the Oklahoma collection of the Reverend Vernon Pendleton, of Enid, gives striking evidence that the Red Man has never been entirely without friends and advocates among his white brethren. In 1829, Dr. Heman Humphrey was

[1] Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, 1946), p. 197.

[2] The spelling *Wyandot* was agreed upon by the Bureau of American Ethnology and the Indian Bureau, and is the adopted form among the Indian names listed under this agreement (Charles Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. I [Washington, 1903], p. 1021.).—Ed.

President of Amherst College. His addresses were collected and published under the title *Discourses and Reviews,* in which the "Publisher's Notice" read:

When the "poor Indian" began to feel the effects of the recent encroachments upon his rights, no one sympathized more deeply with his wrongs, than did the Author of this volume. He was perhaps the first, who uttered remonstrances from the pulpit against Indian oppression: and his powerful appeal, though it was ineffectual, is worthy of enduring remembrance.

This number of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* presents Dr. Humphrey's address for it is indeed a powerful appeal brought to light and entitled to preservation in the history of Oklahoma, the last homeland of many American Indian tribes:

—*George H. Shirk*

Indian Rights and Our Duties*

The people of the land have used oppression, and exercised robbery: and have vexed the poor and needy: yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully. And I sought for a man among them, that should make up the hedge, and stand in the gap before me for the land, that I should not destroy it: but I found none. Therefore have I poured out mine indignation upon them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath: their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord God.—Ezekiel.

About nine hundred years before this appalling record was made by the prophet, God denounced against Israel the very punishment which is here declared to have been inflicted. This denunciation was communicated to the people by their great law-giver, at the foot of Mt. Sinai. 'Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child: if thou afflict them in any wise and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry; and my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword, and your wives shall be widows and your children fatherless.'

How long the Israelites remembered their own sufferings in Egypt, and were restrained from deeds of violence and oppression, we are not informed. But we learn from Ezekiel, that regardless of justice and humanity, and in defiance of the wrath of God revealed from heaven, they at length used oppression and exercised robbery, and vexed the poor and needy, and oppressed the stranger wrongfully. 'And though the prophets and some few others boldly remonstrated, though they exhorted the people to repent and would fain have averted the threatened judgments by their prayers, they were borne down and disheartened by the overwhelming torrent of corruption. No man in authority was found to second their efforts. Neither the king, nor any of his nobles or counsellors stood in the gap. None of them employed their abilities and influence, to stop the progress of wickedness and rescue those who were crying to God from under the hand of violence; wherefore, he poured out his fury upon the people and consumed them with the fire of his anger.'

And is there no monitory voice addressed to our own nation in all this? Or if there be, are we at liberty to place it on the same ground with other ancient historical records? Woe to the politician, woe to the

* Delivered at Amherst, Hartford, &c. Dec. 1829.

moralist, who shall attempt thus to bring down the writings of Moses and the Prophets, to a level with Josephus and Tacitus. If the historical and prophetical books of the Old Testament are true, they are inspired, and 'are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.'

Perhaps of all nations, whether ancient or modern, we are most deeply interested in the dealings of God with the children of Israel. In looking back upon their deliverances and their sins, most emphatically may we repeat and appropriate to ourselves the words of Paul to the Corinthians. 'Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples, and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come.'

Are we then, of these United States, chargeable with violence, oppression, and robbery? Is the unoffending and beseeching stranger anywhere vexed and persecuted in this boasted land of religion, justice, and humanity? Is there an individual, is there a whole people at the present moment, suffering from our rapacity, and trembling at our cruel menaces? Would God that we could indignantly answer these questions in the negative. Would God that the recorded testimony of our encroachments upon the sacred rights of humanity could be prevented from crossing the ocean in every ship, to excite the loud derision of all the enemies of republican institutions.

I allude not here to African servitude. For terrible as it is o'er one half of the land, it is a hereditary curse and shame, against which the constituted authorities of the nation in obedience to the voice of the people, long since bore their solemn testimony by prohibiting the importation of slaves.

But there is another, and a still more interesting people, dwelling within the limits of what we have been pleased to mark off as our national territory, who have already been subjected, I had almost said, to a harder fate than the Africans themselves. The first European settlers found them here, the immemorial possessors and undisputed lords of the country: and what has become of those powerful tribes that two centuries ago dwelt where we now dwell; and kindled their watch-fires where our proudest cities rise; and owned all these rivers, and bays, and harbors, and great lakes, and lofty mountains, and fertile vallies? Where are they? A nobler race of wild men never existed in any age or country. We are accustomed to speak of them as ferocious savages. And it is true that they were uncivilized. They had no schools, nor Colleges. They had never enjoyed the blessed ligth of Christianity; and in their wars with one another, they were as cruel, as they were brave and crafty. It is true, also, that when we began to extend our settlements far into the country, and they saw us in possession of their finest hunting grounds and fisheries, they became jealous of us and being instigated by the French, who then flanked our whole northern and western frontier, from the gulph of St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Missouri, they made depredations upon our property and cruelly butchered some of our people.

All this is true. But savages as they were, they bore with our gradual encroachments much longer than we should have borne with theirs under similar circumstances, and taught us lessons which may well put to the blush all our boasted religion and civilization.

'The Indians,' says Dr. Trumbull, 'at the first settlement of our fathers, performed many acts of kindness towards them. They instructed them in the manner of planting and dressing the Indian corn. They carried them safe through rivers and waters. They gave them much useful information respecting the country, and when the English and their children were lost in the woods, and they were in danger of perishing with hun-

ger, or cold, they conducted them to their wigwams, fed them, and restored them to their families and parents. By selling them corn when pinched with famine, they relieved their distresses, and prevented their perishing in a strange land and uncultivated wilderness.' The same historian tells us, that it was nearly sixteen years after the settlement of Plymouth, before the Indians commenced hostilities upon their English neighbors; and again that the English lived in tolerable peace with all the Indians in New England, except the Pequots, for about forty years.'

Thus, when we were few and they were many,—we were weak and they were strong,—instead of driving us back into the sea, as they might have done at any time, they cherished our perilous infancy, and tendered to us the sacred emblems of peace. They gave us land as much as we wanted, or sold it to us or nothing. They permitted us quietly to clear up the wilderness, and to build habitations, and school houses, and churches. And when everything began to smile around us, under the combined influence of industry, education, and religion, these savages did not come to us and say, 'We want your houses—we want your fine cultivated farms; you must move off. There is room enough for you beyond the western rivers, where you may settle down on a better soil, and begin anew.'

Nor, when we were strongly attached to our fire sides, and to our father's sepulchres, did they say, 'You are mere tenants at will: We own all the land, and if you insist up staying longer, you must dissolve your government and submit to such laws as we choose to make for you.'

No—the Indian tribes of the seventeenth century, knew nothing of these modern refinements: they were no such adepts in the law of nature and nations. They allowed us to abide by our own council fires, and to govern ourselves as we chose, when they could either have dispossessed, or subjugated us at pleasure. We *did* remain, and we gradually waxed rich and strong. We wanted more land, and they sold it to us at our own price. Still we were not satisfied. There was room enough to the west, and we advised them to move farther back. If they took our advice, well. If not, we knew how to enforce it. And where are those once terrible nations now? Driven alternately by purchase and by conquest, from river to river, and from mountain to mountain, they have disappeared with their own gigantic forests, and we, their enlightened heirs at law and the sword, now plough up their bones with as much indifference as we do their arrows. Shall I name the Mohegans, the Pequots, the Iroquois, and the Mohawks? What has become of them, and of a hundred other independent nations which dwelt on this side of the Mississippi, when we landed at Plymouth and at Jamestown? Here and there, as at Penobscot, and Marshpee, and Oneida, you may see a diminutive and downcast remnant, wandering like troubled ghosts among the graves of their mighty progenitors. Our trinkets, our threats, our arms, our whiskey, our bribes, and our vices, have all but annihilated those vast physical and intellectual energies of a native population, which for more than a hundred and fifty years, could make us quake and flee at pleasure, throughout all our northern, western, and southern borders.

There is something more than metaphor, more than the wild flowers of Indian rhetoric, in the speech of a distinguished chief to General Knox, about the close of the last century. 'Brother, I have been looking at your beautiful city—the great waters—your fine country, and I see how you all are. But then I could not help thinking that this fine country, and this great water were once ours. Our ancestors lived here; they enjoyed it as their own place;—it was the gift of the Great Spirit to them and their children. At last the white people came here in a great canoe. They asked us only to let them tie it to a tree, lest the waters should carry it away, we consented. They said some of their people were sick, and asked

leave to land them and put them under the shade of the trees. The ice then came and they could not go away. They begged for a piece of land to build wigwams for the winter: we granted it to them. Then they asked for some corn to keep them from starving: and we kindly furnished it to them.

Afterwards more came. They brought spirituous and intoxicating liquors with them, of which the Indians were very fond. They persuaded us to sell them some land. Finally they drove us back from time to time, into the wilderness, far from the water and the fishes. They have destroyed the game; and our people have wasted away; and now we live miserable and wretched, while you are enjoying our fine and beautiful country. This makes me sorry, brother, and I cannot help it.'

Here is truth and nature; nor is there less of either in the speech of the famous Logan to Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia.

'My cabin, since I had one of my own, has ever been open to any white man who wanted shelter. My spoils of hunting, since first I began to range these woods, have I ever imparted to appease his hunger, to clothe his nakedness. But what have I seen? What! But that at my return at night, laden with spoil, my numerous family lie bleeding on the ground by the hand of those who had found my little hut a certain refuge from the storm, who had eaten my food, who had covered themselves with my skins. What have I seen? What! But that those dear little mouths for which I had all day toiled, when I returned to fill them, had not one word to thank me for all that toil.

What could I resolve upon! My blood boiled within me. My heart leaped to my mouth! Nevertheless I bid my tomahawk to quiet and lie at rest for that war, because I thought the great men of your country sent them not to do it. Not long after, some of your men invited our tribe to cross the river and bring their venison with them. They came as they had been invited. The white men made them drunk, murdered them, and turned their knives even against the women. Was not my own sister among them? Was she not scalped by the hands of the very man whom she had taught to escape his enemies, when they were scenting out his track? What could I resolve upon? My blood boiled thrice hotter than before. Thrice again my heart leaped to my mouth. I bade no longer my tomahawk be quiet and rest for that war.

I sprang from my cabin to avenge their blood, and fully have I done it in this war, by shedding yours, from your coldest to your hottest sun. I am now for peace— to peace have I advised most of my countrymen. Nay, what is more, I have offered, I will offer myself a victim, being ready to die if their good requires it. Think not that I fear death. I have no relatives left to mourn for me. Logan's blood runs in no veins but these. I would not turn on my heel to save my life; and why should I? For I have neither wife nor child nor sister to howl for me when I am gone!'

Gone is the mighty warrior, the terrible avenger, the heart-bursting orator. Gone is the terror and glory of his nation; and gone forever from our elder states, are the red men, who, like Saul and Jonathan, were 'swifter than eagles, and stronger than lions,' and who with the light and advantages which we enjoy, might have rivalled us in wealth and power— in the senate and forum.— as I am sure that they would have surpassed us in magnanimity and justice.

But while the besom of destruction has thus swept away more than nine tenths of the aboriginal sovereignties of the country, a few of the more southern tribes have hitherto escaped, though greatly reduced both in numbers and territory. And where is the philanthropist who has not rejoiced to see these tribes emerging so rapidly from pagan darkness and

coming into the light of well regulated, civil, and Christian communities? How delightful has it been to dwell on the hope that the Cherokees, the Choctaws, and their aboriginal neighbors, on this side the great river of the west, would be permitted to make their new and glorious experiment upon the soil which God gave to their fathers. How lately did the visions of their future intellectual and moral greatness shed the glories of a new creation upon all their mountains and plains!

But what cloud is that which now darkens their heavens? What voices of supplication and woe are heard from all their dwellings? The crisis of their fate has suddenly come. The decree has gone forth. The most unjust and oppressive measures are in train, either to drive 70,000 unoffending people from the soil on which they were born, into distant wilds where most of them will perish, or to dissolve their independent governments, rob them of their lands, and bring them under strange laws, the very design of which is to break down their national spirit, and insure their speedy extermination.

To go fully into the great question of Indian rights which is now pending before the American people, and which ought to rouse up all the holy sympathies of humanity, justice, and religion in the land, would require a volume; but the facts in the case, on which the verdict of all generations must rest, may be stated in a few words.

What then are the facts in the case before us—facts which it is impossible to dispute without first burning up all the records at Washington? What are the rights of the Cherokees and of the other Tribes within the chartered limits of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi? What is their present condition? What are the evils which now threaten them? And what is the course, which the general government is solemnly bound to pursue in this emergency?

The Indian tribes, then, whose fate at this moment hangs in awful suspense, are, and always have been, distinct national sovereignties. In their present location they have all the rights of preoccupancy. The first white settlers found them in the undisputed possession of the wilderness, which they are now so fast turning into a fruitful field—and of much larger and more fertile territories, which they have ceded to the United States. The land was theirs by the highest possible title. The Creator and Proprietor of all lands gave it to them. Our government has always treated them as bodies politic, enjoying not merely the right of occupancy, but of absolute property and self-control on their respective reservations.

Solemn Treaties have been made with them, by all our Presidents. In every one of these treaties the faith of the nation is pledged; and I bless God that hitherto that faith has never been violated. Such is the solemn and cruel mockery, (if the treaties be not binding,) by which the Cherokees, and other tribes at the south, have been induced to make cession after cession, to the United States, till more than three fourths of their original territory, including nearly all the most fertile tracts, are in our hands. And they indulged the hope, no doubt, that a magnanimous people would at last be satisfied to leave them their sterile mountains, and few remaining vallies without molestation—certainly without violent seizure. But in this, alas, they find themselves grievously disappointed. 'Give, give,' is the insatiable cry, which continues to vex their ears and sadden their hearts.

They are now distinctly told, 'You can no longer be tolerated as distinct nations here. A sovereign and independent state cannot permit the existence of other sovereignties within its limits. We want your lands, and we are determined to have them. You must set your faces with your wives and children towards the Rocky Mountains, and settle down where you will have more room and be better off. Do you say you will not go?

Then stay, and take the consequences. We shall soon make you repent of your obstinacy. Put out your council fires—demolish your court-houses—burn up your laws—depose your chiefs—and come under our jurisdiction. This is the alternative which is now presented to 70,000 men, women and children, in the 19th century, and under the sanction of the most enlightened and christian republic on earth!! O tell it not in Gath! If such a construction of the most solemn treaties, and guaranties is to prevail; if the faith of this great nation is thus to be given to the four winds, then let me plead for the Indians while I may—for who can tell how long *I* shall be permitted to enjoy this, or any other constitutional right?

But why are the Choctaws, and Cherokees, so unwiling to remove? What is their present condition? and what are the prospects which are opening upon them, if permitted to remain where they are? Full answers to these questions, would require hours, instead of a few moments. The truth is, that a mighty change is taking place in the character, and condition, of the southern Indians. Under the influence of industrious habits, of education, of religion, and of efficient laws, they are waking up to a new existence. It may be doubted, whether civilization ever advanced faster in any part of the world, than it is now advancing in some of their districts. Having abandond the chase, multitudes of them are living in the enjoyment of independence and plenty, in comfortable houses, and upon their own well cultivated farms. They wear their own domestic fabrics. They have their mills, their mechanics, their labor-saving machinery, their schools, and their own Cadmus, too, under whose instruction, a nation may almost literally learn to read in a day. They have, too, their legislative assemblies; their courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction; their juries; and nearly all the safe-guards of life, liberty, and property, which exist in the best regulated communities. For the suppression of intemperance, gaming, and other kindred vices, it may safely be affirmed, that they have as good laws as any of their English neighbors, and they execute them far better. To give a single example. 'A case occurred in the Cherokee nation last spring, where one of the judges of the circuit court, on finding the air of the court house strongly impregnated with whiskey, ordered the sheriff to follow certain suspected persons to their haunts in the woods, where he found and poured out the contraband article before their eyes. By the same judge, six men were fined fifty dollars each for gambling, and one was fined for profane swearing.' Add to all this, the Christian religion is taking deep root and rapidly filling the wilderness with churches and songs of salvation, under the instructions of pious teachers, and the remarkable effusion of the Holy Spirit.

Now in view of these facts and brightening prospects, can it be wondered at, that the Indians are unwilling to remove? And who that has a home of his own and a heart of flesh in his bosom, can wish them to go, contrary to their will? Who that is not dead to sympathy, and deaf to justice, can resist the imploring appeal, which was lately made by a Choctaw chief, to the agent of our government? I wish a copy of it could be placed in every dwelling in the land, and read every evening in every domestic circle, till every child should learn it by heart.

'We do not wish to sell our land and remove. This land our great Father above gave us. We stand on it. We stood on it before the white man came to the edge of the American land. It belongs to no one in any place but ourselves. Our land is not borrowed land. White men came and sat down here and there all around us. When they wished to buy land of us, we have had good councils together. The white man always said, the land is *yours*, it is *yours*.' Poor simple souls! These savages thought the white men meant as they said, and would do as they promised!

'We have always been true friends to the American people. We have not spoiled the least thing belonging to an American. But now we are

told, that the king of Mississippi is about to extend his laws over us. We, the chiefs and beloved men in this nation, are distressed. Our hands are not strong; we are a small people; we do not know much. We are distressed. Colonel Ward knows, that we have just begun to build new houses, and make new fields, and purchase iron. We have begun to make axes, hoes, and ploughs. We have some schools. We have begun to learn, and we have also begun to embrace the gospel.'

'We are like an infant that has just begun to walk; we have just begun to rise and go. And now our great father who sits in the white house looking this way, says to us: 'Unless you go yonder, the white man will extend his laws over you.' We do not say, that his words are lies, but we are distressed. Oh that our great father would love us! Oh that the king of Mississippi would love us! The American people say they love liberty; they talk much about it. They boast of their own liberty. Why will they take it from the red men?'

Take it from the red men! With our consent neither the lands, nor the liberty of these red men shall ever be taken from them. Never! What! either drive them into the great western desert; then over the Rocky Mountains; and finally into the Pacific Ocean: or else dissolve their governments, and crush them where they are! God forbid that such inhumanity, that such injustice should ever stain the pages of our history. With my consent, such a record *shall not* go down to posterity. But how can I hinder it? I am but a humble individual. I can have but little influence any where, and none where influence it most needed. But as yet, I am free. I bless God, that I have a heart which cannot help being distressed for the poor, persecuted Indians. I have a voice, too, feeble though it be, and no man, without the scimitar or the bow-string shall hinder my pleading for the oppressed. I have a right to petition, to remonstrate, to implore, and God forbid that I should be silent. It shall be my aim and my glory at this fearful crisis, to enlist as many hearts, and tongues, and pens, and prayers as possible, in the sacred cause of humanity, of national faith, and of eternal justice. I had rather receive the blessing of one poor Cherokee, as he casts his last weeping look back upon his country, for having attempted to prevent his being driven from it, than to sleep beneath the marble of all the Caesars.

Shall I be told that all this is idle preaching—that I have entirely mistaken the policy of Georgia in reference to the Cherokees—that she has no thoughts of compelling them to emigrate?—I am astonished that such an expedient should be resorted to, to quiet the friends of the Indians and to ward off public remonstrance. It is an insult offered to the common sense of the nation. What? Tell the Indians, 'We want your country and you had better leave it,—You can never be quiet and happy here?" And then, because they do not take your advice, cut it up into counties, declare all their laws and usages to be null and void, and substitute laws, which it is known they cannot live under; and then turn round and coolly tell the world, 'O, we mean no compulsion! The farthest in the world from it! If these people choose to stay, why by all means let them stay.' These are the tender mercies of which we shall undoubtedly learn more in due time. 'You have got a fine farm and I want it. It makes a notch in a corner of mine. I will help you to move *five hundred miles* into the wilderness, and there give you more and better land, which you may cultivate and enjoy without molestation, 'as long as grass grows and water runs.' You *must* go:—however, do just as you please. I shall never resort to any other compulsion, than just to lay you under certain restrictions. Perhaps, for instance, as I am the strongest and you have more land than you want, I may take two thirds, or three fourths of it from you; but then there shall be no *compulsion*! Stay upon what is left, if you choose. I may also find it necessary to ask you for your house, and if you should not give it up, I may be driven to the disagreeable necessity of chaining

you to a ring bolt and giving you a few salutary stripes—not to *compel* you to flee from your country, (for compulsion, of all things, I abhor), but just to induce you to emigrate *willingly*.' This my friends, is the kind of *free agency* taught in the new school of metaphysics, which the Indians must learn and exercise whether they will or not—but as no such school is yet established in this part of the land, we must be excused in adhering, for the present, to our old fashioned notions of free agency, public faith, and common honesty.

I maintain, then, that it is the bounden duty of the General Government, to protect the Indians, not only in the enjoyment of their country, but of their laws. If it is possible for treaties to bind a nation in any case, then are we bound. If there is any such thing as public faith, then is ours solemnly pledged nearly twenty times over, to one single tribe. If that great pile of Indian Treaties, now in the office of State, is any thing more than a pile of frauds and insults, then the Government must interpose its strong arm to prevent aggression. Take the following as specimens of these compacts. Treaty of Holston, Art. 7. 'The United States solemnly guaranty to the Cherokee nation all their lands not hitherto ceded.' Treaty of Tellico. Art. 6. 'The United States will continue the guaranty of theirs, that is, the Cherokee country *FOREVER*, as made and contained in former treaties.' And who, let me ask, will stop to inquire, when the first jubilee of our independence is hardly past, whether our most solemn national pledges shall be redeemed? I feel confident that all the changes which can be rung upon state rights and that terrific *imperium in imperio*, will never satisfy the American people. The very summary process of disinheriting 70,000 persons by a novel construction of the Constitution, which begs the whole question—will never be sanctioned in the council of *twelve million*. I repeat it—our government must defend the Indians against all encroachments and usurpations whatsoever, or stand convicted before the world, of a disregard to public faith which it makes one shudder to think of.

Under these circumstances, who can doubt, that if the voice of the whole American people could be heard in the Capitol tomorrow, a majority of them would implore and conjure both houses of Congress to interpose and save the character of the nation? It is indeed the eleventh hour; but the Indians *can* be saved. The sovereignty of this great nation resides in the people; and what should hinder them from speaking in the ears of our rulers, 'like the voice of many waters?' Let them speak and the thing is done. The Indians can be saved with infinitely less expense of time and trouble, than it costs every four years, to decide whethr A or B or C shall be our next President.

But perhaps some will despairingly ask, "What can we do here, in one corner of the land?' What can *we* do? We shall never know till we *TRY*. Injustice and cruelty have carried the day a thousand times through the mere apathy and discouragements of those who might have triumphed like Sampson. I will mention some things which we can do. We can *feel* for the persecuted remnant of that noble race of men, upon whose soil we are building up a great empire. We can commune together respecting their wrongs, and the dangers which surround them, till 'our hearts burn within us.' We can contribute in various ways, to lay the facts on which the justice of their cause rests, before such of our fellow-citizens as may not have had access to these facts. We can send in our petitions to Congress, and we can induce others to do the same. In the mean time it cannot be doubted, that the friends of justice and humanity will be active in every section of the country. Thus we may hope, that there will be a general and simultaneous movement of the people towards Washington.

And in this view of the case, will any one still demand 'Who are we, and what are our numbers that we should hope to gain a hearing in the

high places of power'? I answer, we are, what our public servants delight to call us, *the sovereign people*—we are *all* the people, and that is enough. Every man in the nation, however poor, can go to Washington upon this business for nothing, as fast as the wheels of government can carry him. You understand perfectly what I mean. We can all be heard in the Senate house by our petitions, if we please. We can block up the avenues which lead to it with the multitude of our signatures; and whatever measures the voice of the nation shall demand, will ultimately be taken.

Above all, we can send up our united petitions to the Court of Heaven, where the cause of the poor and the oppressed is never disregarded. And if the sublime experiment which the southern tribes of Indians are making, of civilization and self government, should fail, through the cruel interference of white men, it is my solemn conviction, that it will be owing to the criminal supineness of those, who in heart and conscience are opposed to such interference. For I will not believe, I cannot believe, that the coverters of other men's vineyards, and their abetters in this land, are more than a lean minority of the whole people. If our government was despotic the case would be different. We should not be answerable for measures over which we would exercise no control. But living as we do, under rulers of our own choice, we are answerable if we neglect to exert our influence to the utmost in favor of righteousness, humanity, and public faith.

But suppose the worst—suppose the government should turn a deaf ear to all our remonstrances. Let us forget that *duties* are ours, while *events* belong to God. If we do what we can, to save the Indians in this hour of their anguish and jeopardy, their blood will not be found in our skirts, though they should be trodden into the graves of their fathers, or be driven away to perish in deserts so remote that the 'ill savor' of their carcasses may not come up into the nostrils of their destroyers.

Do we then want motives for action, at this critical, this awful juncture? Such a crisis does not happen once in a century. Nothing like it is to be found in the history of our country hitherto, and I pray God that no such crisis may ever occur again. War has ravaged the land more than once, or twice, with its tempests of fire and blood; but the question was never agitated till now, whether the public faith is to be held sacred, or not. Who would have dared in the days of Washington, or Jefferson, to have broached such doctrines as have recently been promulgated by the highest authority in the nation? How long ago, think you, could any man have gained a hearing to arguments which, if admitted, go to annihilate the faith of all our treaties?

I repeat the assertion, that we have come to such a crisis, as neither we nor our fathers ever saw before. The great question is to be finally settled within a few months, perhaps weeks, whether whole, peaceable nations shall be dispossessed, or virtually enslaved, under the eye and with the approbation of a government, which is solemnly pledged to protect them. And do we want motives to remonstrate against this crying injustice? Really the motives are so many and so urgent,—they throng so importunately about my path, that I know not what to do with them. Thrusting the greater part of them aside, I can only bestow a moment upon some of the most prominent.

And the *first* motive is drawn from the immutable and eternal principles of humanity and justice. Humanity pleads for the Indians with all her inexhaustible sympathies and with all her eloquent tongues. They are distressed. They are vexed. They are persecuted. The bosoms of tens of thousands of unoffending people are heaving with a mighty and common agony—occasioned by the encroachments and menaces of those who ought to be their protectors. And where, if we do not speak and act, is our humanity.

Justice too, with all its irrefragable arguments, urges us to remonstrate and to act. The most sacred rights of four nations, living under our protection and confiding in our republican faith are invaded. And they cry to us for help. The heritage which God gave them is to be wrested from them; or, if permitted to retain the small portion of it which is now under cultivation, they are to be thrust down from their moral and political elevation, into the depths of despondency and ruin. And can any one who knows all this, sit still and be quiet.

What if only ten poor families in a remote corner of Maine or Missouri were threatened with similar outrage? Every man in the nation would rise up and blow the trumpet. What if some lordly oppressor, having already ten times as much land as he could cultivate, should go to these families and say, 'You must move off. I want your little farms, and will not take a denial.'—Ten millions of voices would answer in thunder, '*You shan't have them*! No, never! These families have rights as well as you, and they shall be protected at all hazards.' And where, I ask, is the difference? In the case supposed there are *ten* families, and in that of the Indians now under consideration, there are *ten or fifteen thousand*! Where is the difference? Ah, the ten are *white* men, and the *ten thousand* are *red* men! Where is the difference? The former are protected in their rights by the *constitution*, and the latter by the solemn faith of *treaties*! There is the mighty difference!!

A *second* motive, then, for stirring up all the moral power of this nation at this time, is found in the danger which threatens our own liberties. This suggestion I am aware, will be ridiculed by many, and regarded by most as the offspring of a terrified imagination. Let those who choose, cry, 'Peace, and safety,' and fold their arms and wait for the march of events. But if the people sit still, and look calmly on, while the Indians are abandoned to their fate, in violation of the most solemn national compacts, what security have we that the same government which deliberately breaks its treaties in the face of heaven and earth, will not ten, or twenty years hence, find some plausible pretext for turning its power and patronage against the constitution itself? And if it should, how long, think you, will these paper and parchment bulwarks of ours stand? How long will it be a blessing to be born and live in America, rather than in Turkey, or under the Autocrat of all the Russias?

Do you tell me that there is no possible danger—that no man, or number of men, will ever dare to assail our free and glorious institutions. Let the history of past republics, or rather let their tombstones decide this point between us.—So it would have been said, when Washington and Jefferson were at the head of affairs, that nobody would ever dare to disinherit, or enslave the Indians, protected as they are by almost a hundred and fifty treaties. And yet it is about to be done. And how much better is our parchment than theirs? If such encroachments, acquiesced in, do not prepare the way for putting shakles upon our children, they must be protected by higher munitions than constitutional bulwarks. This I am willing to leave upon record, and run the risk of its being laughed at, fifty years hence.

A *third* motive for earnest remonstrance at the present crisis, is found in the grand experiment which we as a nation are now making, before the whole world, of the superior excellence and stability of republican institutions. How many thousand times has the parallel been proudly drawn by our statesmen and orators, between this country and every other nation under heaven. How triumphantly has it been proclaimed in the ears of all mankind, that here, at least, all the rights of the weak as well as the strong have found a sure protection. But let the stroke which is now impending, fall upon the heads of the poor defenceless Indians, and who will not be heartily and forever ashamed of all this boasting? Who will ever

dare to say another word about the partition of Poland? Who, in a foreign land, will ever hereafter be willing to own that he is an American? How will all the enlightened friends of free institutions in other countries mourn over this indelible stigma upon our national character; and how will the enemies of equal rights triumph in our disgrace. Verily, 'we are made a spectacle to the world and to angels and to men.'

The *last* motive which I have time to mention, and can but just allude to, is, that there is a just God in heaven, and that sooner or later his wrath will wax hot against the nation that tramples upon the rights of its defenceless and imploring neighbors. Tell me not of your twelve millions of people—of the exploits of your armies and navy—of the unparalleled growth and inexhaustible resources of the country. What will all these avail when God shall come out of his place to 'make inquisition for blood?' Prouder and mightier nations than this have fallen, and how can we expect to escape, if we 'use oppression and exercise robbery, and vex the poor and needy?'

The Cherokees and Choctaws cannot, indeed, resist or arms. They lie at the mercy of their white neighbors. They are like little trembling flocks of kids, surrounded by lions. But enough they are too weak to meet us in the field, they are not too weak to lift up their cries to heaven against us. Though they are too few to defend their country against our rapacity, there are enough of them to 'appear as swift witnesses against us' in the Court above; and they will assuredly have the right of testifying secured to them there, however they may be restricted and oppressed in courts below. Their numbers are more than sufficient to bring down the judgments of God upon their cruel oppressors. Who then will 'make up the hedge and stand in the gap before Him for the the land, that He should not destroy it?' The crisis is awful, and the responsibilities of our rulers and of the whole nation are tremendous! The Lord is a holy God, and he is jealous!

BOOK REVIEWS

The West of Phillip St. George Cooke, By Otis E Young. (The Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, California, 1955. Pp. 394. $10.00)

One has only to stand on the grounds of the Utah Capitol at Salt Lake City contemplating the monument in memory of the heroic Morman Battalion to realize that Philip St. George Cooke stands as one of the greater men in American military history. Cooke was graduated from West Point and commissioned a Second Lieutenant in July, 1827. His West Point career gives little evidence of the future stature of the man, as he stood an unimportant 23rd in his class. Fate, however, had more imposing plans for this fine officer. He was at once ordered to the West. The young 18 year old Second Lieutenant joined the 6th Infantry at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. There he commenced a remarkable and outstanding service to the cause of the westward growth and expansion of the United States, a career of almost unbroken fame until personal tragedies closed in upon him at the War Between the States.

This volume, although the history of a man, is more accurately a series of vignettes of the history of the West. The Dragoon Expedition of 1834, the Escort to Santa Fe, the South Pass Expedition, the glorious Morman Battalion, the unfortunate Fremont-Kearny affair, and "Bleeding Kansas" all come to vivid life. In each, Cooke served an important role and his personal contribution to the ultimate conclusion of each was of no minor significance.

With an intense sense of loyalty to the Government and Union that he had by oath sworn to serve, he wrote on June 6th, 1861:

> At fourteen years of age I was severed from Virginia; the National Government adopted me as its pupil and future defender; it gave me an education and a profession, and I then made a solemn oath to bear true allegiance to the United States of America . . . . . This oath and honor alike forbid me to abandon their standard at the first hour of danger.
>
> In the national service I have been for thirty-four years a Western man, and if my citizenship be localized, a citizen of Missouri . . . . I owe Virginia little, my country much . . . . and I shall remain under her flag so long as it waves the sign of the National Constitutional Government.

The price of loyalty came high and three of his four children forever after declined to recognize him as their father. Fate continued thereafter to deal unkindly with Cooke; and personal jealously of Fitz-John Porter led to his relief from command, thus making him serve as the scapegoat following Gaines Mill. Then a Brigadier General, he served out the rest of the War at desk jobs and on recruiting service. He never again saw active field service. A belated brevet as Major General could only partially atone for the unkindly consideration he received from a country he had served so well and faithfully.

Books regarding the West are now very much in vogue, and there have been many recent additions to the published knowledge of the region. There is no better contribution than this volume. It is extremely well done and belongs in every Oklahoma Library.

Oklahoma City —George H. Shirk

United States Domestic Postage Rates. (U. S. Post Office Department. Superintendent of Documents, Washington, 1956. Pp. 138 45¢.)

When Samuel Osgood was appointed the first Postmaster General of the United States, his Department had 77 employees, 75 post offices in the entire United States, and annual revenues of $25 thousand Dollars. In 1955 the postal system had 38 thousand post offices, employed in excess of a half million people, and handled 175 million pieces of mail every working day.

The year 1957 is the centennial of the first overland mail service. This service was carried to the Pacific by the organization headed by John Butterfield. With the Butterfield Trail crossing the Sooner State, Oklahoma is particularly conscious of the rich contribution made to the growth of America by the postal service. The progress of America could not have been possible without a rapid, efficient and trustworthy postal system. A rapid interchange of mail, before the days of telegraph, telephone and radio, was the force that welded the separate states into one Federal Union.

This volume is a complete compendium of all laws since the first Congress fixing rates for postage. The first rates in effect in 1789 covered only "letters and packets". Oddly enough, the postage rate was based on the number of sheets of paper in the letter, not the weight. In theory, one huge sheet of paper, regardless of its size and weight, if folded enough times would go at the single rate even though it might weigh more than four lightweight separate sheets.

Mail was not divided into classes with special rates for each until 1863. Parcels and merchandise were placed in a separate category, Fourth Class, in 1879. The parcel post system was established January 1, 1913. Registration service was instituted in 1855 with a fee of 5¢. Indemnity for lost registered mail first came in 1898. Postal Savings first started January 3, 1911.

Here is a complete ready reference covering all of the postal rates, classes of mail, special services and other charges ever made and now in effect by the Post Office Department. A special appendix is included giving a digest of every Act of Congress pertaining to franked, penalty and free mail. The Department is to be commended for making available to the general public such a worthwhile publication.

—W. R. Withington

Oklahoma City

William Penn, a Biography. By Catherine Owens Peare. (J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia and New York, 1957. Pp. 414. $6.00.)

A biography of William Penn must necessarily be also a history of the beginning of the Society of Friends or the Quakers. Although we in America think principally of William Penn as the founder of Pennsylvania and the one man who dealt fairly in all things with the Indians, his life in England as a Seeker after Truth is of far greater significance.

It was Thomas Loe who touched off the spark in Penn and, at the age of twenty-two, Penn began his ministry. His life is a series of arrests and imprisonments to which he willingly submitted in defence of "obedience to the manifestation of God in his own conscience".

Penn, a friend and follower of George Fox, spent many years in Holland, Germany and France as well as traveling over England, winning converts to the Friends.

The first Quakers arrived in America in 1655 and suffered indignities and persecution. At the same time, all religions—Presbyterians, Baptists, Catholics—were struggling for existence in England. The Church of England was the only religion tolerated in England. Penn called for a "sincere promotion of general and practical religion based on the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount."

Always a personal friend of Kings, Penn received the grant of Pennsylvania in 1681 as payment for debts owed his father for services performed for Charles I. Pennsylvania was settled, a government framed and Philadelphia laid out by Penn's surveyor-general before Penn ever set foot in America.

Penn actually spent very little time on this continent. He arrived in October, 1682 and returned to England in 1684. It was fifteen years before he came to Pennsylvania again and then for another period of two years.

Always the idealist, he believed so deeply in Brotherly Love that he parceled out the government of Pennsylvania to people of all religions but without his guiding hand, Pennsylvania became embroiled in jealousies and bad management. The author gives, in detail, the Frame of Government as written by Penn and the tedious business of establishing boundaries.

The majority of Penn's writings, which were voluminous, were explanations of Quakerism or refutations of attacks on his beliefs. His greatest work, *No Cross, No Crown* is reproduced in part in this volume.

Impoverished in his later years, Penn died a poor but undefeated man. The Testimony of the Reading Quarterly Meeting of Friends reads, "A man, a scholar, a Friend, a minister, surpassing in superlative endowments whose memorial will be valued by the wise and blessed with the just."

Oklahoma City —Mary Ann Rheam

NECROLOGY

Albert Leroy McRill

1880 — 1956

Albert L. McRill, born October 1, 1880, was reared in Franklin County, Kansas. Upon graduation from the Williamsburg High School, he became the publisher of his local newspaper, as the youngest editor in the State of Kansas. His father was Calvin Whitfield McRill, originally from the State of Ohio, and his mother Viola Amanda Tapley-McRill, who came to Kansas with her parents from Michigan soon after the close of the Civil War. She was then ten years of age. The McRills were descendants of a Benjamin Mackrell, who according to the first Pennsylvania census in 1790, came from Scotland and fought in the Revolutionary War.

Albert also published papers in Quenemo and Ottawa before coming to Oklahoma Territory in 1902. After establishing the *Dispatch* and *People's Voice* at Watonga, he edited the *Day County Progress* at Grand, Oklahoma, the county seat of Day County (now Ellis County). Later he entered Epworth University (now Oklahoma City University) graduating in 1910 with the degrees of A. B., A. M., and L. L. B. He helped compile the *Oklahoma Statutes of* 1910, and began the general practice of Law at Oklahoma City in 1911, and remained in the active practice of law until his death. From the time he came to Oklahoma he was active in politics. In the campaign for constitutional prohibition of the liquor traffic in 1907 and 1910, he spoke throughout the State for the Anti-Saloon League. He was active in the crusade of the Central Hundred in Oklahoma City, and in the campaign of the Committee of One Hundred to establish the City Manager System of city government.

For several years he wrote a daily column, *In My Library*, for the Oklahoma News, published in Oklahoma City.

He was a member of the Methodist Church. For five years he conducted a men's Bible Class of 1,000 in downtown Empress Theater, and for thirty years taught a Sunday School class in the First Methodist Church of Oklahoma City. He was a member of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of 1916. He served on the Board of Trustees of Oklahoma City University and its predecessors for twenty years and was acting president of the University in 1924. For fifteen years he was associated with the Oklahoma City College of Law as professor, and at the time of his death was law professor at Oklahoma City University, where a plaque has been placed by his former law students in his memory. As research editor of the Card Digest System, he compiled digests of Oklahoma, Texas and California Law. He is author of *Oklahoma Fire Insurance Law; My Silver Jubilee*, a reminiscence of his 25 years with the *Fidelis* Bible Class of the First Methodist Church; *Summary of Oklahoma Law and Procedure; Satan Came Also*, an historical story of Oklahoma City from its birth to the present day; and several treatises on different branches of the law. He was special justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma.

In 1931 he served as Municipal Counselor, and was City Manager of Oklahoma City in 1931-33. He is author of the Ordinance under which the Oklahoma City Board of Education has operated since 1939.

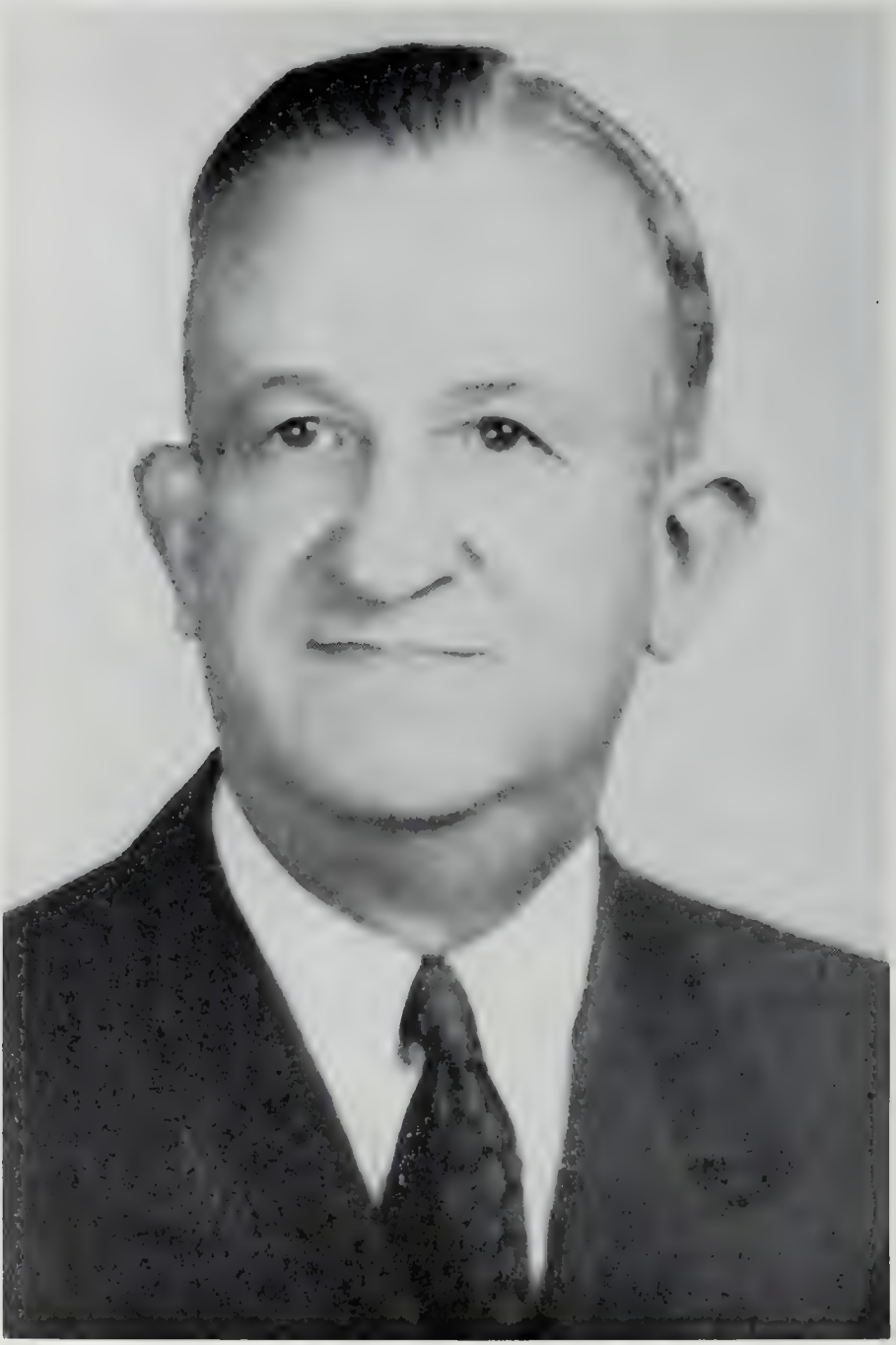
Survivors are his widow, Mary McRill, of 1220 Sherwood Lane, Oklahoma City, step-son, James Horigan, attorney, a sister, Leona McRill and a brother, Leslie A. McRill, both of 1817 N.W. 14th Street, Oklahoma City.

Albert was also active for many years in the Masonic Lodge in Oklahoma City, a 32nd degree Mason and a Shriner.

Funeral rites were conducted from the First Methodist Church, by Rev. John Abernathy, life long friend and fellow-worker of Albert, assisted by Dr. C. Q. Smith, President of Oklahoma City University, and Dr. Earl Dorff, pastor of First Methodist Church, Oklahoma City. Albert was laid to rest in the family plot, Rose Hill Cemetery, Oklahoma City.

Oklahoma City —Leslie A. McRill

ALBERT LEROY McRILL



LOUIS SEYMOUR BARNES

Louis Seymour Barnes
1882 — 1956

The name Barnes is synonymous with name Ponca City. The passing of L. S. Barnes on Sunday morning, November 11, 1956, will leave a permanent void in the ranks of that City.

Louis Seymour Barnes was born July 11, 1882 at Adrian, Michigan, the son of Burton S. Barnes and the former Mary Louise Gilbert. His forebears had served in the Revolutionary War; and he was born into a family deep in the heritage of America. His father founded Ponca City and prepared the plat that is now the central area of the town. He interested settlers in the development by selling participation certificates in the venture, and from the beginning it was bound to success.

The elder Barnes brought his son Louis, then eleven years of age, to the new town following the opening of the Cherokee Strip. L. S. Barnes was educated in the Ponca City Public Schools. From early manhood he was successful in his every business venture. He bought a grocery store located on the present site of Center Building and expanded it into the City's largest department store. In 1924, he sold the business and organized the Security Investment Company. One of the original organizers of the Ponca City Savings and Loan Association, he was elected its President in 1934, and served in this position until his death. Under his aegis, the institution grew from assets of less than $3 million to an excess of $43 million. At the time of his death, it was the largest state supervised institution of Oklahoma. In 1917, along with other civic leaders, he organized the Security Bank of Ponca City and served as an active member of its Board of Directors until his death. The character of the esteem with which he was held is reflected in the fact that the bank remained closed for the period of the services. He has served as President of the Oklahoma Savings and Loan League and was a Director of the Federal Home Loan Bank of Topeka. He was a member of the Advisory Council of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation. He was appointed as a member of a Hoover Commission Sub-committee dealing with Government and private finance.

On June 9, 1908 he married the former Mayme Elizabeth Davis of Perry. His children, all sons, now civic and business leaders in their own right, are Wendell Burton Barnes, Reginald D. Barnes, and Donald E. Barnes. With the inheritance of leadership received from their father, each has been eminently successful in his chosen field.

L. S. Barnes served as a member of the City Council of Ponca City and for many years as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce. For more than thirty years, he was an active member of the Rotary Club and served as its President in 1930, and contributed a record of over thirty years' attendance without an absence. He was a Mason and member and elder of the Presbyterian Church. A great builder throughout his business life, during the last two years he completed fine new office buildings for the Ponca City Savings and Loan Association in Ponca City, Oklahoma City and Tulsa, and was one of the leaders in the building program of the beautiful new First Presbyterian Church of Ponca City, dedicated in June of 1955.

Services were on Tuesday, November 13, in the First Presbyterian Church of Ponca City, with the Reverend Arthur C. Young officiating. Interment was in the I.O.O.F. Cemetery at Ponca City. Tribute typical of this great and fine man was from the words of Reverend Young.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City

John Chouteau
1860 — 1949

John Chouteau, who departed this life on July 8, 1949, was born at Chouteau Station, Kansas, in 1860, the son of William Meyers and Mary Silverheel Chouteau. His mother was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Moses Silverheel of Shawneetown, Kansas. The Chouteau family came to the Indian Territory, in the vicinity of Vinita in 1869, before either the Missouri, Kansas & Texas or the Frisco railroads had entered the boundaries of the present Oklahoma. John Chouteau was one of twelve children, seven, including himself, by the first marriage of his father, and five by the second marriage in 1877 to Addie McFarland of Kansas City. John Chouteau's first marriage was also at Shawneetown Kansas, to Nannie Rowland, to whom two children were born, now Mrs. Thomas J. Arrington, of Vinita; and Mrs. Tom Walker, of Midland, Texas. The second marriage, which was childless, was to Anna Davis in 1906, and who passed away in 1938.

After the death of Mr. Chouteau's second wife, his oldest daughter, Mrs. Thomas J. Arrington, and her husband, came to make their home with "Uncle John," as he was affectionately known by his myriad of friends in Craig County, and Eastern Oklahoma; then he began to give his entire time to a hobby of many years standing that brought out the artistic side of his life—the planting and cultivating of flowers in his yard that brought many visitors from far and wide each season to view the beauty of their artistic arrangement. Another hobby of his was penmanship and drawing. He liked to draw the pictures of his close friends and preserve them in an album. His talents along this line were so outstanding that he could have easily commercialized on either. He spoke as many as four languages and understood the tongue of several Indian tribes, so that in the early day he was frequently called upon by the courts to act as interpreter.

John Chouteau was a member of the Odd Fellows and Rebecca lodges, as well as of the Christian Church. But, like his forebears, he was also a good business man and took a keen interest in politics. Either he, or he and his father had owned several stores in Vinita, and altogether he was in the grocery business in that place for forty-four years.

Because of his long residence of eighty years in the Indian Territory, now the State of Oklahoma, and because of his widespread acquaintance among the early pioneers and others of eastern Oklahoma, John Chouteau had a veritable storehouse of knowledge on the early history and formation of the present Oklahoma. His great-great grandfather, Major Jean Pierre Chouteau of the Chouteau fur trading interest of St. Louis induced the "Osages of the Oaks" to move their village from the Osage River region in Missouri, to the Arkansas and Verdigris rivers in Oklahoma, in 1802. John Chouteau could recite by the hour anecdotes and incidents of a century and a half ago that Major Chouteau had related to his father and his grandfather, Frederick Chouteau, that were handed down as a part of early Indian and pioneer lore in this region. So extensive was his knowledge of details and incidents in connection with the beginnings of what is now Oklahoma that he was requested to document the same so that it could be filed with the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis, Missouri, in what is known as the "Chouteau Collection" of papers and manuscripts. Other manuscripts were also prepared for exhibition for a memorial when erected at Salina to house the same, along with many objects donated by Mr. Chouteau for that purpose.

—J. M. Richardson

Muskogee, Oklahoma

JOHN CHOUTEAU

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF SPECIAL MEETING, THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NOVEMBER 29, 1956

Due to the fact that the regular quarterly meeting which was to have been held in October had been cancelled, General William S. Key, President of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, called a special meeting of the Board for 10:00 a. m., Thursday, November 29, 1956. The meeting was held in the Board of Directors' Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building.

The following members answered roll call: H. B. Bass, Judge George L. Bowman, Kelly Brown, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, General William S. Key, R. G. Miller, R. M. Mountcastle, H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, Colonel George H. Shirk, Judge Baxter Taylor and Judge Edgar S. Vaught. Excuses were received from Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Joe W. Curtis, Exall English, Thomas J. Harrison, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Dr. James D. Morrison and Mrs. Willis Reed. Upon motion of Judge Robert A. Hefner, seconded by Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, the absent members were excused.

Mr. R. G. Miller moved that the reading of the minutes of the preceding meeting be dispensed with, and Mr. Milt Phillips seconded the motion which was adopted.

The Administrative Secretary, Elmer Fraker, gave a report on the financial condition of the Society. In his remarks, Mr. Fraker stated that the Society was operating well within the state fund budget and also within the special fund budget. He stated that probably more money had been taken into the special fund, during the past year, than ever before, and that it was also probable that more money had been expended from that fund than ever before.

The Administrative Secretary reported that he had conferred with the Governor and several leaders in the Legislature relative to the proposed budget of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He stated that all with whom he had talked seemed interested in having the Historical Society make as much progress as possible.

Upon the request of Judge Hefner, Chairman of the Legislative Committee, the Secretary reported on the items in the proposed budget for the coming biennium. The Secretary read the items which totaled $156,517.00 for each of the next two years. In this amount was included requests for operating expenses, salaries, capital improvements, and highway markers. Judge George L. Bowman moved that the report of the Legislative Committee be accepted, and Dr. Harbour seconded. The motion was put and unanimously adopted.

The Secretary reported that he had attended a Legislative Committee meeting where the proposal for the creation of a Historic Sites Commission had been discussed and approved. A general discussion of this topic was had among the members of the Board, during which the unanimous opinion was voiced that all such duties were already being carried on by the Historical Society and that these duties should continue to be delegated to the Society. It was generally agreed that the objectives sought by those sponsoring a Historical Sites Commission were worthy and commendable

and there was great need for much work of that type being done in Oklahoma, but that the Oklahoma Historical Society could do the job better than any one if properly financed for such undertakings. Judge Hefner moved and Judge Edgar S. Vaught seconded a motion requesting the Secretary to provide the President of the Board with information as to the historic sites now being cared for by the Oklahoma Historical Society. The motion was adopted.

Mr. Fraker called attention to the fact that the annual dues for membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society were $2.00 per year, which was $1.00 less than the subscription to the Chronicles. He pointed out that one could buy a membership in the Society and receive the Chronicles at less cost than by merely being a subscriber to the Chronicles. He recommended that annual dues be increased to $3.00. Mr. Miller moved that the annual dues of the Society be raised to $3.00 effective January 1, 1957. Dr. L. Wayne Johnson seconded the motion which was put and carried.

When the matter of properly displaying the Ferdinandino Collection was brought up, Dr. Johnson moved that the Executive Committee be authorized to arrange for the purchase of an appropriate case for exhibiting the collection. The motion was seconded by Judge Vaught and adopted by the Board. President Key requested that Colonel George Shirk serve with the Executive Committee in helping select the proper display case.

It was pointed out by the Secretary that for a considerable time the repair and reconditioning of the old stagecoach had been under consideration. He stated that Mr. John D. Frizzell had offered to recondition the stagecoach for $300.00. It was moved by Dr. Johnson and seconded by Colonel Shirk that the Society accept Mr. Frizzell's offer, and that payment be made from whatever funds are available. The motion was adopted.

Dr. Harbour called attention to the fact that Mrs. C. E. Cook had expended $130.00 for additional expenses incurred in visiting museums while on a trip to the United Daughters of the Confederacy Convention in Los Angeles, California. Mr. Phillips moved that $100.00 be allowed Mrs. Cook for these added expenditures. Miss Genevieve Seger observed that if Mrs. Cook had been told by the Secretary to take the trips then she should have all of her extra expenses paid. Mr. Phillips then withdrew his motion and seconded Miss Seger's motion, which was passed.

Mr. Fraker announced that the new Historical Society brochure was in the process of being prepared and should be ready for distribution within another sixty days. He stated that he believed it would be possible for the Society to get out some folders to be given free to people visiting the Historical Society Building. It was suggested by Mr. Phillips that all bulletins and brochures put out by the Historical Society during the coming year have the motif of the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of Oklahoma displayed.

Work of the Microfilm Committee was outlined by Colonel Shirk. He reported that the Society was acquiring microfilm copies of 72 tract books in the General Land Office in Washington, D. C., which is the land description record for each quarter section of land in western Oklahoma. He stated that Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, a member of the Board, who is now in Washington, D. C., doing research work, had assisted in making arrangements for the purchase of this microfilm.

General Key presented an architect's drawing of the proposed McLain War Memorial with its planned location north and east of the Historical Society Building as an annex thereto. He stated that the building would face the north and would conform to the architectural design of the original building and would greatly enhance the appearance of the north side of the

building. It would be two stories high with a full basement. The basement and first floor would provide space for a War Museum with room for historical exhibits, flags and histories of units of all branches of the Armed Services in which Oklahomans served. The top floor would provide ample office space for all veterans organizations, together with the War Veterans Commission, now occupying needed office space in various sections of the Historical Building. The cost of the building, including air conditioning throughout, would be approximately $425,000.00 which amount was being requested of the Legislature with the approval of the Governor and of the Commission appointed by him to erect a suitable war memorial honoring Lt. Gen. Raymond S. McLain and all other war veterans of Oklahoma. The operation of the War Memorial would be under the supervision of the Oklahoma Historical Society. After a general discussion of the matter, Mr. Phillips moved that the Board reaffirm its previous endorsement of the plan for the building of the McLain War Memorial, and that the membership of the Society be requested to give its wholehearted support in this matter. The motion was seconded by Mr. R. M. Mountcastle and unanimously adopted.

Attention was called by Mr. H. B. Bass to a map of Oklahoma that had recently been put out by the Oklahoma Natural Gas Company commemorating the Oklahoma Golden Jubilee year. Judge Baxter Taylor made a motion that the Oklahoma Natural Gas Company be commended on putting out the map. Judge Vaught seconded the motion which was adopted by the Board.

It was suggested by Dr. Johnson that the Board meetings were probably too brief to properly transact all the business that was brought before it. He suggested that the Board eat lunch together as a means of having more time for general discussions. Judge Vaught moved that at the January quarterly meeting arrangements be made for lunch to be served in the Board of Directors' Room, and that the regular meeting be extended through that time. The motion was seconded by Dr. Johnson and carried.

Mr. Miller, Chairman of the Annual Tour Committee, announced that the 1957 Tour dates have been set for May 16, 17 and 18. He said the Tour would use the Western Hills Lodge as its main point of activity, and that the Tour would cover much of northeastern Oklahoma. He said that details for various stops would be worked out at a later date. Mr. Miller reported that he had secured special rates at the Lodge and that it was planned for the tourists to spend two nights there. He reported that he had been advised that a Texas group was planning to make a tour of the Butterfield Mail Route in that state. He said that a portion of the Oklahoma Tour would be over the Butterfield Route in Oklahoma. He mentioned that the Old Trails group in Texas was planning on making a rerun of the Western Trail which crossed Oklahoma on its way to Dodge City, Kansas. This trail entered Oklahoma at Doans Crossing near the present city of Altus, and crossed into Kansas northwest of Buffalo, Oklahoma. Mr. Miller remarked that it might be possible for a group representing the Oklahoma Historical Society to accompany the Texans on their trip across Oklahoma.

A resolution relative to the preservation and protection of properties at old Fort Gibson was presented and read by Mr. Mountcastle, who moved that it be adopted. The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and was adopted by the Board. Copies of the resolution were made a part of these minutes and are attached hereto.

Lists of new Life and Annual members were presented. Dr. Harbour moved and Judge Bowman seconded that they be accepted. The motion was adopted.

Upon the presentation of a list of gifts and donations that had been given to the Society during the past quarter, Miss Seger moved that such

donations and gifts be accepted. Mr. Kelly Brown seconded this motion, which was adopted.

General Key paid a brief tribute to Mrs. Jessie R. Moore who had recently passed away. In his remarks, General Key said that her passing was a great loss to the Society where she had long been a faithful member, and for many years had served as Treasurer. A committee composed of Judge Taylor, Mr. Phillips and Colonel Shirk was appointed by General Key to draft an appropriate resolution relative to the death of Mrs. Moore.

It was moved by Judge Bowman, seconded by Colonel Shirk, and adopted by the Board that the meeting adjourn.

W. S. Key
President

Elmer L. Fraker
Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED
LIBRARY:

An Appreciation Scroll to the Hon. Wm. J. Bryan.
Donor: Muriel H. Wright.

The Salter Music Collection, consisting of 76 pieces of Sacred music, Common Prayer, 1886 and Hymnal of Protestant Episcopal Church, 1874.
Donor: Mrs. George W. Salter.

A Brief History of Deyo Mission, 1893-1951, (Lawton, Okla.), and From Sun Worship to Christian Faith (Missions-International Baptist Magazine, volume 150, #7, September, 1952)
Donor: H. F. Gilbert, 1651 Elwood, Pomona, California.

Photo of J. B. Thoburn, Rev. H. B. Collins and Claude E. Hensley.
Donor: Claude E. Hensley, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Harper's Magazine. (Vol. 10. December 1854 to May, 1855).
Donor: Col. George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Colonists of New England and Nova Scotia. The Burgess and Hickman Families. 1956.
Donor: Kenneth F. Burgess, Chicago 3, Ill.

History of Our Times. (Vol. 3, 1952)
Donor: Elmer L. Fraker Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Mellennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World. #52. A study of the writings of Geronimo de Mendieta (1525-1604) by Leddy Phelan. and

The Carolina Chronicle of Dr. Francis Le Jau, 1806-1717. (Vol. 53)
Donor: The University of California, Berkeley, California.

Jefferson's Fine Arts Library by William B. O'Neal, Professor of Architecture, University of Virginia.
Donor: University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.

The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States, 1802-1865, by Henry Smith Stroupe.

Historical Papers of Trinity College Historical Society.
Donor: Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

The Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Cleveland, Ohio, 1956) Conference on the writing of Religious History, Dec. 1, 1955.
Donor: The American Jewish History Center.

22 Copies "Prisoner of War Bulletins" (1943-44-45, A. R. C. Germany)
Donor: Mrs. John H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Okla.

The Constitution of the State of Oklahoma (1907); Constitutional Amendments enacted thru the Initiative and Referendum (1914); Railroad map of Oklahoma (1917);

Labor Laws of the State of Oklahoma (1923); Election Laws (Primary and General) of the State of Oklahoma (1924); Directory of the State of Oklahoma (1924; Oklahoma Real Estate Commission. Law creating (1923).
Donor: Stuart A. Rice, Okla. City.

The Golden Anniversary, 1904-1954, Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, Burkhart, Wisconsin.
Donor: Evangelical Lutheran Church, Sunday, Nov. 15, 1954.

History of the Afton Methodist Church, Afton, Minn., 1854-1954.
Donor: Esther C. Robb, Afton, Minn.

Agricultural Developments in North Carolina, 1783-1850. University of North Carolina Press, 1956.
Donor: Cornelius Oliver Cathey.

Five magazine and newspaper clippings of the Hefner Family History and one photograph of four generations of the family.
Donor: Judge R. A. Hefner, Oklahoma City.

20 items consisting of pictures, brochures, etc., on R. R. history, transportation and industrial scenes; 8 Oklahoma photo prints including 2 churches; 5 special color prints of Boothill Graveyard, Tombstone, Arizona; 5 special photocards of Virginia City Nevada; 1 picture from "Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper" (natural) gas field of Indiana, dated Jan. 18, 1889); 1 65th Annual Report, Railroad Commission of Texas (1956).
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. John B. Fink, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, 1881-1956
Donor: Carey Lumber Company, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Journal of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Convention of the Diocese, January 25th and 26th, 1956.
Donor: The Protestant Episcopal Church of Oklahoma.

History and Development of Fabrics. 11 leaflets (Rayon)
Donor: American Viscose Corporation, New York City.

Annual Report, March 15, 1956-University of Colorado Development Fund. General Series 859.
Donor: University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.

Native Grasses, Legumes and Herbs. Sections 1 and 2 of a Series Pasture and Range Plants.
Donor: Phillips Petroleum Company, Bartlesville, Okla.

To Advance Human Welfare.
Donor: The Ford Foundation.

Rail Transit and the Winning of Wars, by General James A. Van Fleet, U. S. Army (retired).
Donor: Association of American Railroads, March 19, 1956, Washington, D. C.

The Betrayal of German Ornes, by Guidad Trujillo.
Donor: The Dominican Press Society, Dominican Pepublic, 1956.

The John Franklin Shafroth Collection, 1854-1922.
Donor: State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver, Colo.

The History of Glass Containers.
Donor: Glass Container Manufacturers Institute, New York 16, N. Y.

Address delivered by Wm. T. Faricy, President, before National Association of Shippers Adv. Board, Oct. 13, 1955.
Donor: American Association of Railroads, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Stephen Crane, 1871-1900; An Exhibition of his Writings.
Donor: Columbia University Libraries, New York City.

Forest History Sources of the United States and Canada.
Donor: History Foundation, Inc. Saint Paul, Minn. 1956.

Martin Kellogg, "The Centenarian". Ancestry, Life and Descendants of Martin Kellogg of Bronson, Huron Co., Ohio, 1786-1892 (1954)
Donor: Dale C. Kellogg.

Annual Report, Headlines of 1955.

This is Tree Farming;

It's a Tree Country;

Facts about the Nation's Lumber Industry, 1956 ed.

Oklahoma Forest Facts, 1956 ed.

The Nation's Wood Preserving Industry, 1956;

The *Wood Pulp Industry,* 1956;

Bibliography of Teaching Aids on America's Forests and Forest Industries (1956-57).
Donor: American Forestry Products Industries, Washington 6, D. C.

MUSEUM:

Black silk parasol with gold handle; feather fan; silk fan; white beaver hat.
Donor: Mrs. George Mason, Oklahoma City.

Flag with 46 stars.
Donor: Mrs. L. P. Hampton, Oklahoma City.

Minature grass house and minature tepee.
Donor: Miss. Hazel K. Black, Oklahoma City.

Lamp, doll, beads, dishes, pitcher, sewing basket.
Donor: Mrs. Myrtle Hazel Brown, Oklahoma City.

Cane made of buffalo horns.
Donor: Mrs. W. H. Miller, Vici, Okla.

Booklets and clippings on Indian life; booklets on Indian Schools.
Donor: Mrs. Floyd Diacon, Oklahoma City.

Christmas card, 1897.
Donor: Col. Horace K. Speed, Jr. Alexandriz, Va.

Baby shoe, lace collar, black dress, white petticoat, black silk basque dress, fans, 12 baby dresses and slips, baby cap, baby coat, woolen undershirt, baby comb and brush set, pair white baby shoes, pair child's brown leather gloves: long white baby coat; piece of marble from original mantel at the White House; section of the original floor beams of the White House.
Donor: Col Horace K. Speed, Jr., Alexandria, Va.

Pictures received for Museum:

Picture of Col. Horace Speed, Jr. on metal frame; five pictures of Col. Horace Speed, Jr. at different ages; two pictures of Horace Speed, Sr.; two pictures of Mrs. Horace Speed, Sr.
Donor: Col. Horace Speed, Jr. Alexandria, Va.

Camp Doris, Cloud Chief, Oklahoma in 1889.
Donor: Mrs. Ira Smith, Oklahoma City, Okla.

NEW LIFE MEMBERS:

Mrs. Wilson W. Starr	Alva, Okla.
Mr. Walter J. Arnote	McAlester, Okla.
Mr. Harry H. Chaney	"
Mr. Owen Wimberly	Okeene, Okla.
Mrs. Jean Hingeley Robbins	Okla. City, Okla.
Miss Pearl R. Scales	"
Mrs. Annie M. Sooter	"
Mr. Haskell Paul	Pauls Valley. Okla.
Mr. Ulys Webb	Skiatook, Okla.
Mr. Kenneth Abernathy	Shawnee, Okla.
Mr. W. O. Allen	Tulsa, Okla.

ANNUAL MEMBERS:

Mr. William B. Cleghorn	Anadarko, Okla.
Mr. Walter G. Trornton	Ardmore, Okla.
Mr. Robert Falls	Avery, Okla.
Mrs. D. A. Yates	Bartlesville, Okla.
Mr. M. R Neal	Chandler, Okla.
Mr. J. H. Reeve	Dewey, Okla.
Miss Isabel Work	Durant, Okla.
Mrs. Augusta I. C. Metcalfe	Durham, Okla.
Mr. Julius H. Almond	Enid, Okla.
Mr. Edward J. Aud	"
Mr. Page Belcher, Jr.	"
Mr. John Willard Bowers	"
Mr. Frank Carter	"
Mr. Truman C. DeFoe	"
Dr. Stephen Jackson England	"
Mr. Harold L. Gasaway	"
Dr. Joe P. Giles	"
Dr. Norman Harris	"
Dr. Frederick G. Hudson	"
Dr. George E. Osborn	"
Mr. W. J. Otjen	"
Mr. J. B. Payne	"
Mr. Ralph W. Wyatt	"
Mr. Joe M. Whitaker	Eufaula, Okla.
Mr. Alfred C. Ford	Fort Gibson, Okla.
General T. H. DeShazo	Ft. Sill, Okla.
Dr. E. B. Dunlap	Lawton, Okla.
Mr. T. A. Dyer	"
Dr. Walter D. Atha	Maud, Okla.
Mr. Joe Ervin	McAlester, Okla.
Mrs. Harriet W. O'Leary	"
Mr. Lawrence E. Zane	Miami, Okla.
Dr. C. C. Bush, Jr.	Norman, Okla.
Mrs. Charles E. Brown	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Mrs. L. T. Fowler	"
Mr. H. J. Garrett	"

Mrs. Pearl I. Glass	"
Dr. R. Q. Goodwin	"
Mr. G. E. Killian	"
Mrs. P. R. Kirk	"
Mrs. Olga Lindsey	"
Mrs. Harry H. Link	"
Miss Louise Link	"
Mrs. Johnston Murray, Jr.	"
Dr. Wm. B. Thompson	"
Mrs. Sammie Fullerton Nolly	Poteau, Okla.
Mrs. Russell Wagoshe	Shawnee, Okla.
Mrs. Lea Hill	"
Mrs. Claude Hendon	"
Mrs. Otis O. Fox	Stillwater, Okla.
Mrs. Walter Wood	Sand Springs, Okla.
Mr. Clem Van Griffin	Tahlequah, Okla.
Mr. Robert L. Bradley	Tulsa, Okla.
Dr. Donald L. Brawner	"
Dr. Henry A. Brocksmith	"
Dr. John D. Capehart	"
Mr. M. E. Dale	"
Mrs. Mary Dean Daniel	Tulsa
Mr. John P. Rucker	"
Mr. LeRoy B. Shirley	"
Mr. Alvin Seamster, Mayor	Bentonville, Ark.
Mr. James W. Covington	Tampa, Florida
Mr. Willard S. Moore	Kansas City, Mo.
Mr. Maurice K. Ramsey	"
Mr. George Milburn	New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Graham Fowler	Chattanooga, Tenn.
Mr. Marion E. Blacknall	Denison, Texas
Mr. Gus Robinson	"
Mr. George E. Blackstone	San Angelo, Texas
Mrs. Arthur O'Dair	San Antonio, Texas
Mr. A. R. Jones, Jr.	Falls Church, Va.
Mr. W. E. Dunkel	White Stone, Va.
Mrs. C. C. Casey	Williamsburg, Va.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Date..... 19.....

To the Oklahoma Historical Society:

In accordance with an invitation received, hereby request that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society elect me to Annual, Life, membership in the Society. In order to expedite the transaction, I herewith send the required fee $.....

(Signed) .....

P. O. Address..... .....

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The historical quarterly magazine is sent free to all members.

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP due (no entrance fee), three dollars in advance.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP fee (free from all dues thereafter), $50.00. Annual members may become life members at any time upon the payment of the fee of fifty dollars. This form of membership is recommended to those who are about to join the Society. It is more economical in the long run and it obviates all trouble incident to the paying of annual dues.

All checks or drafts for membership fees or dues should be made payable to the order of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Nominated by

PERSONAL DATA FOR PRESERVATION

In The

RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY

THE APPLICANT WILL PLEASE FILL OUT THE FOLLOWING

Full name (including middle name or names, spelled out)

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Scholastic degrees, if any:.....

Religious, Fraternal and Club affiliations:.....

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Military service:.....

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Present business, occupation, profession or official position:—

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Native state:.....

Date of settlement and place of location in Oklahoma:.....

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THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 26, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, etc. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publication Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history, and for librarians. The annual dues are $3.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership may be secured upon the payment of $50.00. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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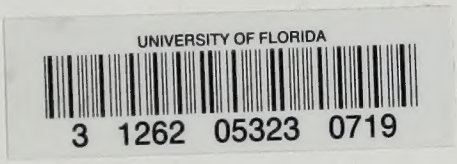

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